

Orat

DISCOURSE

for Concerning the *Moffat*
Authority, Stile, and Perfection

OF THE BOOKS

OF THE
Old and New Testament.

WITH
A Continued Illustration of several
Difficult Texts of Scripture through-
out the whole Work.

By JOHN EDWARDS, B. D. some-
time Fellow of St. John's College in
CAMBRIDGE.

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TO THE

Right Reverend Father in God,

SIMON,

Lord Bishop of ELY.

MY LORD,

YOUR Kind and Generous Acceptance of my former Undertakings (which justly merits my most Thankful Acknowledgments; which I here render to Your Lordship) hath encouraged me to make this Offering of another little Treatise, and to request You to take both it and its worthless Author into Your Protection. Your Name alone is a sufficient Amulet against the Censures which these Papers may be exposed to by being made thus Publick. None will venture to damn that Book

A 2 which

The Epistle Dedicatory.

which Your Lordship shall be pleased to Patronize. I am confident of the Goodness of the Cause which I have Espoused, but I am as sensible on the other hand of my great and manifold Defects in the managing it. However, I entertain good hopes of finding my Readers in some measure favourable to this Enterprize, when they shall behold Your Lordship's Name, which is the known Name of Learning and Piety, prefixed to it by,

My Lord,

Your Lordships

Most Humble and

Devoted Servant,

John Edwards.

The

T H E PREFACE.

WHAT I had prepared for the Publick View concerning the *Authority, Stile,* and *Perfection* of Scripture I intended to have Published together in one Volume ; but finding that the Present Age is not for *Great Books*, I am content to comply with it so far ; especially perceiving the First Part of this my Undertaking to swell into a moderate *Octavo*, I am willing it should go into the World alone ; and accordingly I now Publish that First Part only, intending to treat of the *Stile* and *Perfection* of Scripture either in one or two Volumes afterwards. The whole Attempt is of near Affinity with my former Undertaking, *viz.* of Criticizing on several Texts of Scripture, especially such as are *Difficult*, and giving the Resolution of them. I have all along, whilst I have mention'd several Passages of Holy Writ (to which the Opinions or Practises of the *Pagans* refer) given an *Explication* generally of them ; So that I am still in pursuit of my former Design, and I make it my Business to clear and illustrate the *Sacred Writings*, especially that part of them which is most Obscure and Difficult. But the *more particular* Design of these Papers is to assert the *Truth and Authority* of those Ancient and Divine Writings.

The Preface.

and that from the Testimonies of our professed Adversaries, *viz.* *Pagans* and *Jews*. It were folly to deny that divers of these things are mentioned in other Authors, and partly to the same purpose that I have produced them, (as indeed what useful Subject is there that hath escaped the Pens of the Learned?) but then it will be fitting (if not necessary) for me to add, in a just Vindication of my present Attempt, that so far as I have conversed with Writers, I never met with any that Traced this Noble Subject, both through the *Old* and *New-Testament*, which is the Design of this present Work. I know some have hinted at a few of these Remarks, and most commonly without insisting on the Reasons and Grounds of them, and without examining the particular Circumstances belonging to them. But I have not contented my self with this superficial way of delivering these things, but have endeavoured to Search into the true and genuine Original of them, which hath occasioned several Just Discourses, and enlarged Disquisitions on the various Matters which occur under those Heads. In brief, I have amply prosecuted this Argument by offering a vast number of Particulars from my own Enquiry and Observation: I have *designedly* Treated on this Theme, which scarce any have done: I have methodically digested my Materials according to the Histories, or other Passages in the *Bible*, to which they have reference in *Jewish* or *Pagan* Writers: And Lastly, I have made the whole Serviceable to this excellent Purpose, *viz.* the attesting and confirming the *Truth* of the Sacred Scriptures.

But the main of this *Preface* shall be spent in vindicating my Interpretation of 1 Cor. 15. 29.
In

The Preface.

In my former *Enquiry* into that Text, where I maintained that *αι βαπτισθησιν υψ' ης νεκρων* (which our Translators render *Baptized for the Dead*) is according to the true and proper Signification of the Words in that place to be Translated *Baptized on the Account, or by reason of, or for the sake of the Dead*. Which Interpretation, I perceive, some are backward to entertain, because they doubt whether the Preposition *υψ'* join'd with a Genitive Case, be taken in that sense in Prophane Authors. They grant it is Equivalent with the Latin *causâ, gratiâ, or in gratiam*, but they think that these, and consequently the Greek Preposition always refer to, and denote some *Advantage* or *Benefit*: Therefore according to these Persons *υψ' ης νεκρων* should rather be rendred *for the benefit of the Dead*, because this is the Acception of the Preposition in the Writings of all Prophane Authors. But to this I might reply, and that with most justifiable Reason, that I am not obliged to prove that this Preposition is used in *Pagan* Writers in the same Sense that I assert it to be used in this place of *St. Paul*. Who knows not that some Authors have a particular and individual Sense of some Words appropriated to themselves, and it is in vain to look for the same Acception of them in other Writers? The Commentators on *Homer, Aristophanes, Herodotus*, or any other good Greek or Latin Author, take notice that such a Word or Phrase is used by these Writers in a Sense different from what is found in others; and this is Satisfactory to the Learned. But especially if they find that one of these Authors useth the same word more than once in this peculiar Sense, they are confirmed in the belief of this singular meaning of it. So it should be here;

The Preface.

for this is certain, that the Authority of the *New-Testament* is every whit as good as that of the fore-mention'd Authors, or any other. Any fair Critick will readily grant, that if I produce two or three places in the *New-Testament* where the Proposition $\dot{\iota}\phi$ hath the Signification which I affix to it, I perform my Task well enough. And this I have already done in my *Enquiry* into that Text, where more than the fore-named number of places is brought to confirm that particular Sense of the word $\dot{\iota}\phi$ which I have propounded. I could have mentioned *Gal.* 1. 4. and *1 Pet.* 3. 18. and other Texts made use of by *Grotius*, where he thinks $\dot{\iota}\phi$ ἀμαρτιῶν is to be rendred, [by reason of, or because of, or on the account of our Sins,] for our Sins were the proper *Impulsive meritorious Cause* of Christ's Death; though we must not exclude the *Final Cause*, because he suffered to take away our Sins. And *Vossius* goes something higher, who assures us that $\dot{\iota}\phi$ and ob, propter, pro prefixed to Sins or Faults, and join'd with *Suffering* or *Punishing* whether in Scripture or any other good Author always signifies the *Antecedent or meritorious Cause*, but never the *Final*: And I verily believe that *Vossius* was as good a Grammar-Scholar as *Socinus*, whom he opposeth in this particular. There are other Texts which I might have produced, as *John* 11. 4. this Sickness is $\dot{\iota}\phi$ ἵνα δοξάσῃ ὁ θεὸς, for, or on the account of God's Glory; and *2 Thess.* 1. 5. $\dot{\iota}\phi$ ἧς καὶ βασανισθεὶς for which (viz. the Kingdom of God) ye suffer; in both which places $\dot{\iota}\phi$ denotes an impulsive Cause. And perhaps that place, *2 Phil.* 13. $\dot{\iota}\phi$ ἐκδοῦναι, is to be understood so. It is sufficient then to have proved that $\dot{\iota}\phi$ is used in several places of the *New-Testament*

The Preface.

Testament in the Sense before-named, *i. e.* that it is as much as [on the account] or [because of] or [for the sake] that it signifies some *Reason, Account, or Motive*, why a Man should do such a thing. We need not search into other Authors to find whether this be the import of *ὡς* among them; this is not requisite, for the *New-Testament* is able to vouch it self.

But though to prove this Sense of the Preposition in *Classical* Authors be more than I need to do, yet for the Satisfaction of the *Scrupulous*, for *Vindicating* my Interpretation of that Text, and for the *Establishing* it beyond all Exceptions for the future, I will shew that this very signification of *ὡς* (and that with a word in the *Genitive Case*) is not uncommon in the *Pagan* *Stile*; and particularly I will make it evident that it hath not always a reference to a *Benefit*, as some think. For Proof of this I might send you to *Stephens's Thesaurus* where in the word *ὡς* he produces some Passages out of *Herodian, Demosthenes*, and (as I remember) *Plutarch*, which do in some measure evince the fore-said Acception of the Preposition; and out of *Homer's Sixth Iliad* he hath a plain place,

—————'Τῷ σὶδεν ἄσχε' ἀνέω
Πρὸς Τρῶων.

where *ὡς σὶδεν* is not rendred *de te* (as the common Version is) but *causâ tuâ*, or *proppter te*, *because of thee I bear ill of the Trojans*. Accordingly the great admired Scholiast *Eustatbius* interprets *ὡς σὶδεν* by *διὰ σὶ*, and 'tis as much, he saith, as *ἡδὲν σὺ*, *because of thee*, or *on thy account*. But whether this be the meaning of *ὡς* in this place it is not so much material as that we need controvert

The Preface.

trovert it ; but this is sufficient for my purpose that this famous Commentator who understood *Greek* so well, acquaints us, that the Signification of *κατὰ* is sometimes as much as *χάρις*, yea when *χάρις* doth not signifie or imply a *Benefit*, as is clear in this place ; for these words of *Hector* cannot possibly be carried to any such Sense ; that is undeniable. Wherefore their Fancy falls to the ground who think the meaning of *ὅτι τῆς* is [for the benefit or emolument of such a one].

I have something yet more to prove, (and that even from *Pagan* Authority) which is this, that *κατὰ* frequently imports an *impulsive Cause*, and that directly and plainly, and that it ought to be translated [on the account, by reason of, because of] To evince this, I will choose out an Author against whom there can be no Exception, I mean *Isocrates*, whose Writings are famed for their Propriety of Phrase, and Clearness of Stile. There he hath these Expressions, * *κατὰ τὴν συνθήκην πολεμῶν* to fight on account of the Leagues made between them, † *κατὰ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν πολεμῶν*, to fight for, or on the account of their Liberty, ‡ *κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίαν πολεμῶν*, to fight for, or because of their own safety. These are all *Impelling* Causes, the Consideration of their League, of their Liberty, and their Common Safety excited them to do what they did. As in a higher Sense I proved that many in the Apostles Times were excited to initiate themselves into the Church by Baptism by the Consideration of what the Holy Martyrs underwent for the Cause of *Jesus*. They were Baptized on the account of, by reason of, for the sake of those dead

* Plataic. † Panegyr. & Plataic. ‡ Plataic.

The Preface.

dead Saints, those glorious Champions whom they saw die with so much Courage. To proceed in the same Author, he expresses himself thus, * *ὅτι διὰ τὴν ἀντιδοχὴν, τοῖς ἀνδράσι πολεμεῖν ἔμελλεν, ἵνα κερδήσωσιν*, to fight for Rewards, i. e. because of those Rewards which they expected: These effectually stirred them up to behave themselves with great bravery. So † *ὅτι τῆς δόξης ἀντιδοχῆς* is Translated *famæ gratiâ* by Wolfius, to die on the account of that Fame and Glory which they knew they should purchase after Death. And of the same sort is that Passage, ‖ There are those, saith he, that would not change their Lives *ὅτι ἀλλὰ ὡς ἰσχυροῦς* on any other account whatsoever, yet are most willing to lose their Lives in the Wars *ὅτι τῆς τοῦ καύματος δόξης*, on the account, or for the sake of getting a Name. This was the moving, the Impulsive Cause of their dying. And that other set of Phrases, ‡ *χαρὶς ἔχοντες*, * *ἀποδοῦναι χάριν*, &c. To render Thanks for this or that, confirms that Interpretation which I have given, for those Favours and Kindnesses which they received, moved them to pay that tribute of Thanks. What we meet with in another place is to our purpose; † Is it just, saith he, to inflict so unequal and severe Punishments *ὅτι τοιαύτων ἐγκλημάτων*, for, or on the account of such Faults? And so 'tis used in the same Oration again, with reference to Punishment. And when he saith, ‖ *ὅτι διὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν*, *quarum rerum metu perterritus*, (as the foresaid Translator renders it) it is evident that *ὅτι* is of the same import with *because of*, *by reason of*, and that he speaks of

* Orat. 2. ad Nicocl. † Panegy. Orat. ‖ Orat. ad Philip.

‡ Panegy. ad Philip. Epist. ad Philip. Epist. ad Mitylen.

* Panegy. Orat. † Plataic. Orat. 1. ‖ Orat. ad Philip.

The Preface.

of those things which excited Fear in them. Lastly, It may be observed in this famous Orator, that when he is about winding up a Cause, he uses these Words, * *ὅθεν* or *ὅθεν*, which his Interpreter rightly renders *quare*, *quapropter*, *propterea*, which is in English, *on which account*, or *because of* what hath been said. He moves them to do this or that on the Consideration of what he had propounded to them in the foregoing part of his Oration. I could produce many more Quotations out of the same Author, and several others, *Demosthenes* more especially, who no less than three times in † one Oration uses the Word in this manner, and in || another place once or twice; but I think I have sufficiently establish'd my Notion already by what I have produced. You see plainly that *ὅθεν* hath not absolutely a reference to a *Benefit* or *Advantage*, but that 'tis of a large import, and signifies in general *on the account*, or *for the sake*, and more especially that it denotes an *Impulsive Cause*, properly so call'd, and is used to express those things or Persons that put Men upon Action; which was the thing I undertook to make good, and I challenge any Man to disprove it. I have defended the Signification of the Word *ὅθεν* out of Classcal Authors, that I might thereby obviate the Scruples of some Inquisitive Persons, and give some Satisfaction to the Curious, and make my Exposition of *οἱ Βασιλεῖς οὗτοι οὐκ ἐκείνους*, more clear and demonstrative, (when 'tis seen that it is founded on the Acception of that Preposition, not only in the

* Panegy. Orat. Plataic. Orat. bis. † Olynth. 1.
 || Philip. 1.

The Preface.

the *New-Testament*, but in Prophane Authors) and, in a Word, that I may render my whole Undertaking on that Text the more acceptable to the Learned part of Mankind. To this rank of Persons I devote all my Endeavours of this kind; but that which I now offer to the World is more especially designed for the Use of younger Students in Sacred Learning, such as are Beginners and Candidates in Theology, though I am well satisfied that these *Critical* Researches will not be useless to those of a higher Character.

A

A CATALOGUE of the
Difficult Chapters and Ver-
ses in Holy Scripture, which
are Explain'd in this Book,
(being set down in the same
Order that they are there
mentioned.)

- II. **C**Hap. of Daniel, Concerning the Image
whose Head was of Gold, &c. Page 9
- VII. Chap. of Daniel, Concerning the Four
Beasts. p. 10
- VIII. Chap. of Daniel, Concerning the Ram
and He-Goat. p. 13
- XI. Gen. 4. Let us make us a Name, lest we
scattered abroad, &c. p. 127
- XXXVI. Gen. 24. This was that Anah
that found the Mules in the Wilderneck,
&c. p. 147
- XV. Judg. 15, 16, 17, &c. Concerning the
Jaw-bone of the Ass wherewith Sampson
slew a thousand Men. p. 149
- XXXVIII. Isai. 8. The Sun returned Ten
degrees, by which degrees it was gone
down. p. 200
- XXXIII.

XXXIII. Deut. 17. *Where Joseph is compared to an Ox or Bullock, and why.* p. 214

II. Luke 1, 2. *There went out a Decree from Caesar Augustus that all the World should be Taxed.* p. 352

II. Matth. 2. *We have seen his Star in the East.* Vers. 7. *Herod enquired of them diligently what time the Star appeared.* Vers. 9. *The Star which they saw in the East went before them, &c.* Vers. 16. *Herod slew all the Children that were in Bethlehem, from two Years old and under, according to the time which he had diligently enquired of the Wise Men.* p. 360

XXIV. Matth. The former part, which speaks of the *Destruction of Jerusalem*; and the parallel Chapter of *St. Luke*, viz. the XXI. p. 394

The Author's Vindication of his Interpretation of 1 Cor. 15. 29. *Pref.*

ERRA-

E R R A T A.

PAge 18. l. 28. for *Abaz*, read *Hexekiah*. p. 37. l. 15. for *end* r. *erre*. p. 99. l. 8. dele *not*. p. 151. l. 15. dele *not*. p. 212. l. 30. r. with *Han*. and l. 26, 27. correct the Hebrew words: And do the same in other places. p. 227. l. 21. r. *unutterable*. p. 238. l. 11. r. *on*. p. 241. l. 9. r. *deus* n. p. 248. l. 18. r. *ex Aethiopia*, l. *ult*. for that r. *at other times*. p. 250. l. 17. r. *Martinus*. p. 255. l. 26. r. *cornare*. p. 334. Marg. Quotations misplaced. p. 349. Marg. 3 last lines, put *Apolog.* 2. *ad Sen.* after the Quotation, *Sed cum*, &c. And put (*b*) before *Adv. Gent.* p. 363. l. 33. r. *other Pagani*. p. 364. l. 26. r. *Silver locks*. p. 376. l. 11. dele *cireth the same testimony*, and. p. 411. l. 7 & 10. r. *Cedrenus*.

What other Faults have escaped, the Reader is desired to Correct.

Advertisement.

AN Enquiry into several Remarkable Texts of the Old and New-Testament, which contain some difficulty in them; With a probable Resolution of them. By *John Edwards*, B. D. In Two Volumes in Octavo. Sold by *J. Robinson*, *J. Everingham*, and *J. Wyat*, in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*, and *Ludgate-street*.

OF THE
 Truth and Authority
 OF THE
 HOLY SCRIPTURES.

CHAP. I.

The Internal Testimonies or Arguments to evince the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, viz. 1. The Matter of them, that is, the Sublime Verities, the Holy Rules, the Accomplish'd Prophecies contain'd in them: Under which last Topick several particular Predictions, chiefly in the Book of Daniel, are explain'd, and shew'd to be fulfilled. Further, 'tis demonstrated that the foretelling of future Contingences of that nature, especially so long before they come to pass, could be from God only. 2. The Manner of these Writings, which is peculiar as to their Simplicity, Majesty, and their being immediately dictated by the Holy Ghost. 3. Their Harmony. 4. The particular Illumination of the Spirit.

I HAVE chosen a very Noble and Important Subject to exercise my Pen, and to entertain both my own and the Reader's Thoughts and Contemplations with; for no Book under Heaven can possibly be the Rival of the *Holy Bible,*

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Bible, none in the World can pretend to the transcendent Worth and Excellency of these Sacred Writings. Here not only all *Natural* or *Moral Religion*, but that also which is *Supernatural*, is fully and amply contain'd. Here is the *Decalogue* written by God himself, and transcrib'd out of the Law of Nature; besides that there are frequently interspersed in these Writings other choice Rules and Precepts of Morality. But *Supernatural Religion* being the chief, this is the main Subject of the Sacred Volume: and this you will find partly delivered by the Inspired Prophets of the Old Testament; and partly by *Christ Jesus* himself in person, and by the Evangelists and Apostles in the New Testament. Of these *Holy Scriptures* I am to treat, which are the Standard of Truth, the infallible Rule of Faith and Holiness, and the Groundwork of all *Divinity*: for this being the Doctrine which is according to the Word of God delivered in *Sacred Writ*, we must necessarily be acquainted with This, and know in the first place that it is True, and make it evident that it is so. If an Estate be given a Person by Will, he must first prove that Instrument to be True and Authentick before he can challenge any Right to what is devised him in it. So it is here, God bequeaths us an Inheritance, (*i. e.* Life and Salvation, and Eternal Happiness) and the *Scriptures* are as it were the *Will and Testament* wherein this is plainly expressed and whereby it is conveyed to us. Especially the Writings of the Evangelists and Apostles deserve that Name, and thence are stiled *ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη* for the Greek word, which in its Original Import signifies a *disposing* of something, is most commonly applied to such a *Disposul* as is either by *Covenant* or *Testament*. Hence it is sometimes rendered

Covenant, and sometimes a *Testament*: especially among the Lawyers the latter Sense prevails; and accordingly you will find that a *Last Will* and *Testament* is express'd by this word διαθήκη, in the *Imperial Institutions*, and other Law-Books translated into Greek. We may here join both Senses together; for what God hath agreed to by *Covenant* with Man, that Christ bequeaths and gives by *Testament*. Now we must prove both these, i. e. we must make it evident that the *Covenant* and *Testament* are True, before we can receive any Advantage and Benefit from them. There is a Necessity of evidencing the *Truth of the Scriptures*, which are this *Covenant*, and this *Testament*; otherwise we can build nothing upon them.

Here then,

- I. I will evince the *Truth* and *Authority* of the Scriptures, which is the great Basis of all Theology.
- II. After I have largely insisted on this, I will proceed to give you an account of the Nature of the *Stile* and *Phrase* of these Holy Books.
- III. I will advance yet farther, and demonstrate the *Excellency* and *Perfection* of them.

The Subject of our present Undertaking is the first of these: in handling of which I shall but briefly and concisely make use of those Arguments which are commonly insisted upon by Learned Writers, till I come to fix upon a Topick, which is not commonly, yea, which is very rarely and by the by used in this Cause; and this I will pursue very

largely and fully, I hope with some Satisfaction to the Reader. There are many Arguments to demonstrate the *Truth* and *Authority* of the Holy Scriptures, and shew that they are worthy to be believed and imbraced by us as the very Word of God. Some of these Arguments which are to prove the Truth of these Writings, are in common with those that prove the *Truth of the Christian Religion*, on which I shall have occasion to insist at another time: but my Design at present is to propound those which are more *peculiarly* and *properly* fitted to evince *the Truth of the Scriptures*. And these are either *Internal* or *External*. The *Internal* ones I call those which are either *in the Scriptures themselves*, or *in Us*. The Characters of Divinity which the Scriptures have in *Themselves*, are either their *Matter*, or the *Manner* of the writing them.

I begin with the first, the *Matter* of them: and here I will mention only these three Particulars.

1. The Sublime Doctrines and Verities which are in Holy Writ. In reading this Book we meet with such things as cannot reasonably be thought to come from any but God himself. In other Writings which are most applauded, the choicest things which entertain our Minds, are the excellent Moral Notions and Precepts which they offer to us, which are all the Result of Improved Reason and Natural Religion. But here are (besides these) Notices of a peculiar Nature, and such as are above our natural Capacity and Invention, as the Creation of the World (in that Manner as is represented to us in these Writings), the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity, the Eternal Decrees, the Incarnation of Christ the Son of God, the Redemption of the World by his Blood, the whole Method of Man's

Salva-

Salvation, the stupendous Providence of God over his Church in all Ages, the Coming of Christ to Judgment, and (in order to that) the raising of all Men out of their Ashes. These and several other Doctrines deliver'd in the Sacred Writings, cannot be imagined to come from any but God; they carry with them the Character of Divinity, as being no common and obvious Matters, but such as are trowing and lofty, hidden and abstruse, and not likely to be the Product of Humane Wisdom. A God is plainly discovered in them, for the most Improved Creatures could never have reach'd to this pitch. Any serious and thinking Man cannot but discern the peculiar Turn and singular Contrivance of these Mysterious Doctrines, which argue them to be Divine. We may therefore believe the Writings of the Prophets and Apostles to be the Word of God, because of the wonderful Height and Sublimity of those Truths which are contained in them.

2. The Exact Purity and Holiness both of Body and Soul, of Heart and Life, which are enjoin'd in these Writings, are another Testimony of their being Divinely Inspired. For though some other Books dictate Religion and Piety, yet this is certain, that all the true and just Measures of them were taken originally from this one Exact Standard, which was prior to them all, as I shall shew afterwards. Besides, the Love and Charity, the Humility, Meekness, and all other Vertues which the Scriptures describe to us, far exceed the most advantageous Representations, the most exalted Ideas which the Heathen Moralists give of them. These therefore are emphatically and eminently called by St. Paul, the *Holy Scriptures*, 2 Tim. 3. 15. because they breath the most consummate

Goodness and Piety, and that antecedently to all Writings whatsoever: because every thing in them advanceth Holiness, and that in Thought, Word and Actions. The End and Scope of them are to promote *Sanctity of Life, to make us every way better, and even to render us * like God himself. The Holy Scripture was intended to set forth the Divine Perfections, to display the Heavenly Purity, and thereby to commend the Excellency of a holy Life. And it is certain, that if with sincere and humble Minds we peruse this Book of God, we shall find this blessed Result of it, it will marvelously instruct us in the Knowledge of the Divine Attributes, especially of God's Unspotted Holiness; it will tincture our Minds with Religion, it will pervade all our Faculties with a Spirit of Godliness, and it will thorowly cleanse and sanctify both our Hearts and Lives, which proves it to be from God. But because I shall have occasion to say more of this, when I treat of the *Perfection of the Scriptures*, I will now dismiss it.

1. 3. To the *Matter of Scripture* we must refer the *Prophecies* and *Predictions* which are contained in it. These I reckon another *Internal Argument*, because they are drawn from what is comprehended in the very Scripture it self. What a vast number is there of Prophecies of the Old and New Testament, which we find fulfilled, and accordingly are Testimonies of the Truth of these Scriptures? Here I will a little enlarge: and first I will begin with that ancient Prophecy of Noah, † God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the Tents of Shem, and Canaan shall be his Servant: Where

* *Hez. xlviii. 2, & ~~Hez. xlviii. 2~~*. Clem. Alex. in Protrept.
† Gen. 9. 27.

are foretold things that happened above two thousand Years afterward ; for the Posterity of *Japheth*, viz. the Europeans, especially the Greeks and Romans, among other Conquests gain'd the possession of *Judea*, and other Eastern Countries, which were the Portion of *Shem*. Again, it was fulfilled thus ; by Christ's coming and preaching the Gospel, and by his Apostles propagating it, the *Gentiles*, who were of the Race of *Japheth*, were admitted into the Church of God, which at first indeed consisted of those of the Posterity of *Shem*. * *Moses* foretold the besieging of *Jerusalem* by the Assyrian Armies, and the Calamities and Miseries which attended it, which were very near a thousand Years after *Moses's* time. The Deliverance of the *Israelites* from the Oppression and Slavery which they underwent in *Egypt*, was promised to *Abraham* above four hundred Years before it happened. † King *Josiah* was expressly named three hundred Years before his Birth ; and consequently it was a longer time before he could demolish the Altars, and destroy Idolatry at *Bethel*, which was also particularly foretold by a Man of God. *Cyrus*, who first united the Kingdom of the Medes and Persians, and was the first Emperour of the Second Chief Monarchy, viz. the Persian, was honourably named and foretold by *Isaiab* to be the Deliverer of the Jews out of their Captivity, and the Restorer of their Temple, almost two hundred Years before he was born, and before that Deliverance was accomplished ; *Isa*. 44. 28. and 45. 1—5. This is that *Cyrus* who conquered *Astyages* the last King of the Medes, and translated the Empire to the Persians, and brought *Asia* and

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all

* Deut. 28. 49, &c.

† 1 Kings 13. 2.

all the East under his Power. This is that *Cyrus* whose Life *Xenophon* wrote, saith Sir *W. Raleigh* : and from some things there related, especially his last Oration at his Death, we may probably gather that he received the Knowledge of the True God from *Daniel* when he govern'd *Susa* in *Persia*, and that he had read *Isaiab's* Prophecy wherein he was expressly named. And indeed * *Josephus* tells us that he had so ; and that when the Jews shewed *Cyrus* that Place of Scripture which foretold his Wars and Victory, and likewise his Beneficence to the Jews, he admired the Divinity of the Book ; and to make good what he read, he conferr'd many great Kindnesses on that People. It is no wonder therefore, saith a † Judicious Writer, that the History of *Cyrus's* Life wrote by the foresaid Historian, is thought by some to be a Fiction, he being so Extraordinary a Person, designed by God, and signally foretold before-hand. An extraordinary Spirit and Vigor actuated him, which makes that Historical Account of him look like a Romance. But notwithstanding what these Learned Men say, I am doubtful whether this famous *Cyrus* whom I am now speaking of, was he that this Historian gives us an account of ; for that *Cyrus* whom he describes, died a Natural Death, and expired peaceably on his Bed, and among his Friends ; but this *Cyrus* that set up the Persian Monarchy, died in the Wars, and was overcome by *Tomyris* Queen of the *Scythians*. Therefore 'tis thought by others, that the Life of *Cyrus* the Second is described by *Xenophon*. To proceed, the taking of *Babylon*, and its being brought under the Power of the *Modes* and *Persians*, were predicted by

* *Antiqu. l. II. c. I.* † *Dr. Jackson.*

by *Isaiab* many Years before they came to pass, *Isa.* 47. 1, &c. And this Noble Prophet hath deservedly gain'd the Title of *Evangelical*, because he so exactly sets down what happened several hundred Years afterwards upon the Arrival of Christ, and the Dispensation of the Gospel. *Jeremiab* (another noted Prophet) prefixed the seventy Years of the Babylonian Captivity: And in other Prophets, who were Pen-men of the Old Testament, there are very plain Predictions of future Events; and the Accomplishment of them hath proved them to be True. But the Spirit of Prophecy is most eminent and wonderful in *Daniel*, who hath foretold the State of the World from the time of the Captivity, wherein he lived, till the Coming of Christ in the Flesh, which was about five hundred Years after. The Succession of the most famous *Empires* or *Monarchies* of the World, is prophetically represented by him in his Interpretation of * *Nebuchadnezzar's* Dream. There (as *St. Jerom* saith) he shews that he † had knowledge of all Times, and was fore-acquainted with the various History of the whole World. There you will see the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Greek and Roman Monarchies decipher'd by the four known Metals, Gold, Silver, Brass, and Iron. *The Head of Gold* is the Assyrian or Babylonian Empire, which was the First and Richest Monarchy, and was the Beginning and Head of the rest which were to follow. *The Breast and Arms of Silver* are the Medo-Persian Empire; which because it consisted of two People, it is therefore fitly set forth by two Arms. *Belly and Thighs of Brass* are the Greek

* Dan. 2. † Temporum conscius, & totius Mundi. *Polihistor. Epist. ad Paulin.*

Greek Empire; which because it was chiefly divided into two Kingdoms of the *Lagide* and *Seleucide*, it is well express'd by two *Thighs*. *Legs of Iron* are the Roman Empire; which being divided into Eastern and Western, by occasion of *Constantine's* removing his Seat from *Rome* to *Byzantium*, is not unfitly set forth by two *Legs*. Its *Feet* are said to be partly *Iron* and partly *Clay*, because being divided, it was not all of a piece, but was of a different Nature: they could no more unite and cement, than Iron and Clay. Then you read of a *Stone cut out without Hands*, i. e. the Lord *Christ*, not born after the ordinary and humane way. This *Stone* was first visible in the *Days of those Kings*, ver. 44. i. e. the Kings that make up the Roman Empire: for then *Christ* was born, then *Christianity* was first set up. *This Stone shall become a great Mountain, and fill the whole Earth*, ver. 35. and destroy the *Gold*, *Silver*, *Brass* and *Iron*, i. e. put an end to these Empires. *Christ* and his Church shall constitute another; viz. a *Fifth Empire*, much more *Glorious* and *Renowned* than the former ones. This famous Prophecy, of above two thousand Years date, was in a signal manner verified at the *Coming of Christ*, the *King of Kings*, and *Lord of Lords*; and it shall have a further Completion when the *Christian Religion* shall be propagated anew in the remote Parts of the World, and at last shall become the Religion of the whole World, and a *Glorious Church* shall be establish'd on the Earth.

In the seventh Chapter of this Prophecy you have the Vision of the *Four Beasts*, which foretells the very same which was represented by the *Four Metals*, but more particularly and largely. First there is the *Lion*, i. e. the *Assyrian Monarchy*, which

which hath two *Wings*, which denote the two part of that Empire, *Babylon* and *Assyria*. They are said to be *plucked*, i. e. shattered and destroyed, as we read they were by *Darius* and *Cyrus*. This *Lion* is the same with the *Golden Head* in *Nebuchadnezzar's* Dream. Next comes the *Bear*, which is the *Persian Monarchy* set up by *Cyrus*, (as the former by *Ninus*) and expired in *Darius*, whom *Alexander* the Great slew in Battel. The *three Ribs* in its *Mouth*, are the three Chief Emperours or Kings of this Monarchy, namely, *Cyrus*, *Darius*, *Artaxerxes*, who devoured much *Flesh*, i. e. added many Nations to their Monarchy. Or the *three Ribs* may signify the *Persian Kingdom*, which had united to it the *Medes*, and the *Babylonian* Power and People, and so was composed of *three*. This is the same with the *Breast and Arms of Silver* in the foregoing Dream. The next thing in the Vision is a *Panther* or *Leopard*, with *four Wings and Heads*; which signifies the *Greek Empire*, with the principal Kingdoms or Satrapies which after *Alexander's* Death arose out of that Monarchy, viz. those of *Seleucus* King of *Syria*, *Antigonus* King of the Lesser *Asia*, *Cassander* King of *Greece*, and *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*. The *four Wings* also signify the *Swiftness* of *Alexander's* Conquests, and also the speedy Division of his Empire into four Kingdoms. This is the same with the *Brazen Belly* in the preceding Dream. Lastly there appears a *Beast with ten Horns*, which is the *Roman Empire*; though I know some interpret this Fourth Beast of the *Asiatick Monarchy*, called by Historians the *Regnum Seleucidarum*, or those several lesser Kingdoms which set up upon the breaking of *Alexander's* Monarchy. The *ten Horns* are *ten Kings*, as is plain from the express Words in the 24th Verse; and these (say they)

they) are *Seleucus Nicanor*, *Antiochus Soter*, *Antiochus Theos*, another *Seleucus*, *Ptolomæus Evergetes*, a third *Seleucus*, *Antiochus*, *Ptolomæus Philopator*, *Seleucus Philopator*, *Antiochus Epiphanes*. And the *little Horn* mentioned *ver. 8.* is, say they, the last of these ten. Others are of opinion that the *little Horn* that came up among the ten Horns, is the *Mahometan* or *Turkish Empire*, which grew out of the Roman Monarchy, or those Territories which were possessed by the Romans: and the three Horns it hath seized on, are three Parts of the Monarchy, *viz. Asia, Egypt, Greece*. But to unprejudiced Minds it will rather appear, that this part of the Vision which speaks of the *Fourth Beast*, and the *Little Horn*, belongs to the Roman Empire: for this Vision is but an enlarging on the Dream of the *four Metals* before spoken of. And yet I will grant that this Prophetick Vision may be taken with some Latitude, as many of the Prophecies of the Old and New Testament (as I shall shew afterwards) are to be taken: and so *Antiochus Epiphanes* and *Mahomet* (the one the Scourge of the Jewish Church, the other of the Christian) may not be excluded here, but after a Prophetick manner implied; yet so as the *Roman Empire*, and what was to happen in the World in those Dominions, are chiefly and principally here meant. This is the *Beast with ten Horns*, which are the ten Members or Kingdoms belonging heretofore to the Roman Empire, *viz. Asia, Africa, Syria, Egypt, Italy, Spain, Greece, Gallia, Germany, Britain*. This *Fourth Beast* is the same with the *Legs of Iron and Clay*, spoken of before. It is easy and obvious to apply the Character of this last Beast to the Roman Empire. It was dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly: it had great Iron Teeth; it devoured and
brake

brake in pieces, and stamped the Residue with the Feet of it; and it was diverse from all the Beasts that were before it, as you read in ver. 7. And again, ver. 23. The fourth Beast shall be the fourth Kingdom upon Earth, which shall be diverse from all Kingdoms, and shall devour the whole Earth, and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces. This is a most Graphical Delineation of the Secular Power of Rome, and of the Slaughter and Ravage it hath made on the Earth. It is farther added, that there came up among the Horns another little Horn, ver. 8. that is, a Power distinct from those ten Powers or Kingdoms before mentioned. Here then perhaps is meant the Church or Hierarchy of Rome distinct from the Secular Power or ten Kings. This is Popery in the most proper Sense, the Ecclesiastical and Spiritual Dominion of Rome, as it is distinguish'd from the Civil or Temporal one: and it is the same with the False Prophet in Rev. 19. 20. How naturally the Character of this Horn is applicable to this Purpose, may be seen in the following Verses.

The eighth Chapter reacheth not so far, but yet contains a very notable Prophecy, couched in the Vision of a Ram and a He-Goat. The * Ram with two Horns is (as is afterwards interpreted in express Words) the † Kingdom of Media and Persia. The He-Goat is the Greek Empire: the || notable Horn between his Eyes, is Alexander the Great, the first Greek Monarch, as you find it expressly expounded in ver. 21. The rough Goat is the King (or Kingdom) of Greece; and the great Horn that is between his Eyes, is the first King. It is said, (*) he touched not the Ground, i. e. he went on swiftly; for in twelve Years he did all his Work, and in three

* Ver. 2.

† Ver. 20.

|| Ver. 5.

(*) Ibid.

three Battels he vanquish'd *Darius*, and succeeded in his Monarchy. Thus he smote the Ram, and brake his two Horns, and cast him to the Ground, ver. 7. It was above two hundred Years before this was accomplished that *Daniel* here foretold, and therefore it is a very considerable Prophecy, and a very remarkable Proof of the Authority of this Book. Hence it was that when *Alexander* the Great was on his march towards *Jerusalem* to destroy it, *Jaddus* the High Priest went out to meet him with the Book of *Daniel* in his Hand, which he opened and shewed to that great Monarch, and let him see this Place wherein his mighty Atchievements and Glory were foretold: Which very thing diverted him from doing that Harm to the Jews which he intended, and also made him confident in his Enterprizes against *Persia*, the Conquest of which this Prophecy foretold. When this great Horn was broken, four other notable ones came up in its stead, v. 8. that is, on the Death of *Alexander* there sprang up these four Kingdoms, namely *Macedonia*, *Asia*, *Syria*, *Egypt*: These stood up, but not in his Power, ver. 22. i. e. *Alexander's*; they were much weaker and feebler, being divided. Out of one of these Horns came forth a little one, ver. 9. who is afterwards called a King of fierce Countenance, ver. 23. This is *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who came out of the Syrian Horn: by him the daily Sacrifice was taken away, and the Place of the Sanctuary was cast down, ver. 11. He destroyed wonderfully, and prospered and practised, and destroyed the mighty and the holy People, ver. 24. This and much more which you read in this Chapter, can agree to no Person so well as to that *Antiochus*, who plagued and embarras'd all *Syria*, and miserably shock'd the Holy Land, and with unspeakable Rage and Fury persecuted

secuted the People of it, and deprived them of their Sacrifices, and defiled their Altars, and spoiled their Temple the celebrated Place of their Worship, and cruelly and barbarously put many to death that refused to violate the Law of *Moses*. At last it is said, *he shall be broken without Hands*; which plainly signifies the sudden and unexpected Catastrophe of him and his Army, which the Jewish History will particularly inform you of.

I will not particularly insist on the *eleventh Chapter* of the same Prophet, in the beginning of which it is foretold concerning *Xenxes*, that by his Strength through his Riches he should stir up all against the Realm of Greece, *ver. 2.* which we read was punctually fulfilled, for he entred Greece with an Army that consisted of a Million of Men. And what is said concerning *Alexander the Great*, *viz.* that his Kingdom should be broken, and divided towards the four Winds of Heaven, and not to his Posterity, &c. *ver. 4.* we know was really accomplish'd. The rest of the Chapter is a Prophetical History of the Exploits of those several lesser Kings, among whom the Grecian Monarchy after *Alexander's* Death was divided, especially of *Antiochus the Great*, and of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. Here, as in the former Chapters, you may see many things foretold a long time before they were fulfill'd; which is a certain and undeniable Argument of the Prophetick Spirit in the Scriptures.

We might proceed to the Predictions and Prophecies of the *New Testament*, which we see also are performed in great measure. Here was foretold the wonderful Propagation of the Gospel, the Rejection of it by the Jews, the Receiving of it by the Gentiles, the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and all the Calamities of that Nation. These Predictions

dictions we know are accomplished. Besides, in the Writings of the New Testament we read that Christ foretold many things concerning himself and his Followers, as the Scandal which his Disciples, especially *Peter*, would give, *Mat.* 26. 31. *Peter's* triple Denial of him, *Luke* 22. 31. and yet at the same time he foretold that it should not be accompanied with a final falling away, *ver.* 32. He foretold that he should be betrayed, and that he should be mock'd and scourg'd, and at last crucified; and that the third Day he should rise again, *Mat.* 20. 17, 18, 19. And as he predicted his own Death, the Place, Time and Kind of it, with the time of his Resurrection, (and I might have added also, of his Ascension, and of his sending the Holy Ghost;) so he did the same as to the manner of * *Peter's* Death: and he foretold † *John* the Evangelist's long Life. He told his Disciples what should befall them after his Departure, what Calamities and Sufferings they should meet with for their professing the Gospel, and owning his Cause. He acquainted them that the Gospel should be preach'd throughout the whole World, that Scandals and Heresies should come into the Church, that many should apostatize from the Faith, and desert Christianity, *Mat.* 24. And the Evangelists and Apostles, as well as our Saviour, from that Spirit of *Prophecy* which was in them, foretold sundry things which we see since are fulfilled. In their Writings are Predictions concerning the Calling of the Gentiles, the Conversion of the Jews, the State of the Christian Church, the Rise of Antichrist, his Character, his Progress, and his dreadful Downfal, a great part of which is already ful-

* *John* 21. 18.† *Ver.* 22.

fulfill'd. Much of the Fate of the World, which they foretold, God hath brought to pass; which gives us assurance that the rest will be accomplish'd in due time. Yea, there are at this day Prophecies fulfill'd every hour, as that of the Blessed Virgin in her *Magnificat*, *From henceforth all Generations shall call me Blessed*, Luke 1. 48. The Memory of this holy Woman is daily celebrated in the Christian Church, and her Name is blessed throughout all the Assemblies of the Saints. They with one accord rejoice, that of her was born the Holy JESUS, who is Blessed for evermore. And so likewise what *Simcon* and *Anna* foretold of Christ, are every day accomplished: some part of their Prophecies is at this very instant made good. That is another Prophecy which is now fulfilling, 2 Tim. 3. 1. *In the last Days perillous Times shall come, for* &c. with several others that might be named, the Accomplishment of which no unprejudiced Man, and of common Ingenuity, will refuse to acknowledge. Now this wonderful *Propheick Spirit* in Scripture, is a strong Argument that these Writings were inspired by God, and that the Matter of them is Divine. For the foreknowing or foretelling of things to come, is one Character of the True God, as you read in *Isa.* 41. 22, 23. From thence it is evident that none can predict them, unless he be immediately enlightned and taught of God. The certain and infallible Knowledge of future Contingences, which depend on free Causes, is from Him alone. Wherefore when we see (as in our present Case) that things were expressly foretold several hundreds of Years before they came to pass, and when we see that the Events exactly answer'd to the Predictions, we cannot but acknowledge that these Predictions were from God,

and could not be from any else.

If it be objected, That other Writings besides the Bible have *Predictions* in them, and that Men of Skill and Sagacity do sometimes foretel Futurities; yea, that those who have the least Converse with God, those who deal with *Evil Spirits*, have predicted things to come; and therefore this Argument is of no force. I answer, first, It is true that Natural Skill, especially improved by Art, by Reason and Philosophy, and the knowledg of the Laws of Nature, will give Men Insight into some Futurities. For God hath impress'd a particular Quality on Natural Bodies, and they keep a constant Course. He hath fixed a way for his Creatures to act in, and they never go out of it of themselves. The Operations and Effects of Fire and Water, of Gravity and Levity in Bodies; the Motion of the Sun and Moon, and the Eclipses of either, and the several Aspects of the Heavens, may certainly be foretold: for they continually and unerringly keep their Progress, unless God pleaseth sometimes to cross their usual Course, as when the Waters of the Red-Sea stood up on a heap whilst the Israelites passed over; The Fire in *Nebuchadnezzar's* Furnace was restrain'd from doing any harm to those that were cast into it; the Sun stood still in *Joshua's* time, and was retrograde in King *Hezekiah's*. And so there are monstrous and misshapen Creatures born into the World, which deviate from the common Procedure of Nature. But supposing that God suffers his Creatures to act according to the Laws of Nature, it is easy to make Judgment of them, and to foretel what shall happen. But the things we are speaking of, and which are foretold in the Holy Writings, are of another kind; they are not fixed and determined by Nature.

ture: and therefore 'tis not in Man's power to predict their Events. Again, *Physicians* have their *Prognosticks* whereby they foretel what will become of the Patient, whether the Disease will be hardly cured, or easily, or not at all. But because these *Prognosticks* are founded on a great many *Symptoms*, and these are uncertain and dubious, it follows that those are so likewise: though 'tis certain an experienc'd Artist will see very far here. Then as to future Occurrences in *Bodies Politick*, a wise Man may by careful Observation and Remarks on the Affairs of the World, gain some Insight into these; by being long exercis'd in Business, by a large Experience of things, and by seeing what hath been heretofore, he may gather what shall be hereafter. A skilful *Historian*, who hath diligently perus'd the Transactions of former Ages, and digested the Methods of Government, and scann'd the Manners and Customs of Countries, can do this. But this Foresight of things to come is Conjecture rather than Knowledge: for we can have no certain Foreknowledge of what depends on the Freewill of Man. Or if we will pretend to any Measure of it, we must deal only in Generals: as for Particular and Personal Events, they are far beyond our reach. And as for the particular *Timing* of them, especially if they be far off, there is no Prospect at all of it. Or where the Causes and Effects are Extraordinary and Preternatural, there we must confess our utter Blindness and Ignorance: they are no more to be discerned by us, than the Antartick Pole is to be seen by us in our Hemisphere. We know not what such Events will be; we are not able to foretel them of ourselves, they can be discovered by Revelation only. And that is the Case which is now before us: the

Predictions which we read in Scripture, are concerning those things which no humane Understanding or Foresight could possibly attain to. To fore-know and fore-tel things that should happen to the Jewish and Christian Church, two or three thousand Years before they came to pass; to predict the Deliverance of the Israelites from their Slavery in Egypt, four hundred Years before it happened; to mention *Sofias* and his Religious Acts three hundred Years before he was born; to describe the future Monarchies of the World, and some of the most remarkable Passages belonging to them; to fore-tel almost two hundred Years before-hand, that there shall be such an Emperor as *Cyrus*, and to particularize his Actions; these are such things as no Wise Philosopher, no Learned Physician, no Prudent Statesman, no Prying Historian is able to foresee and discover: for they are not general, but particular and personal Events; they were at a vast distance, and not near at hand: and the particular Time of some of them was exactly assigned. If we respect second Causes, they were such Occurrences as depended on the free Agency of Man: and if we respect God, they were the mere Results of his Arbitrary Will and Pleasure; they were preternatural and unusual Events, and therefore it was not within the compass of Man's Apprehension to discover these things, the knowledge of them could not be had without Divine Assistance. To this alone then we must attribute the Prediction of them. The omniscient Eye of Heaven only could dive into these Secrets which were so far off; and thence it is that the *Scriptures* (which are by immediate Revelation) have recorded them.

Secondly, It is said in the *Objection*, that *Evil Spirits* help some to the knowledge of future Events, and

and therefore we cannot prove the *Divinity* of the Scriptures from the *Prophecies* which are there, and which are since fulfilled. I grant indeed that the Devil help'd his Followers, or pretended to help them to the knowledg of some future things. This commenced into an Art among the old Greek and Roman Pagans: *Divination* (which, as *Tully* defines it, is a * Fore-sense and foretelling of fortuitous Events) was a Science among them: and that Men were very eager of knowing before-hand what should happen, appears from the several ways of Divining which they used. Their way of foretelling was by observing the flight and chattering, the sitting and feeding of Birds, by Inspection into the Entrails of these and other Animals that were sacrificed. Some from the Aspects of Stars pretended to presage what should happen: and the Professors of this Art were in great Esteem and Veneration. *Dreams* also were observ'd, and strange Remarks made upon them. Some consulted the *Dead*, calling up the departed Spirits, and asking them concerning future Affairs. The *Oracles* were another way of Divining, and were the most celebrated of all. And many other kinds of Divination and Soothsaying were in use with the Pagan World: for they being mightily desirous to be acquainted with things to come, and to look into Futurities, ransack'd both Heaven and Earth, and made use of all things above and below to inform themselves about them. But all the Information they received by these different ways of Divining, was either Uncertain, or Casual, or directly Diabolical. It was Uncertain, because it

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was

* Earum rerum quæ fortuitæ putantur prædictio atque præsentio. *De Divinat.* l. 1.

was grounded on unsound Principles, on foolish and precarious Observances, and consequently the knowledg of Events was conjectural and fallible. Wherefore the wisest and soberest Men among the Pagans look'd upon it as no other: and particularly 'tis worth our notice that *Tully*, who is full of Arguments for *Divination* in his first Book on that Subject, hath as many against it in his second. This Uncertainty was especially observable in their *Oracles*, which were the most famous way of Divining among the Gentiles: the Priests were forced to speak in ambiguous Terms, thinking to save their Credit by that Obscurity and Ambiguity. But we find no such thing in the Sacred Oracles and Predictions of the Old and New Testament; these are plain and intelligible, clear and open: Or if some few of them may seem not to be so, yet there are great numbers of others that we cannot but acknowledg to be most evident and perspicuous; and in respect of the Issue and Event of them, we know and are assured that they are Certain and Infallible. Or secondly, their knowledg of future Events by those foresaid ways of Divining, was by mere Accident. Their Soothsayers by Chance told Truth, as Liars sometimes do: which appears from this, that they very rarely hit upon an Event that came to pass. Wherefore we may infer, that when they did, it was not by Skill, but Chance. But this cannot be said of the Predictions I have been treating of, for there is not one of them that hath failed; and I could have produced hundreds of Prophecies more, and shew'd the plain Accomplishment of them. Or thirdly, their knowledg of future Things was *Diabolical*, by which I mean this, that it was gain'd by that Communion and Correspondence which they

they held with Demons or Evil Spirits. But here it will be demanded, How can these Spirits know future Events? And if they do know them, how is our former Assertion true, that the knowing and predicting of these things is from God alone? I answer briefly, That it is possible for the Infernal Spirits, and for Men by their Assistance, to attain to the knowledge of some future Occurrences: but those which we read are foretold in Scripture, are none of that number, but are of another and higher Kind. First then, we grant that these *Demons* (as that very Name imports) are *Knowing* and *Intelligent* Creatures, and have a great Insight into the Nature of things, and are endued with a more than ordinary knowledge of Physical Causes and Effects: whence we may easily infer the possibility of their diving into some future Transactions which depend wholly on Natural Agents. In the next place, those Spirits have had long Experience of things, and are thereby grown very sagacious and cunning, and on that account are able to guess of things that are to come: for by observing what hath a long time happened in such and such Circumstances, they may not unsuccessfully sometimes conjecture what will be for the future. Moreover, those Nimble Intelligences travelling up and down the World, ranging and flying about, and visiting the remotest Regions of the Earth, and that with unspeakable Expedition, must needs inform themselves concerning the diverse Occurrences abroad, and make very great Discoveries as to what shall be afterwards, from the Consults and Actions which they behold in the World. The Devil appearing in *Samuel's* Shape, told King *Saul* he should be with him the day following; for he might partly know the Event of

the Battel, by what he knew concerning the Enemies Strength, and the Anger of God against that forsaken Prince, &c. * *Diodorus* the Sicilian relates, that the Chaldean Priests foretold the Death of *Alexander* the Great, and the dividing of the Empire among his Captains: which they might venture to do (and it seems their Prediction succeeded) by the Information they had from those Demons they convers'd with, who 'tis likely not only saw the debauched Life of that King, but the great Mischief which it did to his Body, and from thence the probability of his being dispatched by a violent Fever, (of which we read he died;) and they were not ignorant of the Ambition and Contentions of his Captains; nay, perhaps they were conscious to some Cabals which promoted those Events; and then 'tis not to be wondred that they could foretel them. But there was another way too of foreknowing these things, for they might be found predisted in *Daniel's Prophecies*, (of which we have spoken) which the Chaldean Priests had without doubt some knowledg of. There they found it written in expresse words, chap. 8. 8. *The great Horn* (which, as the preceding Verses will inform you, is meant of *Alexander the Great*) *was broken*, (i. e. in plain terms, he died) *and for it came up four notable ones*, (i. e. his four chief Commanders succeeded him in the Empire.) And this you will find repeated almost in the same words, in chap. 11. 4. that there might be no mistake about the Prophecy. But truly I am enclined to think that there is yet another Account to be given of this Passage in *Diodorus*, for (as I shall hereafter make it more evident) there are a great many Re-

ferences

ferences in the Pagan Historians to what is recorded in the Old Testament, though they are generally done with some Obscurity or Mistake. And I take this to be of that nature; for the Historian refers here not only to the *Book of Daniel*, (which questionless was very famous in those days) and particularly to those Prophetick Words before cited, but to *Daniel himself*: He was that *Chaldean Priest*; for though he was an Hebrew by Birth, yet *Chaldea* was the Country he lived in, and he was in high esteem with the Chaldean Kings. But when the Historian speaks in the Plural of *Chaldean Priests*, it is a pardonable Oversight, and such as is frequent in Writers. And he calls them *Priests*, because among the Chaldeans their Priests were the most knowing Men, and the *Magi* and these were Terms convertible sometimes. Or to call *Daniel* a *Priest* instead of a *Prophet*, is a Mistake both easy and excusable: wherefore notwithstanding this small Slip, there is reason to believe that the Historian refers to the *Prophet Daniel*, who once and again in very intelligible, though Prophetick Terms, foretels the Death of that Great Monarch, and the Division of his Kingdoms amongst his Captains. I might add likewise, that Evil Spirits are considerable Actors in the Affairs on Earth; and therefore 'tis no wonder that they are able to foretel what they themselves are designing to bring to pass. They could easily inform *Spurina* of *Julius Caesar's* Fate, when they had been present at the Consults of the Senate, and were Instigators to take away his Life. *St. Austin* speaks of one that knew and could tell the Thoughts of Men, as when one thought of a Verse in *Virgil*, or the like. But * *Luther* said well, the Devil had
before

before possessed his Thoughts with that Verse, and then it was not difficult to foretel what he did himself. Thus you see how far, and in what manner, Devils and wicked Men by their Means may foreknow Futurities. But now if we consider the things foretold in the Old and New Testament, we cannot apply any thing of all this to them: for the foreknowing that K. *Josias*, *Cyrus* and *Alexander* should appear in the World so many Years afterwards, the predicting of the Succellion of the three Great Monarchies, (for one of them was past) the erecting of the Kingdom of Christ, the wonderful Propagation of the Gospel, the Conversion of Jews and Gentiles, and the like, could not possibly be from the sagacious Insight into the Nature of things, which the Evil Spirits may attain to, nor from their Observation and Experience, which are only of things past or present; nor from any Acquaintance with the Affairs of the World, as being Actors in them: for some of these Events which we have mentioned out of the Sacred Writings, had no dependance on Common and Natural Causes, and therefore could not be penetrated into by the most subtile Enquirers into Nature, as we suppose Evil Angels to be: and besides, they were at so vast a distance in respect of Time, that it is impossible to imagine that these Spiritual Agents could have any Part then to act in them. No Man of Sense can prevail with himself to credit any such thing, but on the contrary he must be forc'd to acknowledg that it is wholly against the Nature of those Events, to be foreseen and discover'd by any Diabolick Skill so long a time before they actually happened. Wherefore I conclude, that the foreknowing, and consequently the foretelling of them, was by particular

icular Revelation from God. He was pleased by secret Inspiration to inform his Servants, and to give them a discovery of those things which no created Understanding could discern. Lastly, This may suffice in answer to those who suppose that some Persons who converse with *Diabolick* Spirits, may have some Foresight of future Contingencies; this (I say) may suffice, that the Case we speak of, is far different: here can be nothing of the Devil, because these Prophecies, and all the other Writings of the Old and New Testament, tend to the promoting of Holiness and Godliness, and the destroying the Works of the Devil. Their main Design is to weaken, and even demolish Satan's Kingdom, and to set up that of Christ Jesus both in the Consciences and Lives of Men. It is ridiculous therefore to say, that these Prophecies are from the Devil. No Man of ordinary Sense can digest such a Proposition; it is impossible it should gain the Assent of any intelligent and sober Person. When we consider the Nature of these Prophecies, and what they aim at, we must needs own them to be from Him to whom all Future Things are Present, and who is the Cause as well as the Foreseer of them. And therefore when we observe that the things which the Writers of Holy Scripture have delivered, are actually come to pass, we may with reason conclude, that their Writings are not Forgeries; but on the contrary, that the Penmen of them were Inspired Persons; that they had the Gift of *Prophecy*, which is an infallible Testimony of their Authority. These things being thus foretold so long before, and being exactly verified since, it undeniably follows, that the Books which contain these Predictions, and are founded on them, are True and Certain.

These

These Predictions coming from God, are an
 red Proof that these Writings were endited
 him, they being so great a part of them. That
 that which an antient Father long since delivered
 * The foretelling of future things, saith he, is
 Characteristick Note of the Divine Authority
 the Scriptures; for this is a thing that is above
 humane Nature, and the Powers of it, and can
 only be effected by the Virtue of the Divine Spi-
 rit. We may rely upon it, as an impregnable
 Maxim, that the Spirit of Prophecy, and the Ful-
 filling of Prophecies, are a Divine Proof of the
 Truth of the Scriptures, and are a sufficient Ground
 to us of believing them to be the Word of God.
 Thus from the *Matter* of the Holy Scriptures, we
 have undeniable Evidence of the Authority and
 Truth of them.

Again, the *Manner* of these Writings is another
 Proof of the Divine Authority of them. They
 are not writ as others are wont to be: the Penmen
 of these Sacred Books do not speak after the rate
 of other Writers. How admirable is the Simplicity
 and Ingenuity of these Men all along? They
 do not hide their own or others Failings, yea even
 when they are very gross and scandalous: thus
Moses recorded not only *Noah's* Drunkenness and
Lot's Incest, but his own rash Anger and Unbelief
 and *David* registers in the 51st Psalm, his own
 Murder and Adultery: *Jeremiah* relates his own
 unbecoming Fears, Discontents and Murmuring
chap. 20. 7, 8, 14. The Writers of the New Te-
 stament conceal not the Infirmities and Defects,

* Το χαρακτικόν τὸν θεοῦ ἢ καὶ πολλῶν τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπο-
 κρίνων. Orig. cont. Cels. l. 6.

the gross Mifcarriages of themselves, and of their Brethren; as their cowardly leaving of Christ in his Passion, *John's* falling at the Feet of an Angel to worship him, *Thomas* his Infidelity, *John* and *James* (the Sons of *Zebedee*) their unseasonable Ambition, *Peter's* denying of Christ even with Perjury. This free and plain dealing of the Writers of the Old and New Testament, shews that they are not the Writings of Men. A Man may see that there is no worldly and sinister Design carried on in them, but that the Glory of God is wholly intended by their impartial discovery of the Truth. Which was long since taken notice of by * *Arnobius* in answer to that Cavil of the Pagans, that the History of the Gospel was writ by poor silly People, and in a simple Manner: Therefore, saith he, it is the more to be credited, because they write so indifferently and impartially, and out of Simplicity. This Impartiality and Sincerity of theirs are an irrefragable Argument of the Truth of their Writings.

And here also you will find an excellent and admirable Composition of *Simplicity* and *Majesty* together. Though the Strain be High and Lofty, yet you may observe that at the same time it is Humble and Condescending. To which purpose a Learned Father saith well, "† The Language of Divine Wisdom in the Scripture is Low, but the Sense is Sublime and Heavenly: whereas on the contrary, the Phrase of Heathen Writers is splendid, but the things couched in them are poor and Mean. The Scripture-Writers make it

* Lib. 1. † Ἡ δὲ θεῖα σοφία λίγαις πλὴν, ἢ ἔννοια δὲ ἀπερρίμνη. Τῆς δὲ ἑωδὴν λαμπρὰ ἢ φερίστη, χαμηλοῦντος δὲ ἢ ὑποτάσσου. *Ibid.* *Peluf. Ep. l. 3.*

it not their work to set off and commend the Writings, by being Elaborate and Exact. There are no set Discourses, no pointed Arguments, no affected Strains of Logick. “* The Writers “the Bible, saith another antient Father, did “make their Writings in a way of Demonstration “these unquestionable Witnesses of the Truth “ing above all Demonstration. Nor shall you find here that the Writers strain for Elegance and florid Expressions, as other Authors are wont. Here is no quaint and curious Method, no formal Transitions, no courting of the Readers, no unnecessary Pageantry of Rhetorick to gain Admiration and Attention. Especially the Stile of the *Evangelists* and *Apostles* is not tumid and affected, but plain and simple, and scorns the Ornaments and Embellishments of Fancy: for, as an † Christian said rightly, Truth needs no *Fucus* and Artifice; and therefore the Sense, not Words, are minded in Scripture. All good Men ought to be pleased with this Simplicity and Plainness of the Holy Stile: of which there is a memorable Instance in an || Ecclesiastical Historian, who tells us, that *Spiridion*, a notable Confessor for the Christian Faith, reproved one *Tryphilius* an Eloquent Man, and converted by him to Christianity some time before, because, speaking one time in the famous Council of *Nice*, he did, instead of those Words of Christ, ||| *Tolle grabatum tuum*, say, *Tolle lectulum tuum humilem*; he reproved him, (I say) and that very sharply, for disdainning to use the word which

* Οὐ γὰρ μετὰ ἀποδείξεως παροίμεται τὴν τῶν λόγων ἀντιπρὶν πάσης ἀποδείξεως, ὅπως αἰχμαλωτὴς μαρτυρῶν τὸ ἀληθὲς
 Just. Mart. Dialog. cum Tryph. † Arrob. lib. 1. || Sozom.
 1. c. 11. ||| Gr. κενὸν βιβλίον, Mark 2. 9.

the Scripture it self useth. It is true, the Words of Scripture seem sometimes to be common and rude, and altogether ungraceful, (*sometimes I say,* for I shall shew afterwards that Scripture is not destitute of its Graces of Speech;) but that seeming Commonness and Rudeness are great Tokens of the peculiar Excellency of the Stile of Scripture. Gregory the Great excusing the Plainness and Rudeness of his Stile in his Comments on *Job*, professeth, that * he thought it unworthy of, and unbecoming the Heavenly Oracles, to restrain them to the nice Rules of Grammar. Surely the Writers of the Bible might say so with more reason; it became them not to stand upon those Niceties and Formalities of Speech which are so frequent in other Authors: for it is fitting there should be a difference between Humane Writings and Divine. I agree with a late Ingenious Author, who declares, that † *it fits not the Majesty of God, whose Book this is, to observe the humane Laws of Method, and Niceness of Art. Inspired Writings must not be like those of Men.* The singular Grace of these is, that they are not Artificial and Studied, but Simple, Plain and Careless; and that their whole Frame and Contexture are not such as ours. An artificial Method is below the Majesty of that Spirit which dictated them. This would debase the Scriptures, and equal them with the Writings of Men. Wherefore the oftner I look into that Sacred Volume, and the more I observe it, the more I am convinced that the Pens of the Writers were wholly directed by a Divine Hand.

For

* Indignum vehementer existimo ut verba coelestis oraculi restringam sub regulas Donati. *Epist. ad Leandrum.*

† Robert Boyle *Est, of the Stile of Scripture.*

For take any of the Books either Doctrinal or Historical, and you'll presently find that the way of Expression in them is different from what the Authors of themselves would have used. If they had been left to their own Genius, they would have delivered things in another Method and Manner than you see them in. The Stile of them therefore shews the Author. In short, had the Scriptures been written in the common way of other Writers, this would have disparaged them, and we should have had no reason to think that they were Divinely inspired, which is the thing I am now proving.

Nay, I will adjoin this, that the very Words and Phrases of Scripture were dictated by the Spirit; the very particular Expressions and Modes of Speech were under the particular Guidance and Direction of the Holy Ghost. I know there are many of a contrary Judgment, among whom the worthy Writer whom I last quoted, is not the least confident, and positively asserts that the Stile and Language of Scripture were not dictated by the Holy Ghost, but the Matter only. The Words, saith he, were left to the Writers themselves, who as Men of Sense could express their Minds in fit Terms. And to prove that the Words were not dictated by the Spirit, he urgeth this, that Christ and his Apostles quote Places out of the Old Testament as they are translated by the *Septuagint*, which is not *verbatim*. Now, saith he, they would have cited the Passages in the very original Phrases and Words, if these had been from Divine Inspiration. It is evident therefore that they are not, because the Apostles use other Words and Terms, far different from those in the Hebrew. But this is no valid Argument, if you rightly consider it for

for though the Apostles thought fit (for some Reasons which I shall have occasion afterwards to offer to you) to make use of the Septuagint Version, which is but a Paraphrase in many places on the Original Text, yet it doth not follow hence that the very Words of the Original were not dictated by the Holy Ghost. Neither our Saviour, nor the Evangelists and Apostles, do hereby declare that the Hebrew Text was not inspired, and that even as to the Phrase and Words: but all that we gather from their using of the Greek Translation, is this, that they found it convenient at that time (for Reasons which shall afterwards be alledged) to quote some Places as they are rendred by those Translators, and not exactly according to the Original. This doth not necessarily imply, much less prove that the Penmen of the Old Testament were not assisted by the Spirit in the very Words which they used. But the contrary is grounded on very good Reason, for these Sacred Writings being of a more excellent and transcendent Nature than all others in the World besides, it was meet that they should surpass them all in This, *viz.* the Divinity of the very Stile. If you grant not this, you acknowledg these Writings, in one respect at least, and that no inconsiderable one, to be no better than the common Writings of other Men: which certainly cannot but be look'd upon as a great vilifying of the Bible. Christ promised his Disciples, that when they should be brought before Governours and Kings for his Sake, *it should be given them what they should speak: for* (as he adds) *it is not they that speak, but the Spirit of their Father that speaketh in them,* Mat. 10. 19, 20. And is it not most reasonable to think that the same Spirit taught the Writers of the Old and New Te-

statement *what they should speak*, and commit to writing, and gave them *Words* to that purpose? Especially if you consider that this was a Book which was to last to all Generations in the Church, and was designed for the use of the Faithful, and for the confuting of their Adversaries to the World's End; and accordingly was to be produced upon all Occasions, and therefore was to be of an extraordinary Composure, and every Word and Syllable was to be from God, and the Direction of his Holy Spirit. St. Peter assures us, that the Writers of the Old Testament * *spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost*: their Speaking, and consequently their Writing (because this was according to that was by the special Motion and Influence of the Infallible Spirit; therefore their very Words (for those are necessarily included in *speaking*) were dictated and directed by the same Spirit. And the other Great Apostle tells us indefinitely and absolutely, and without any restriction, that *† Scripture is given by Inspiration of God*: Now if all the Scripture be by Divine Inspiration, it follows that the very Words of it are; for the Words and Expressions and manner of Speech are a part of the Scripture: wherefore if we grant that the Whole is by Inspiration, we must necessarily grant likewise that the Parts of it are, for the Parts constitute the Whole. We have reason therefore to assert that every Word in Scripture is endited by God, and that every Letter and Syllable of it is exact, and that there is nothing wanting, nothing superfluous, no Fault nor Blemish in the Stile and Phraseology of it. I cannot but here take notice of the fond Presumption of some of the Jewish

Rabbins

Rabbies and Masorites, who alter some Words and Expressions in Scripture, and put others into their place. They forsooth in a more modest way (as they pretend) read, instead of *Urine*, (in 2 Kings 18. 27. Isa. 36. 12.) *the Water of the Feet*; instead of *Shagal* they read *Shacab* in all Texts; for *Gnatholim*, Deut. 28. 27. 1 Sam. 5. 6. they read *Techorim*: so in other places where they think some Words are obscene, they substitute others in their room. These Men would be more modest than the Scripture, and more chaste than the Holy Ghost; and yet they herein contradict themselves, for some of them have said the Hebrew Tongue is called *Holy*, because it hath nothing obscene in it, nothing of that nature can be utter'd and express'd in it. This we are certain of, that there cannot be better and fitter Words than what the Scripture hath, for the Spirit endited them all; and therefore the Practice of the conceited Rabbies is to be exploded. * *There is not one Iota, or the least Apex in Scripture, which is put there to no purpose*: And the same Father as truly saith in another place, † *It speaks nothing in vain, nothing by chance*. And the reason is, because All of it (Words no less than Matter) is dictated and delivered from above by an unerring Spirit.

Yet I speak not this as if the Sacred Writers of the Bible were so tied up by the Spirit, that they cannot, or do not make use of their own natural or acquired Skill. Though the Words be dictated by the Spirit, yet the Penmen might write and speak according to the Improvements they had made in Speech. I do not by what I have said,

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exclude

* Chrysost. Homil. in Saul. tom. 8. † Οὐδὲν ἀπλῶς καὶ ἄνευ
 ἰσχυροῦ θεοῦ γεγραμμένον. Hom. 18. in Gen.

exclude the peculiar Eloquence or Strain of the Writers, or their using the Helps of their Education, or their conforming to the Dialect of their Countrey: for these are consistent with That. *Isaiab* being a Courtier, and a Person of Quality, hath a neat and elegant Stile; and yet so as he knows how to vary it according to the Matter he treats of: But generally he is Lofty and Eloquent, his Stile being raised by his Education, which was futable to his Noble Extraction, for he was of the Blood Royal. *Jeremiah* and *Amos* being used to the Countrey, are mean and homely in their Language; the latter especially discovers his Condition and way of Life in his low and rural Strain. So in the New Testament, *St. Luke*, who had improved himself by Art and Study, is very observant of the Greek Elegancy, and avoids all improper and exotick Terms in his *Gospel* and in the *Acts*. Indeed the Stile of the Sacred Penmen is very different, and that Difference is an Excellency in this Book of God. But that which I say is this, the Writers leave not off their peculiar Stile, though they were moved by the Spirit. As this furnished them with new Expressions, so it let them make use of their own usual ones, but immediately directed and assisted them in the applying of them. So that at the same time when they used their Natural Stile, they were Divinely help'd to make it serviceable to that purpose which the Holy Ghost intended. Hence I conclude, that the Stile, and Words, and Composure of the Sacred Writings are such as ought to be reckoned Divine. For this is one difference between this Book and others, that every thing of it is Divine. And therefore those Persons who dream of Solecism in Holy Scripture, are the greatest Solecifers themselves.

selves; but especially those who assert there are Mistakes and literal Fallities in the Holy Book, are utterly to be condemned. Such is * *Episcopus*, who dares affirm, "That the Spirit left the Writers of the Holy Scripture to their own humane Frailty in delivering such things as belonged to Circumstances of a Fact. Their Knowledge and Memory were deficient and fallible. The Spirit did not tell St. *John* how many Furlongs Christ's Disciples went, chap. 6. 19. The same is to be asserted (he saith) as to some Names, and other Circumstances of Time and Place, which are not of the substance of the thing. And before this you are told by † two others, that the Penmen of Scripture err in some light things; not that they would fallity, but that they might forget some Passages. *Melchior Canus* is of the opinion, that there are some considerable Slips in Scripture from the weakness of the Evangelists and Apostles Memories. Yea, among the antient Fathers there was || one who more grossly held, that the Writers of the New Testament sometimes abused the Testimonies of the Prophets of the Old Testament; and that they applied them to their present purpose, although they were nothing to it. Thus St. *Paul*, he saith, quoteth the Old Testament in his Epistles to the *Romans*, *Galatians* and *Epheſians*, only to serve his turn, and to confute the Jews his Adversaries. Read, saith he, these Epistles, wherein the Apostle is wholly on the Polemick part, and |||| you will see how prudently
D 3 "and

* Institut. Theolog. lib. 4. † Socinus and Erasmus. || Hieronymym. in Isai. 29, & 56. In Joel 11. In Mic. 5. Item in 1 Ep. ad Tim. Necnon in Epist. sua 50. |||| Videbitis cum in testimoniis quæ habet de Veteri Testamento, quam prudens, quam dissimulatus sit ejus quod agit. Hieron. Apol. adv. Rufin.

“ and dissemblingly he acts in those Texts which
 “ he citeth out of the Old Testament. And at
 other times this bold Man is not afraid to say that
 some of the Matters and Things in Scripture are
 set down wrong. This is no less than Profane and
 Blasphemous Doctrine: wherefore that Father is
 to be read with great Caution in such places as
 these. We on the contrary assert, that God was
 not only the Author of the Matter and Contents
 of Holy Writ, but also of the Words and Expres-
 sions; yea, even when those Writers express their
 Sense in their own Terms, *i. e.* according to the
 Way and Dialect which they were Masters of, and
 which was most familiar to them, even then they
 were immediately assisted by the Spirit. Which
 was absolutely necessary, that this Book might
 have no Errors and Failings in it of any kind, but
 that it might transcend all other Writings what-
 soever. If you do not hold this, you make no
 considerable difference between the Holy Scrip-
 tures and other Writings. Therefore I am tho-
 rowly convinced that this is a Truth, and ought
 to be maintained, *viz.* that the Holy Spirit endi-
 ted the very Stile of Scripture, that even this was
 by the immediate Inspiration of Heaven.

To the *Manner* of its writing I may well annex
 its *Harmony*, and thence also prove it to be Di-
 vine. Though there are several *seeming Repug-
 nancies*, (of which I shall treat afterwards in a
 Discourse of the *Stile* of Scripture, and endeavour
 to clear them up to the Satisfaction of every sober
 and considerate Person) yet it cannot but be ac-
 knowledged that all the Parts of this Book do en-
 tirely agree, and are consistent with one another.
 This in other Books, which are composed and
 written by one Author, is not so admirable, (tho

in those Pieces we oftentimes meet with very palpable Disagreements and Contradictions;) but here we are able to remember, that notwithstanding these Books were written by different Persons, and those many in number, and disagreeing in Quality, and extremely distant as to Time and Place, yet their Writings contradict not one another, but there is an excellent Harmony in all their Parts, there is a perfect Concord and Consent among them all, such as is not to be found in any other Authors in the World, though of the same Sect and Party. Excellently to this purpose a very Wise and Judicious * Man thus speaks: "When several Men in several Ages, not brought up under the same Education, write, it is not possible to find Unity in their Tenents or Positions, because their Spirits, Judgments and Fancies are different: but where so many several Authors, speaking and writing at several times, agree not only in Matters Dogmatical, of sublime and difficult Natures, but also in Predictions of future and contingent Events, whereof it is impossible for humane Understanding to make a Discovery, without a superiour Discovery made to it, I must needs conclude one and the same Divine Spirit declared the same Truths to these several Men. And as to the seeming Contrarieties of some Places of Scripture, this should not at all trouble us; for this is rather an Argument of the Truth and Authority of it: it is a sign the Writers did not combine together to cheat and delude us. If they had designed any such thing, we should not have met with any Difficult and seemingly Repugnant Places in these

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Wri-

* *Judge Hale of the Knowledge of God, and of our Selves.*

Writings. But seeing we do so, this (among other things) may confirm us in this Belief, that the Scriptures were not contrived by Men who had a design to impose upon us; for if they had had such a Design, they would have so ordered it, that not the least appearance of Contradiction and Difference should have been found. But truly there is no necessity of proceeding thus in this Discourse, for to an unprejudiced and industrious Enquirer, there is nothing in Scripture that looks like Inconsistent and Contradictory. Upon a diligent Search we shall discern a mutual Correspondence in the Style, Matter, and Design of these Writings; we shall find a happy Concurrence of Circumstances, and an admirable Consistency in the Doctrines and Discourses, in so much that we shall be forced to acknowledg, that upon this single Consideration it is reasonable to believe that these Writings were endited by the Holy Spirit. This Harmony then of the Scriptures I may justly reckon among the *Inward Notes* of the Truth of Scripture, because it is adjoined to the *Matter* of it, which is of the very *Intrinsic* Nature of it. What *Justinian* professes and promises concerning his *Digests* in his Preface to them, that there is nothing Clashing and Contradictory in them, but that they are all of a piece, is true only of the *Sacred Laws*, of the *Evangelical Pandects*, which contain in them nothing Dissonant and Repugnant. The Old and New Testament, the Prophets and Apostles are consonant to themselves, and to one another; which is a great Argument of the Truth of them. There is nothing in one Place of Scripture opposite to the true Meaning which the Holy Ghost hath revealed and asserted in another. The Contents of the whole Book, whether you look into the

the Doctrinal or Historical Part of it, have nothing contradictory in them: All the Authors of it agree in their Testimonies, and assert the same thing, and consent among themselves. It is the Nature of Lies and Forgeries, that they hang not together, as * *Lactantius* on the like Occasion hath observed. Especially if you search very inquisitively and narrowly into them, you will perceive that they are † thin and slight, and may easily be seen through. But the Contents of these Writings have been diligently inquired into, and with great Care and Industry examined by all sorts of Persons; and yet they are found to be every ways Consistent with themselves, and the Testimony of the Writers is known to be Concurrent and Agreeing. All wise and curious Observers must needs grant, that there is no Book under Heaven that parallels the Scriptures as to this: Which shews that they are more than Humane Writings, yea that they were Divinely inspired and dictated. And this I take to be the Sense of *St. Peter*, who assures us, that || *no Prophecy of the Scripture is of private Interpretation*. He speaks of the first Rise of those Prophecies which are in Scripture: they are from God, *they are not of private Interpretation*; they are not from Man's Invention, they are not of his own Brain and Fancy, but they are to be esteem'd to be (as they are) Divine and Heavenly Oracles. Thus (||) the Word of God is Witness to it self, and stands in need of no others. The Scripture is sufficiently proved by what is in it, and

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* Hæc est Mendaciorum natura, ut coherere non possint. *Iesit. l. 5. c. 3.* † Tenue est Mendacium; perlucet, si diligenter inspexeris. *Sen. Ep. 80.* || 2 *Pet. 1. 19.* (||) Alia omnia Dicta argumentis ac testibus egent; Dei autem Sermo ipse sibi testis est. *Salvian. de Gub. l. 3.*

is to be believed for its own sake. Which made an antient Writer say, “ * We have compleat “ Demonstrations out of the Scriptures themselves, and accordingly we are demonstratively “ assured by Faith concerning the Truth of the “ things therein delivered. Which cannot be said of any humane Writings in the World : for they carry no such *Native Marks* with them. But the very *Inward Notes* of the Truth and Authority of the *Scriptures*, create in us a certain and unshaken Belief. They may be known from all other Writings whatsoever, by the Excellent, Transcendent, and Divine *Matter* contained in them, and by the peculiar *Manner* of delivering and publishing it. These I call *Internal Proofs*, because they are taken from the Books themselves, because they are something that we find there. These assure us that they were written not by Man, but by God.

There is yet another *Internal Testimony*. I call it so, because it is *within Us*, though not *in the Scriptures*. As I have shewed you that the Holy Spirit speaks in the Scriptures, and bears Testimony to the Truth of them, so now I add, that this Spirit speaks *in Us*, and works in our Hearts a Perswasion that the Scriptures are the Word of God. By this Spirit we are enabled to discern the Voice of the same Spirit, and of Christ in those Writings. This witnessing Power of the Spirit in the Souls of Believers, is asserted in *Acts* 5. 32. & 15. 7, 8. and in *1 John* 5. 6. From these Places it is clear, that there is an Illumination of the Spirit

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* "Ουτοι ειν εημες απ αυτων ην γραφων τελειως αποδεικνυνται εκ πρως και δευτερας αποδεικτικως. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 7.

joining with our Consciences and Perswasions; and this Spirit powerfully convinces all Believers of the Truth of the Scriptures. This Testimony follows immediately on our setting before us the Inward Excellencies of the Scripture, as I have represented them: for God makes use of those Evidences and Arguments to beget a Belief in us of the Divine Authority of Scripture. The Spirit enlightens and convinces Mens Minds by those Means; but more especially he urges these Evidences on the Hearts of the Religious and Faithful, and thereby brings them to a firm Perswasion of the Scriptures being the Word of God. This is no *Enthusiasm*, because it is discovered to us by proper Means and Instruments; whereas *that* is without any, and is generally accompanied with the despising of them. But the Evidences and Notes in the Scripture are the Reasons and Motives of our Belief: only the Holy Spirit comes and prepares and sanctifies our Minds, and illuminates our Consciences, and causes those Arguments and Motives to make Impression upon us, and effectually to prevail with us, and to silence all Objections to the contrary. Thus the Truth of Scripture is attested by the Holy Spirit witnessing in us. But when I say the Testimony of the Spirit is a Proof of the Truth of the Scripture, I must adjoin this, that this Proof serves only for those that have this Spirit: it may establish *them*; but it cannot convince *others*. No other Man can be brought to be perswaded of the Truth of those Sacred Writings, by the Spirit's convincing me of the Truth of them. Besides, this Proof is not in all that really believe the Truth of these Books: some may be convinced of the Truth of them without this; but where this is, it is most Powerful

ful and Convictive, and surpasses all other degree of Persuasion whatsoever. There is no such certain knowledge of the Truth of these Holy Writings, as by the Testimony of the Sacred Spirit in the Hearts of Men, produced there in a rational way, and in such a manner as is most suitable to our Faculties.

C H A P. II.

External Proofs of the Truth of the Holy Scriptures, viz, the wonderful Preservation of them, and Universal Tradition. Which latter is defended against the Objections of those that talk of a New Character wherein the Old Testament is written. The Jewish Masoreth attests the Authority of these Writings. The Hebrew Text is not corrupted. The Points or Vowels were coexistent with the Letters. F. Simon's Notion of Abbreviating the Historical Books of the Old Testament, rejected. The New Testament vouched by the unanimous Suffrage of the Primitive Church. The Reasons why the Apocryphal Writings are not received into the Canon of the Bible: with an Answer to the Objections made by the Romanists.

Secondly, I proceed to the *External Testimonies* of the Truth of the Scriptures: which being added to those Arguments which proved them to be True in Themselves, will exceedingly corroborate our Belief of the Divine Authority of those Books. And here I might mention the Testimony given to them by God in the wonderful Preservation of them through all Ages since they were first written. In all the Changes of Affairs, and the Over-

Overthrow of so many Cities and Kingdoms, that Incomparable Treasure hath not been lost. The Books of the Old Testament were kept untouched and inviolable at the sacking and burning of *Jerusalem*, and all the time of the Captivity in *Babylon*, and of the Dispersion of the Jews. And ever since that time the Scriptures have been Unaltered in Words and Sense, notwithstanding the frequent Endeavours of Satan's busy Agents to corrupt them, yea utterly to destroy them. And next to God's Providence in preserving these Books thro' all Times and Ages, we might add the marvellous Success which hath attended the Holy Faith and Doctrine contained in these Writings. They have prevail'd against the Power of Men and Devils, and to this very day they are maintained and upheld maugre the Attempts of both of them to root them out of the World.

But I wave this, intending not to insist upon *Divine*, but *Humane* Testimony in this place. By *External Testimony* then I mean here no other than this, that Scripture is attested by *Universal Tradition*; and this Tradition is both of Jews and Christians. And what would a Man desire more in a humane way for attesting the Truth of these Writings? From the joint Attestation of these Witnesses I shall make it appear, that these Books which we now have, are the true Copies of the first Originals; that the same Books and Authors are faithfully delivered down to us, which were first of all delivered to the Jews, and to the Primitive Christians; and that there is nothing in these Writings, as we now have them, that is falsified or corrupted.

First, to begin with the Books of the *Old Testament*, the Names of which are as follow; *Genesis*,

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Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, the 1st and 2d Books of Samuel, the 1st and 2d Books of Kings, the 1st and 2d Books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Job, the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Solomon, the four Greater Prophets, and the twelve Lesser. These and none but these, were admitted into the Canon of the Holy Scriptures by the antient Church of the Jews, whose Testimony is very Authentick here; yea, indeed we cannot have a better. They acquaint us, that these were the Only Writings that were universally agreed by them to be extraordinarily Inspired: and they further tell us, that these Books which were writ by different Persons and at diverse Times, were first compiled and collected into One Body or Volume by *Ezra*, and the Assembly of Doctors for that purpose; and consequently that the Canon of Sacred Scripture of the Old Testament, (as it is at this time) was not constituted till *Ezra's* days by the *Great Synagogue*, as they call it. Upon his Return from the Captivity he undertook this good Work; he gathered together all those dispersed Books before-named; and after he had reviewed them, he publicly owned, and solemnly vouched the Authority of every one of them, that the Church for the future might not doubt of their being Authentick and True. But some add here, by way of *Objection*, that this holy Man caused these Books to be written over in a *New Character*, because the Jews had lost their knowledg of the former one, as well as of the Tongue; and consequently the Bible is not the same that it was at first. *Eusebius* and *Jerom* are alledged for this, especially the latter, who seems to say that the *Samaritan Character* was the Old Hebrew Character in which the Bible

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was first writ, and that it was first changed by Ezra after the Return from *Babylon*, he writing the Sacred Volume over in Assyrian or Chaldee Letters, and neglecting the Old Hebrew ones which were the same that the Samaritan are. And the reason of this was, they say, because the Jews were best acquainted with this Character at that time. And some * Modern Writers are gain'd over to this Opinion, who talk much of the Change of the Character, and endeavour to perswade us that the first and old Letters of the Hebrew Text were *Samaritan*, but that those which we now have are *Assyrian*, and of quite another sort. But upon an impartial Enquiry, I find little or no Foundation for this Opinion: It rather seems to me to be an Invention and Dream of those who design to disparage the Hebrew Bible. They would perswade us that the Authority of the Original is impaired, because we have it not now as it was at the beginning; for the Old Bible was in Samaritan Letters, these being the first and antientest Hebrew Characters. This is like the Story of the *Hebrew Points* being invented five hundred Years after Christ, (of which afterwards) which tends to the same End, namely to discredit the Hebrew Text which we now have, and wholly to take away its Authority; for if the *Letters* were changed, it is probable some Words, and consequently the Sense of some Places are altered. But that this is groundless, and that the Hebrew Bible is written in the same Characters now that it was at first, you will find very largely and convincingly proved

* Bellarmin, Joseph Scaliger, Casaubon, Arias Montanus, Villalpandus, Drusius, Capellus, Morinus, Bochart, Vossius, Walton.

proved by the famous * *Buxtorf* from the Authority of the *Talmud*, especially the *Gemara*, and the *Cabala*, from the Suffrage of the most Notable Rabbins of old, and of the Learned Modern Jews as *Aben Ezra*, *R. Solomon*, *R. Ben Maimon*, &c. who without doubt are very competent Judges in this Case. To these may be added several of the Christian Perswasion, as *Picus Mirandula*, *F. Junius Stikkard*, *Postellus*, with those three Eminent Persons of our own Countrey, *Nic. Fuller*, *Broughton*, *Lightfoot*. If you consult these, they will satisfy you that the Hebrew Letters which we have now in the Bible, were the Primitive ones, the very same that were of old. But to give you my Thoughts impartially in this Point, I do believe from what I find asserted by Writers on both sides that there were two sorts of *Characters* used by the Jews, as there were two sorts of *Cubits* and *Shekels*, the Sacred and Common: and I gather, that the Samaritan Letter was of the latter sort, that which was commonly used, and even sometimes in transcribing the Bible; but the Sacred Character in use among the Jews was this which we now have, and in which the Bible is at this day. This is the true Original Hebrew Letter, and was used from the beginning by them. This I think may reconcile the Disputes among Writers; for so far as I can perceive, the Quarrels arise from this, that there is frequent mention made in Jewish and other Authors, of the Bible's being written in an old *Samaritan Character*; whence it was inferr'd by some, that this was the Primitive Character wherein the Bible was written, and consequently that this which we now have is not the true

* *Dissertat. de Lit. Hebr.*

true Genuine Character. But I answer, this doth not follow; for this Samaritan Vulgar Character was not the first and antientest, though it was sometimes in use: but the Sacred Character, now called the Hebrew Character, is really such, and is the true and most antient Letter wherein this holy Book was written. This is the Authentick Letter which God himself graved the Law in, and thence had the Name of the *Sacred Character*: but the other called the *Common* and *Vulgar*, was not in that esteem, it being a Deviation from that Primitive one. And yet to speak freely, there was no great difference between these two Characters, the latter being only some Variation and Degeneracy from the former, which happened by length of Time. This is the real Truth of the Matter, and it solves the Controversy, and ends all the Disputes on both sides. And the Learned French Critick, who seem'd to be of another Opinion, comes over at last to this, when * he tells us, " That there is no reason for Criticks to dispute so fiercely about the first Hebrew Characters: for if we attentively consider and compare together the Samaritan and Hebrew Characters, we shall find that the difference between them is not so great, but that they may be thought to have had one and the same Originé. And he grants also, that 'tis from the Succession of so many Ages, (which is wont to produce some Alteration) that there hath been this Variation from their first Figure. But this is inconsiderable, so that both Characters may be said to be the same. We have no ground then to think that *Ezra* changed the Character, but that he only amended the

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Defects and Slips which he found in the Hebrew for by consulting and comparing the several Copies, he purged them from the Errors and Mistakes which were contracted in the time of the Captivity. And after he had caused the Books to be fairly written out, he put them into that Order in which now they are placed; and so he may be said to be the Composer of the Old Testament in that Model we see it now in.

And from his revising the Books, and mending them by comparing of Copies, was the first beginning of *Keri* and *Chetib*, as most of the Learned Jews assert: for where the Copies disagreed, or where two Readings were probable, there were made *Varia Lectiones*; the one was put into the Margent, and is called * *Keri*; the other into the Text, and is called † *Chetib*. I know some ascribe these not to *Ezra*, but to the Doctors of *Tiberias*; but here, as before, I am willing to compromise the Quarrel; and therefore we may ascribe them to both, they being begun by *Ezra*, and augmented by the others afterwards. This was one way to keep the Bible entire and uncorrupted; and by the Favour of Divine Providence it has been transmitted so to us. At the same time also the Canon of Scripture was digested into *Partitions* and *Divisions*, as now it is; and there was then laid the Foundation of the *Masorah* or *Masoreth*, which became afterwards part of the Jewish *Cabala*; which about the Year of our Lord 494, was committed to writing by some skilful Grammarians, and hath been very useful for preserving the Old Testament. There are three several Species of this *Cabala*, as they tell us: the first is *Gematria*, (from *γινώσκω*)

* *Lectio.* † *Scriptio.*

a Mathematical Consideration of the Text of the Bible, the mystical numbring of the Letters, and an account of the Great and Little Letters in Words. The second is *Notariaca*, an Exposition of Scripture from certain Notes, Characters, Lines and Points belonging to the Hebrew Text. More particularly, *Noterickon* (or *Notaricon*, or *Notariaca*, for I find that 'tis thus differently expressed in Writers) is when one Letter stands for a whole Word. This way of Cabalizing gave the Name to *Judas Maccabæus*, who writ on his Standards and Ensigns מַכְבֵּי, which is the Abbreviature of first Letters of those words כִּי נִסְכָּה בְּאַרְבָּע יָדָיו *Exod. 15. 11.* and by putting Vowels to the Consonants, they read it *Maccabi*. The third is *Temurah*, *Mutatio*, which is made by the transposition of the same Letters, whence another Word ariseth which explains the Word that is transposed. Thus אֶרֶץ is explain'd by אֶרֶמָה *Terra*, which contains the same Letters. Thus נֹחַ *Noah* is said to have found חֵן *Grace*, or *Favour*, *Gen. 6. 8.* The Letters are the same, but transposed. שֶׁמֶט *Exod. 23. 23.* is by Metathesis expounded by מִשְׁמַח *(Dan. 12. 1.) i. e. the Messias*, say the Jewish Doctors. But the first and second way of Cabalizing, which obtain the Name of *Masoreth*, are the most considerable to our present Purpose. These Critical Observations on the Bible, made of old, and delivered from one to another, (whence they have their * Denomination) treat of the Mysteries of Letters, why some Words are in Greater, others in Lesser Characters, as גִּזְוֹן with a Great *Vau*, *Levit. 11. 42.* So they observe there is an open *Mem* at the end of a Word in *Neb. 2. 13.*

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* From *masar*, *tradere*.

and a close *Mem* in the middle in *Isa.* 9. 7. The *Masorites* likewise have taken notice of the Likeness and Difference of Words; by Similitude or Diversity of Letters and Points: they have made Remarks on irregular and extraordinary Pointings; they have observed the Variety of Accents and so criticized on all these in the several Places of the Old Testament, that there cannot be a Change made in the Hebrew Copies, but it may be presently seen. In this *Masoreth* on the Hebrew Text, they have reckoned which Verse in the *Psalms* is the middle one, and which Letter is the middle Letter in that whole Book, viz. *y* in the word *יְהוָה* in *Psal.* 80. 13. Yea, they have counted all the Verses and Words, all the Accent Letters and Vowels that are in every single Book (from which critical Enumeration those Transcribers of the Bible were called by the Jews *Sopherim* i. e. Numberers) and at the bottom of every Volume they have set down the exact Number of these: and at last they reckon how many there are in the whole Bible of the Old Testament. Father *Simon* indeed saith, they mistake in their Accompt but that is more than he proves; and I do not think he ever took the pains (as great a Critick on the Bible as he is) to cast them up. There is a good reason to believe that the *Jewish Criticks* of the Old Testament are more to be credited in this Particular, than the *French one*. However, from what hath been said it appears that the Jews were very careful and studious, very exact and curious in Scripture; by which means it happens that there is an Impossibility of making any Alteration in it without being discovered. That is the only Reason of my alledging here the *Masoretick Notes*: for I undertake not to defend the superstitious

marks and Criticisms of the *Masorites*; I applaud not their laborious Niceties, their childish Transmutations and shuffling of Letters and Syllables, their trifling Annotations on the Figure and Make of some Hebrew Letters. But I only take notice of God's Providence in making these Critical Men to be very serviceable towards the preserving the Bible of the Old Testament in its Purity. The Observations of these Masoretick Doctors, who were Persons of great Skill in the Language, and well acquainted with all the antient Copies and Manuscripts, and who above a thousand Years ago exactly numbred all the Verses, Words, Letters, and even the minutest parts of the Hebrew Text, have been a great Security and Preservative to it; they have kept it undepraved and uncorrupt, and have made the Reading of it certain and unalterable. This is the reason why that Excellent and Noble Personage, the Learned *Picus Mirandula*, so highly extols the Hebrew *Cabala*; without doubt he saw this Usefulness and Excellency in it. Nay, before these Doctors of *Tiberias* drew up their Masoretick Notes, there was (it is probable) extant something of this nature. They had before this time some Accompt not only of all the Letters of the Bible, but of all the *Apices* of them; for to this our Saviour alludes in *Mat. 5. 18. Not one Jot, or one * Tittle*: which latter is meant of those little *Horns, Pricks and Dots* belonging to the Hebrew Letters. Not only the smallest Letters, as *Jot*, but the Cuttings of those Letters were diligently observ'd by the Masoretick Jews. And this their nice, and almost fond Criticism was serviceable to the keeping of the Hebrew Text entire

ture and unchanged. Thus the *Masoreth*, as the express it, is a *Hedg or Fence to the Law*. The critical Notes and Remarks of the old Jews have preserved the Text of the Bible from being corrupted and abused. So that we may from hence gather, that we have in our hands the same Hebrew Text which was at first given by God to his People.

But some tell us, that the Old Testament was burnt at the same time when the Temple was, and that *Ezra* after the Captivity dictated and wrote over again, according to what we find recorded in 2 *Esdra*s 14. 21, 23, 24. So there was some Recovery of the Law; but the Original Book being lost, it cannot be imagined but that there are many Faults and Mistakes in This which we have present. I answer, Either this Passage in the Apocryphal Writer speaks of some other Book distinct from that of the Mosaic Law, or it is to be reckoned as fabulous and supposititious, and so no Credit is to be given to it: for in *Nehem*. 8. 2, there is mention of the *Book of the Law* being brought before the Congregation, and its being read before the Men and the Women; but not a Syllable of the Matter mentioned in *Esdra*s, is here to be found. 'Tis implied that the Book of the Law was still the same; for you may observe that there is a particular Account of what the Chaldeans destroyed and burnt, and carried away at the taking of *Jerusalem*, but there is not a word of these holy Books; which most certainly would have been taken notice of, they being of so inestimable a Value. Moreover, if we should suppose the Law was burnt in the Temple, yet there were many Copies of it among the Jews, which without doubt were preserved. We have no reason therefore to suspect

the suspect that the Hebrew Original of the Old Testament is corrupted.

But some of the Antient Fathers in the Christian Church, as well as some Learned Moderns, have asserted that the Hebrew is corrupted. I answer, first, as to the Fathers; it is granted that *Justin Martyr* declares himself to be of this Opinion. In his Dialogue with *Trypho* he confidently affirms, that the Jews erased many things out of the Bible; and he assigns particular Instances in the *Psalms*, *Isaiah* and *Jeremiah*. And this they did, saith he, because they hated Christ and his Religion, and thought some of those Places favoured the Christian Cause too much. (Here by the by you may take notice of that great Mistake and Oversight in *Bishop Ward's* * *Essays*, where he peremptorily asserts, that [*never any of the Antient Fathers have in their greatest heat of Zeal against the Jews, accused them of such Corruption*] i. e. of the Scriptures.) But this is not the first time that *Justin Martyr* hath suffer'd himself to be impos'd upon in matter of Historical Truth. This, among others, is questionless a gross Mistake of that good Man; and his strong Averseness to the Jews, and his belief of their Willingness and Readiness to deprave the Scriptures for their own Ends, betrayed him to it. As for other Fathers, as *Tertullian*, *Irenaeus*, *Origen*, *Eusebius*, who, it is true, sometimes complain that the Scripture is corrupted by the Jews, they speak of their adulterating the Text rather as to the Sense than as to the Words; they mean that the Translations which the Jews used were false, for they generally adhered to *Aquila's* and *Theodotion's* Version, and preferr'd it before that

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of the *Seventy*. Whence their Interpretations of Scripture were unsound and erroneous, and therefore by they sometimes set up Judaism against Christianity. But this was done without corrupting the Hebrew Copies of the Bible. And that the Jews had been guilty of no such thing, is expressly asserted and maintained by *Jerom* and * *Augustine*, two Antient Fathers, of as great Fame for Learning and Piety as those before named. These worthy Persons refute that Suspicion and Rumour which it seems were then risen, namely, that the Jews had adulterated the Hebrew Text. These Fathers not only declare that they did no such thing, but they praise them for their Faithfulness in preserving the Bible pure and uncorrupt. Then as to some of the *Moderns*, who have asserted the Hebrew Copies to be faulty and depraved, it is easy to see what it was that prompted them to it. The Hebrew Text is corrupted, and so is that of the Septuagint, say the Romanists: but the old Vulgar Latin is uncorrupt and infallible, so determines the Tridentine Council. † Several of that Communion have written against the Purity of the Hebrew Copies, and laboured to prove them corrupt: but || *Morinus* hath shewed himself more zealous than all of them in this Point; and he frankly confesseth this was his main Design in it, *viz.* to baffle the Protestants, who make the Scripture the Rule of their Faith and Manners. If the Originals of the Bible be lost, and the Transcripts be defective and erroneous, how can the Bible be a certain Rule? What will become then of the Religion of the Protestants, who found it solely on

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* Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 15. c. 11. † Galatinus, Leo Cassan.
Melchior Canus, Huplaus. || In Exercitat. & Distrib.

Scripture? This being uncertain, that must needs be so too. Wherefore the best and only way is to have recourse to Tradition and to the Church; these are the only Rule of what we are to believe and practise. Thus you see what the Romish Writers, who cry down the Hebrew Text, aim at. But most of the learnedst Men of that Church have not prosecuted their Aims and Designs this way. It is well known they have generally held the Hebrew Text to be uncorrupted. And the same is defended by the generality of || learned Protestants who have handled this Subject. *Isaac Vossius* is the only Man of Note that holds the contrary, i. e. that the Hebrew Bible, as it is now, is corrupted by the Jews. But against him and all others (either Antient or Modern) who are of this Opinion, I offer these following things to be considered. If the Jews corrupted the Hebrew Text, they did it either *before* or *after* Christ's time. That they did it not *before*, is evident; because first our Saviour never takes notice of any such thing, which certainly he would not have omitted at such times as he reprov'd the Scribes and Pharisees for their known Faults and Offences, especially relating to the Law; as when he taxed them for *making the Law of God of none effect by their Traditions*. Certainly he would have rebuked them for so gross a Fault, when he corrected them for some that were lesser. Nay, the Jews are not only not reprov'd for corrupting the Canon of Scripture, but on the contrary, their Care and Faithfulness in preserving it whole and entire, are particularly taken notice of, *Luke 4. 16, 17. Acts 13. 27. & 15. 21.*
and

|| *Muis and Euxtorf abronai*; Broughton, Usher, Lightfoot, Pocock at home.

and commended, *Rom. 3. 2.* Besides, Christ sent his Auditors to the Old Testament, to read it, and search it, *John 9. 39.* Whereas, if they had corrupted it, he would without doubt have cautioned them against it. Again, he and his Apostles constantly proved their Doctrine, and confuted the Jews out of those very Writings; which is an Argument that in our Saviour's time those Books were not corrupted: else he and the Apostles would not have so frequently quoted them, and used the Testimony of almost every particular Book as Authentical, and of Divine Inspiration. And that the Hebrew Text was not corrupted by the Jews after our Saviour's time, is as manifest, because the Testimonies cited out of the Old Testament by those that succeeded Christ and his Apostles, are found to be the same in those Writings now, without the least Alteration. Likewise, it cannot be shewed at what time after Christ the Corruption or Alteration of the Text began: though the Younger *Vassius* is pleased to say it was presently after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, which yet he hath nowhere proved. Farther, if you observe those Places in the Hebrew Text, which some alledg as corrupted by the Jews, you'll find that there was no Occasion or Ground for so corrupting them. If they changed the Text, it was questionless for their own Ends, and to maintain some Error of theirs; the Alteration would especially have been in those Places which speak of Christ the true *Messias*, but you will not discover any such thing. If any object *Psal. 22. 16.* *They pierced my Hands and my Feet*, and say that the Jews have there purposely changed *Caaru* into *Caari*; I ask, why did the Masorites restore it to its right Reading? If it had been corrupted by the Circum-

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cised Doctors on purpose, it would not have been taken notice of here by Men of the same Perswasion, but they would have let it remain without any Marginal Correction. But seeing they did not, it is a sign there was no Intention to corrupt the Text. This indeed they do, they add a *Keri* to the *Ketib*, i. e. instead of *Caari sicut Leo* in the Text, they write in the Margin *Caaru foderunt*, as much as to say that *Caaru* is the true and genuine Reading. This the Masoretick Note here testifies. Besides, it is evident that the Seventy did read it so, and accordingly translated it *ἡρῶν*; and thus 'tis rendred in the Syriack, Arabick, Ethiopick and Latin. But the Place was by chance corrupted, because of the likeness of the two Vowels *Jod* and *Vau*, and not out of design; for then the *Masorite* Jews would not have supplied it in the Margin with that other word *Caaru*, they pierced; which agrees with the History of Christ's Sufferings. Yea, this Word is in some antient Copies in the Text it self; which is not denied by the learned Father of the Oratory, who had it from *Rabbi ben Hajim* the great Restorer of the *Masora*; who acknowledgeth that in some of the Hebrew Manuscripts of the Bible which he had seen, *Caaru* they pierced, or digged, was in the Text. Or, why may we not take in both the Words into the Text, and so reconcile the Textual and Marginal Reading? This we find done by the Chaldee Version, which renders the Place thus, *They did bite or pierce like a Lion*; as if the Original ran thus, *Caaru caari, foderunt sicut Leo*. This in my opinion may be a safe way of composing the Difference about this Text. However, not only from this, but what hath been said before, I think it is manifest that the Jews did not adulterate this Text. And
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among all those other Texts that are said to be chang'd and adulterated, you will scarcely find one that hath reference to that great Concern of the Jews: whence we may conclude that the Old Testament remains altogether unaltered. I might farther add, that the Multitude of Copies was great every-where both before and after Christ's time, so that it was impossible to corrupt them all. I know some have inferr'd the Corruption of the Original Hebrew from the great difference which is to be found between that and the Version of the Seventy: but I shall afterwards (when I come to speak of the *Perfection* of Scripture) give a large and full Account of the Reason of this Difference; whence I shall make it plain that this Difference proceeds not at all from the Depravation of the Original Hebrew. The short then is, that the Hebrew Bible is pure and uncorrupt; and after all the Disputes about the various Readings, it is undeniable, that there is no difference in the Hebrew Copies as to any thing considerable and of moment; it toucheth not any necessary Point of Religion, which we are bound to know and practise. In the several Copies the same Historical Passages are related, the same Miracles recorded, the same Prophecies and Predictions, the same Doctrines, Laws and Precepts set down, and that without any varying. So that we are certain of the Integrity of the Hebrew Bible. Notwithstanding what hath been suggested to the contrary, we are assured that we have the true Authentick Copies of the first Original Writings; and in a word, that the Hebrew Text is the same that it was, and is still in its original Purity.

But here it is *objected*, That the Hebrew Copies of the Bible might easily be corrupted and altered, because

because they had no *Points* or *Vowels* at first. This could not but make the Reading very uncertain and doubtful, and almost arbitrary, especially in some Places: whence it is easy to imagine how great Alterations, and consequently great Corruptions, might creep into the Text. In answer to this you must know, that those only who are against the Purity of the Hebrew Bible, (as *Morinus*, *Vossius*, *Simon*, &c.) hold that the *Points* were of late Invention. And this they have pick'd up out of *Elias Levita*, who lived about a hundred Years ago, and was of opinion that the Vowels were invented by the Jewish and Masoretick Doctors of *Tiberias*, (a famous School for the Hebrew Tongue.) So that it was about five hundred Years after Christ when the Hebrew Points were found out, and the Rabbins and Masorites of *Tiberias* were the first Authors of them. This is the Judgment of *Elias* the Levite, and he is the only Jew of this Opinion. Nor is he followed by any *Christians* but those who have a design to vilify the Hebrew Bible, and to prefer and magnify the LXX, or some other Translation. Of this sort are the Writers before mentioned, who largely inveigh against the Authority of the Hebrew Edition. And to promote a Disesteem of it, * one of them tells us, that the Masorites of *Tiberias*, who (as he saith) were the first Inventers of the Hebrew Vowels, Points and Tittles, borrowed them from the *Turks*: the Bible, according to him, had these from the *Alcoran*. And † another tells us, that if *Moses* were alive, he would not know one *Apex* in the Jewish Books, for they have their Letters from

* F. Simon's *Crit. Hist. of the Old Test.*

† Isaac Vossius de 70 Interpretib.

from the *Chaldees*, and their Points from the *Masoreths*. Nay, he ventures to say, that if King *David* were alive again, and heard his *Psalm* read or sung in the Jews Synagogues, he would ask what Tongue they used: for the right Sound and Pronunciation of the Hebrew is quite lost, and no Man understands it (unless it be the Writer himself.) All this is Romance, and is on foot only to disparage the Bible, and to make us believe that the Old Testament is not the same that it was. To which end also the Hebrew Points or Vowels are condemned for their Novelty, and are said to be invented by the Talmudick Doctors and Masorites. Whereas there is mention made in several * Jewish Writers, of the *Points* and *Vowels* long before the Doctors of *Tiberias*, which is said to be about the Year of our Lord 500. And from what we have observ'd already concerning the *Masoretick Notes* on the Bible, it is easy to prove that the *Hebrew Vowels* were before that time: for if the Masorites criticized on the Vowels, (as well as the other Letters and Accents, as was said before) then 'tis not probable in the least that they invented them. We find that they take notice of the Irregularity of these Points in several places: whereas if they had made them themselves, they would have been all regular. It is Nonsense to think that they that made the one, viz. the *Critical Notes*, made the other, namely the *Vowels* and *Points*. Hear likewise what the Learned *Pocock* saith, † It is an Argument that the *Vowels* were antienter than the *Masoretick Notes*, in regard that they seem thereby to be governed in judging of the Consonants. And in some other place in his

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* Buxtorf de Orig. Punct. † Comment on Hosea 10. 10.

Commentary, he delivers his Judgment that the Vowels were not invented by the Masorites, but were long before them, yea were of the same Antiquity with the Letters or Consonants. It is well known that all the Jews (but him before named) hold the Antiquity of the Hebrew Points; yea, some of them carry them back as far as *Adam*, and vouch they were found out by him. Other Learned Men among them assert that these Vowels were given at the time of the delivering the Law on Mount *Sinai*; then it was that God writ the Decalogue with Points, and gave it to the Jews by the hands of *Moses*. And as to the rest of the Writings, and the whole Body of the Old Testament, the common Opinion of the Jews is, that *Ezra* was the Author of the Vowels which are annexed to them; and that he and the great Synagogue, of which he was President, first invented them after the Captivity. Thus whether they commenced from *Adam*, or from *Moses*, or *Ezra*, they all agree in this, that they were very antient, and in a manner coeval with the Letters and Words; and consequently that they are part of the Text, and of Divine Authority. This being so old and so recent an Opinion, it hath gain'd the Suffrage of the wisest and learnedst Christians in the World. You may particularly find it maintained in the Writings of *Munster*, *Pagninus*, *Buxtorf*, *Usher*, *Cappellus*, *Broughton*, *Lightfoot*, *Walton*, all of them singularly well skill'd in Jewish Antiquity, and therefore fit Judges in this Cause. They have proved by undeniable Arguments, that the Hebrew Bible had Vowels or Pricks from the beginning, and that it was never without them. The Opinion then which the *Objectors* have espoused, is justly to be exploded. It is against the
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unanimous Testimony of the Jewish Church, that the Points are but Mens Invention. It is unsafe and dangerous to assert, that these Vowels were added since the first writing of the Old Testament: for the Certainty of the Truth of those Writings, (and consequently of the Writings of the New Testament, wherein those are so often alledged) is shaken hereby. For no Man of Sense can believe that the right reading of the Text could continue some thousands of Years without the Points: this is an incredible Fiction. And then it is as impossible that the genuine Sense of Scripture (which depends on the Words, as they upon the Vowels, as well as the Consonants) could have been preserved, unless the Bible had been Pointed. Whence it was said in the Jewish Talmud, that * Letters without Points are like a Body without a Soul. Hence was that Saying, † He that reads without Points, is like a Man that rides without a Bridle. We therefore firmly maintain, and that with the approbation of Antiquity, that the Words of the Hebrew Text had Points added to them at the beginning; and that these Points which we now have, are the same with them. To this purpose we here appeal to the Testimony of the Jews, who will bear witness that the Books of the Old Testament, which we now receive, answer exactly to the Pointed Text which they have received, and always did. Nay, we may end the Controversy without an Appeal, for our own Eyes and Ears will satisfy us. If we compare our English, or Latin, or other Bibles, with the Hebrew one which is used among the Jews, and is daily put forth by the present Rabbies in the several parts

* Lib. Joma, c. 1. † Zohar ex Midrash.

parts of the World, we shall find that they agree; and we shall be convinced that they own the same Books with us.

We need not stay to attend here to what a late Learned Writer (before named) hath with much Confidence, but slender Reason, suggested, *viz.* that the Bible of the Old Testament is an Abbreviated Collection from Antient Records, which were much more large. He confesseth that the Canon of Scripture is taken out of Authentick Registers; but the Authors who collected it, added and diminished as they pleased: especially he asserts this concerning the Historical Books, that they are Abridgments of larger Records, and Summaries of other larger Acts kept in the Jewish Archives: and these publick Scribes who write them out, took the liberty to alter Words as they saw occasion. So that in short, according to this Critick, here are only some broken Pieces and Scraps taken out of the first Authentick Writings: A bold and daring Assertion, and founded on no other Bottom than *F. Simon's* Brain. Who would expect this from one that is a Man of great Sense and Reason, one that is a great Master of Critical Learning, and hath presented the World with very choice Remarks on the History of the Bible? (For truly I am not of * his Opinion, who saith he sees not any thing in this Author's Writings but what is common.) It is to be lamented that a Person, otherwise so Judicious and Observing, hath given himself up here to his own Fancy and Conjecture. He invents a new Office of publick Registers that were Divinely inspired: he makes Notaries and Prophets the same. He gives no Proof

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and Demonstration of that Adding and Diminishing which the Scribes he talks of made: he hath not one tolerable Argument to evince any of the Books of Scripture to be Fragments of greater ones. Indeed I should mightily have wondred that so Ingenious, so Sagacious, so Learned a Man should broach'd such groundless Notions, if I did not consider that this subtle Romanist designs here (as most of that Church generally do) to deprecate the Bible, and to represent it as a Book of Fragments and Shreds; that so, when our Esteem of the *Authority of Scripture* is weakned, yea taken away, we may wholly rest upon *Tradition*, and found our Religion, as well as the Scriptures, on that alone. This is that which he drives at in his *Critical History* both of the *Old and New Testaments*. But all sober and considerate Persons will beware of him, when they discover this Design. They will easily see through his plausible Stories, his Surmises, bold Conjectures, and seeming Argumentations; and they will have the greater Reverence for the Bible, because he and others have attacked it with so much Contempt and Rudeness, and purposely bring its Authority into question, that they may set up something else above it. Notwithstanding then the Cavils and Objections of designing Men, we have reason to believe and avouch the Authority of the *Old Testament*, and to be thorowly perswaded that the Books are entirely transmitted to us without any Corruption, and are the same that ever they were, without any Diminution or Addition. We have them as they were written by the first Authors; we have them entire and perfect, and not (as some fondly suggest) contracted, abbreviated, curtail'd. Unto the Jews, the antient People of God, were com-

mitted his Oracles, as the Apostle speaks; and they shewed themselves conscientious and diligent Conservators of them. The Jewish Nation, saith St. *Augustin*, have been as 'twere ** the Chest-keepers for the Christians*; they have faithfully preserv'd that Sacred Depositum for them, they have safely kept that Ark wherein the Law and the Prophets were lock'd up. God would have the Jews to be *Librarii Christianorum*, saith † *Drusus*, Keepers of those Sacred Volumes for us Christians: and it is certain they kept them with great Care, the like whereof is not to be found to have been taken in preserving any other sort of Writings under Heaven. And seeing they have so carefully handed the Old Testament down to us, we are concern'd to receive it with a proportionable Thankfulness, and to reckon this their Delivering of those Writings down to us, as no mean Argument of their Truth and Certainty.

Secondly, The Authority of the *New Testament* is confirmed by *External Testimony or Tradition*, no less than that of the Old Testament. We have the Authentick Suffrage of the Primitive Church, the Unanimous Consent of the Christians of the first Ages, that this Book is of Divine Inspiration, and that it is Pure and Uncorrupted. Some of the Fathers and first Writers give us a Catalogue of the Books of the New Testament, and they are the very same with those which we have at this day. *Athanasius* particularly enumerating those Books, sets down all those which we now embrace as Canonical, and no others. And many of the Fathers of the first Ages after Christ, as *Irenæus*,
Justin

Quid est aliud gens ipsa nisi quædam scriniaria Christianorum, custodians Legem & Prophetas? &c. *Contra Faust. lib. 12.*
 49. 23. † Epist. 60.

Justin Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Tertullian, &c. quote the Places in the New Testament as they are now. If it be objected, that in the Fathers *sometimes* the Text of Scripture is not exactly what we find it, and read it at this day: This must be remembred, that they sometimes quoted the Meaning, not the very Words. At other times their Memories fail'd them as to the Words, and thence they chang'd them into others, and instead of those in the Text, used some that were like them. So when they were in haste, and not at leisure to consult the Text, they made use of such Words and Expressions as they thought came nearest to it. * *Heinsius* shews this in a vast many places. Sometimes they contract the Words of the Text, and give only the brief Sense of it: at other times they enlarge it, and present us with a Comment upon it: yea, sometimes (as they see occasion, and as their Matter leads them to it) they invert the Words, and misplace the Parts of the Text. But no Man ought hence to infer, that the Scriptures of the New Testament then and now are not the same. And as for the Number of the Sacred Writers and their Books, it hath been always the same, *i. e.* the same Catalogue and Canon have been generally acknowledged and received by the Christian Church. It is true, some Particular Books have been questioned, but by a few only, and for a time: but the Church was at last fully satisfied about them; the Generality of Christians agreed to own all those Books which are now owned by us. All the Eastern Churches held the Epistle to the *Hebrews* to be Canonical, though the Latins (it is granted) were not so una-

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* In Prolegom. in Exercitat. Sac.

nious. This Epistle, and that of St. James, the second Epistle of St. Peter, the second and third of St. John, and the Epistle of St. Jude, and the Apocryphse, were questioned in the first Century, saith * Eusebius; but he acquaints us withal, that they were afterwards by general Consent received into the Canon of Holy Scripture, for the Doubts were resolved upon mature Deliberation. So that the questioning of those Books is now a Confirmation of the Truth and Authority of them: they were once doubted of, that for the future they might be unquestionable. And to come down to latter Times; what if two or three Men of late, as Hemmingius, Baldwin, Eckard, think † some of the Books of the New Testament Apocryphal? And what if Luther himself seem'd to say as much? What doth this signify in respect of the universal and concurrent Judgment of others? And as for the rest of the Books of the New Testament, they were never doubted of at all, but have the Approbation of the whole Church.

And that the *New Testament* was first written in Greek, as we now receive it, is attested by the Universal Consent of the Antients, who made enquiry into these things. Only two Books are excepted by some: for though many of the || Learned Moderns maintain that St. Matthew's Gospel was written originally in Greek, yet it is not to be denied that some of the (*) Fathers hold it was written first in Hebrew, for the sake of the believing Jews: and if you will believe St. (†) Jerom, the original Hebrew was extant in his time, and

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* Eccl. Hist. l. 2. c. 23. † Epistle to the Hebrews, St. James's, St. Jude's, the Revelation, || Flacius Illyricus, Erasmus, Calvin, Chamier, Lightfoot. (*) Irenæus, Origen, Eusebius, Jerom, Augustine. (†) Catal. Scriptor. Ecclesiast.

he translated the Gospel into Latin from that Copy. Who turn'd it into Greek is not certain; but it was either by St. *Matthew* himself, or by some Apostolical Person, inspired by the Holy Ghost; so that the Greek we now have, is from the same Spirit, and of the same Authority with the other. The Fathers likewise generally say that St. *Paul* writ the *Epistle to the Hebrews* in their own Tongue, and that St. *Luke* or St. *Clement* turn'd it into Greek. The contrary is held by some Moderns, particularly *Cajetan* among the Romanists, and by many of the Reformed-Way. But excepting (I say) these two Books, it is universally agreed that the whole New Testament was written in Greek; and one Reason might be, because so great a number of Jews lived among the Greeks, and used their Tongue; and therefore this part of the Bible was fitly writ in Greek, as the other was long before translated into that Tongue for the use of the Jews. For the sake of these dispersed Jews, (therefore called *the dispersed among the Gentiles*, or according to the Original, *the Dispersion of the Greeks*, John 7. 35.) who understood and spake the Greek Language, the New Testament was put forth in that Tongue. Moreover, this was the most generally received Language at that time, and therefore the fittest for the propagating the Gospel. This is a very good Argument: for tho I do not think the Jews at *Jerusalem* spake no other than the Greek Tongue among themselves, as *Isaac Vossius* confidently holds, and is therein rightly blamed and confuted by the late *French Critick*; yet I am satisfied that the Greek Tongue was universally understood, and was with the Latin * the Language

* Nunc totus Graecus Latineque habet orbis Athenas. *Journal*

guage of the Empire, and therefore was most proper for the communicating the Christian Religion to the World. * *Tully* acquaints us that in all the Roman Empire *Greek* was vulgarly understood. It is no wonder therefore that the New Testament was writ in that Tongue, and that *St. Paul* writes not only to the *Galatians*, &c. but to the *Romans* in *Greek*, for they all understood it. It was the Modish and Courtly way of Speech at *Rome*, as the *French* is now with us. Their very Women affected to learn and speak *Greek*, for which they are jeer'd by the *Satyrists*, who calls *Rome* the *Greek City*. In short, all the Eastern People spoke *Greek*, more or less, from the time that *Alexander* the Great and his Captains spread their Dominion in the East. The *Syrians*, *Egyptians*, *Persians*, and People of the Lesser *Asia*, were acquainted with that Language. The Jews of any considerable Quality understood *Greek* as well as their own Tongue: whence *Josephus*, a Jewish Priest, (or of the Priestly Stock) writ his Books in *Greek*. The Evangelists and Apostles then might well write in the same Tongue, it being so common and every where understood. Especially it is no wonder on another account, that *St. Paul* writ in *Greek*; for it was his native Tongue, he being of *Tarsus*, which was a City of *Greece*. We may then very justly look upon the *Greek* Language as the Original Text of the New Testament.

And it is generally agreed that these *Greek* Copies which we now have and use, are True and Authentick, though in some things they differ: and none are observed to oppose this but those who do it upon some Interest and Design, *i. e.* to main-

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* *Græca per orbem universum leguntur. Pro Arch. Pont.*

maintain some peculiar Opinion which they have taken up. *The Variety of Readings* should not prejudice us: much less ought we to alter the Readings of the Copies, and to substitute new ones at our pleasure. Which is the Fault of *Theodore Beza*, though on other accounts an Excellent Person, and one that hath highly deserved of the Church of God: yet he is unsufferably bold in coining new Readings of the Text. When he cannot find the Sense of a Place, he presently questions the Truth of the Copy, and produceth a new Reading; which hath brought a great Scandal upon his Annotations on the New Testament, which otherwise are fraught with admirable Learning, and discover his profound Skill in Divine Criticism. It is certain that the Greek and Latin Manuscripts which he pretends to, are a Cheat: for questionless they would have been taken notice of in the first Ages of Christianity, if there had been any such thing. Therefore it is downright Imposture, and *Beza* was grossly deluded by it. Let us from his Miscarriage, learn to be cautious, and not to venture so boldly upon altering the Greek Copies. This is a very rash and unaccountable Undertaking, especially in a single Person, and much more when it is very usual and frequent.

To speak next both of *the Old and New Testament together*. The Authority of them is established by considering this, that though *Bellarmino* and others of the Roman Communion (who are followed by *Lewis Cappel*, and some others that go under the Name of *Protestants*) cry out that the Bible is altered and corrupted by the Negligence of the Transcribers, and that the Text is uncertain by reason of the different Readings and Variety of Translations,

tions, (which is done out of design, viz. to debase the Authority of the holy Writings, and to make Men fly to Traditions, and rest wholly in the Authority of the Church, and (I wish I might not add) thereby to undermine some of the Foundations of Religion;) yet this is certain, that the various Readings of the Old and New Testament are not so many as are pretended; and all the various Copies in Hebrew and Greek, which are found in all Nations at this Day, do agree in all material Points; and the Scriptures being translated from those Copies into many Languages, concur in the same substantial things. Again, as to those various Readings which are produced, we may justly alledg the Words of an *Excellent Man; *They are not Arguments, saith he, of the Scriptures Corruption, but of God's Providence, and of Human Industry to preserve Scripture from Corruption.* We may gather from this Diversity of Readings, that Men have been very inquisitive and careful in their comparing of Copies; but we cannot thence argue, that the Text is adulterated; yea rather we may infer that it is not: for from this comparing and vying of Copies, we come to know and be ascertain'd which is the True and Authentick one. And we may farther add, with the same excellent Author, "That it is morally impossible, since
 " our Saviour's time, and indeed for many hundred Years before that, that the Scriptures
 " (particularly of the Old Testament) should have
 " been corrupted: for the Multitude of Copies
 " was then such, hath been since much more such,
 " and so far dispersed, that neither one Man, nor
 " one Body of Men could ever get them into their
 " hands

* Bp. of Cork's Discourse of the Authority of Scripture.

" hands to corrupt them ; and if some few or many
 " ny Copies had been corrupted, but not all, the
 " sincere Number would have detected the corrup-
 " rapt. Again, let it be consider'd that the an-
 cient Orthodox Writers of the Church do all cite
 these Scriptures as we now have them, in every
 thing material : Yea, that most *Hereticks* have
 pleaded these same Scriptures, and denied them
 not to be genuine. To establish us yet further,
 we must remember that these Writings have been
 openly read to the People in all their solemn As-
 semblies in the several Ages since Christianity be-
 gan ; and they being thus constantly used, could
 not possibly be altered and corrupted : Besides
 that, all private Christians were exhorted to read
 and use them in their Families ; whereby they be-
 came so known and familiar, that whenever any
 Alteration was made, they could presently ob-
 serve it. Lastly, notwithstanding the Author of a
 * late *Traſſate* hath brought divers Objections a-
 gainst the usual Tradition, that such and such Books
 of the Bible were wrote by the Authors whose
 Names they bear ; and though Mr. *Hobbs* before
 him had done the same, yet neither of them have
 effected it with any Success. This is all they have
 done ; they have only shewed that they are not so
 civil to the holy Writings as they are to the pro-
 fane ones : for it is every whit as clear that the
 Books of the Holy Scripture were written by the
 Persons under whose Names they go, as that any
 other Writings were put out by those whose
 Names they bear. Nor can these Men vouchsafe
 to shew that Civility to these Sacred Books, which
 even *Jews* and *Gentiles* have done : for when both
 these

* *Traſſat. Theologico-Politic.*

these opposed these Books, you will not find that they ever questioned the *Authors*, but the *Doctrine* only. We are therefore to look upon these Men, and such as take part with them, as acting with higher Prejudice than either Jews or Heathens did; and accordingly we are to slight what they say, unless it be thus far, that from their impotent and malicious Cavils we may be further confirmed in this Perswasion, that these Books of the Old and New Testament were indeed written by those Authors, under whose Names they are now received; that these Scriptures which we now have, are the same which the Primitive Church received from the Apostles; that the Copies we have of the Bible, are not corrupted; that God hath preserved the Scriptures both of the Old and New Testament, from all considerable Change and Depravation, (his Providence not suffering any such thing;) that the Canon of Scripture which is now received, is the very same that it was at first; and (which is the Sum of all) that the Truth and Authority of it are impregnable.

It may be expected I should speak of the *Apocryphal* Books, which I have not reckoned among the *Inspired Writings*. For doing this I have good reason; for I find them excluded from the Canon of Scripture by those that are the best Judges of it, I mean the *Jews*, who were the great Keepers of the Scripture. They never took these into the number of the Books of Holy Writ, and that for these two Reasons: First, because they were not writ by the *Prophets*. The Jews believed that the Spirit of Prophecy ceased among them as soon as *Malachi* had done prophesying. They owned no Divine Inspiration after his time, and accordingly received not the *Apocryphal* Books into the Canon of

of *Scripture*, i. e. Books Divinely inspired. What was written after *Malachi's* time, who was last Prophet, was not Canonical, was not of Divine Authority, and therefore is not emphatically called *Scripture*. For, as *St. Paul* informs us, *Scripture is given by Inspiration of God*, 2 Tim. 3. That is the Mark and Criterion of *Scripture*. What is back'd by *St. Peter*, 2 Pet. 1. 21. *Holy Men God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost*. Not those Writings which were not by Inspiration of God, nor from the immediate Motion of the Holy Ghost, are not to be reckoned as *Holy Scriptures*, and such are the *Apocryphal Writings*; they were written after the cessation of Prophecy and Divine Inspiration, and so they are not of Divine Authority, and cannot be esteemed *Canonical Scriptures*. Secondly, the Jews received not the *Apocrypha* into their Canon, because it was written in Greek, not in Hebrew, as all the Canonical Books are. For God would not, they say, give them *Scripture* in an Unknown Tongue: The Oracles of God were to be committed to his People in the Authentic Language, which is that of the Jews. The *Apocryphal Writings* being not such, are rejected by them, and not taken into the Canon of Sacred Writ.

And as they were not received by the Jewish Church, so not by the Christian one. You cannot but observe that Christ and the Apostles, who frequently quote the Canonical Books, never quote any of the *Apocryphal* ones: which gives us to understand that they were not reputed as Inspired Writings: otherwise it is most reasonable to think that our Saviour, or his Apostles and Evangelists, would at one time or other have cited some one Passage at least out of these Books; it being their

great Work (as you may see) to prove the Truth of what they delivered from the holy Scriptures, which were inspired by God in former Times. They embraced all Occasions of establishing Christianity upon the Writings of the Inspired Prophets who went before: therefore if the Apocryphal Writers had been of that number, they would certainly have been quoted by them; and because they are not, it is an Argument that they are not Inspired Writers. Again, the Christian Church, which immediately succeeded that which was in the Days of Christ and the Apostles, received not these Writings as Divinely inspired, and therefore excluded them from the Canon of Scripture. Look into the Writings of the antient Fathers of the Church, (who without doubt made it their business to search into the Canon of Scripture, and to be satisfied which were the Divinely inspired Books) and there you will see that those of the Eastern Church received only the Jews Canon of Scripture as to the Old Testament. Thus * *Origen* recites the Canonical Books of it as they are now reckoned; viz. two and twenty, after the number of the Hebrew Letters. And † *Cyril of Jerusalem* hath these express Words: “ Read these two and
“ twenty Books, but have nothing to do with the
“ Apocryphal ones. Study and meditate only on
“ these Scriptures, which we confidently read in
“ the Church. The Apostles and first Bishops were
“ true Guides, and were more wise and religious
“ than thou art; and these were the Men that de-
“ livered these Scriptures to us. Thou then be-
“ ing a Son of the Church, do not go beyond her
“ Bounds and Orders, but acknowledg and study
“ only

* Cited by Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. l. 6. c. 19. † Cateches. 4.

“ only the two and twenty Books of the Old Testament. And other Fathers of the Church as *Melito* Bishop of *Sardis*, *Athanasius*, *Amphilochius*, *Epiphanius*, *Eusebius*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Gregory the Great*, *Basil*, *Chrysostom*, testify that the Books, and no others, of the Old Testament which we receive now, were the Canonical Books of old, and received so by the first Christian Church. Those eminent Lights of the *Latin Church*, *Augustinus*, *Jerom*, *Hilary*, disown as Uncanonical the Books of *Apocrypha*. The two latter especially are very positive: * *Jerom* expressly tells us, that the Canonical Books of the Old Testament are but two and twenty, just the number of the Hebrew Alphabet, and no more; and he enumerates the particular Books which constitute the whole. He saith indeed, that some make them four and twenty, but 'tis the same Account, for they reckon *Ruth* and *Lamentations* separately. But as for the others, he saith they are not part of Inspired Scripture, and the Church doth not receive them among the Canonical Writings. So † *Hilary* gives us the just Catalogue of the Books of the Old Testament, and peremptorily affirms that there are but two and twenty Canonical Books of it in all, which are the same with the *thirty nine* according to the reckoning in our Bibles. To Fathers we might add Synods and Councils, as that ancient one of *Laodicea*, convened *A.D. 364*, which drew up a Catalogue of the Books of Scripture, and makes mention only of these which we now receive, but leaves out the Apocryphal ones. This Canon was received afterwards, and confirmed by the

* Prolog. Galeat. Prolog. in lib. Salomonis ad Paul. & Eustock
† Prolog. in Psalm.

the Council of *Chalcedon*, one of the first four General Councils. And the sixth General Council, held at *Constantinople*, A. D. 680. expressly ratified the Decrees of that old *Laodicean* Council, and particularly this, that the Canonical Books of the Old Testament were but two and twenty. There is another Reason also, besides the Universal Suffrage of the Christian Church, why the Apocryphal Books are ejected out of the Canon, viz. because some things in them are false, and contrary to the Canonical Scriptures, as in *Ecclesiasticus* 46. 20. 2 *Esdras* 6. 40. and some things are vitious, as in 2 *Maccab.* 14. 42.

After all this it is easy to answer what the Romanists say on the other side. They quote the third Council of *Carthage*, which they tell us received the Apocryphal Books into the Canon. And among the Fathers, St. *Augustin*, they say, owns them: besides that two Popes, viz. *Innocent* the First and *Gelasius*, took those Books, which we stile Apocryphal, into the Canon. As for the Council which they alledg, it was but a Provincial one, and therefore is not to be set against those more Authentick and General Councils which I produced. Nor must that one single Father whom they name, stand out against that great number of Greek and Latin Fathers whom I mentioned. The Popes bear a great Name among our Adversaries, but they are but two, and must not be compared with those Councils, and that multitude of Fathers who are on our side. Or, if they lay such great stress on a Pope, I can name them one, and he one of the most eminent they ever had, viz. Pope *Gregory* the Great, who * declares that the Book of

Macca-

* Exposit. in Job. l. 19. c. 17.

Maccabees (a main Piece of the Apocryphal Writings) is no part of the Canon of Scripture. We may set this One Pope (for he is Great enough against the other Two. Besides, their own Masters are against them: the Apocryphal Books are not received as part of holy Inspired Scripture by *Ildorus, Damascen, Nicephorus, Rabanus Maurus, Hugo, Lyranus, Cajetan*, and others, who are of great Repute in the Church of Rome. We regard not what the pack'd Council of *Trent* hath decreed viz. * That besides the two and twenty Books of the Hebrew Canon, those also of *Tobias, Judith, the Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, Maccabees, Baruch*, are to be received as Canonical; and that they are of equal Authority with the Canon of the Old and New Testament. What is this but the general Suffrage of the Primitive Councils, Fathers and Writers, who have rejected the Apocryphal Books, and received but twenty two into the Canon of Scripture belonging to the Old Testament? You see what Ground we have, no other than the *Universal Church*. We reject some Books as *Apocryphal*, because they were generally rejected by the antient Primitive Church: and we receive the rest as *Canonical*, because they were believed and owned to be so by the universal Consent of the Church. See this admirably made good in *Bishop Cousin's History of the Canon of Scripture*. Yet after all that hath been said, we count the *Apocryphal Writings* worthy to be read and perused. That there be some things amiss in them, yet we give great Deference and Respect to them, as containing many Historical Truths, and furnishing us with Matter of Jewish Antiquity; as likewise because there

* Self. 4.

there are many Doctrinal and Moral Truths in them, especially in the Books of *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus*. For this Reason; I say, we bear great Respect to them, and rank them next to the Holy Canon, and prefer them before all Profane Authors. This was done by the antient Fathers, who frequently alledg'd them in their Sermons and Discourses: which is one Reason (I question not) why these Apocryphal Books came to be made Canonical by some of the Church of *Rome*; namely, because they were so often quoted by the Fathers, and in some Churches read publickly. But this is no Proof of their being *Canonical*, but only lets us know that these Books were in their Kind useful and profitable, as indeed they are. Therefore St. * *Jerom* saith, the Church receives not these Books into the Canon of Scripture, though she allows them to be read. And concerning these Writings our Church saith well, (quoting St. *Jerom* for it) † *She doth read them for Example of Life, and Instruction of Manners, but yet doth not apply them to establish any Doctrine.* Which gives us an exact account of the Nature of these Books; namely, that they contain excellent Rules of Life, and are very serviceable to inform us of our Duty as to several weighty things: but they being not dictated by the Holy Ghost, as the other Books of Scripture are, they are not the infallible Standard of Divine Doctrine, and therefore are not to be applied and made use of to that purpose. This and the other Reasons before mentioned, may prevail with us to think that these Writings ought not to be numbred among the Books of Canonical Scripture.

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And

* *Praefat. in libr. Proverb.*

† *Artic. 6.*

And thus we have argued from the *Tradition* and the *Testimony of the Church*. And if this be done as it ought to be done, it is valid: for the Truth of the Copies, the Canonicalness of the Books, and the like, are not decidable by Scripture it self, but in the Way that all other Controversies of that nature are. As you would prove any other Book to be Authentick, so you must prove the Bible to be, *viz.* by sufficient and able Testimony. There is the same reason to believe the Sacred History, that there is to believe any other Historical Writings that are extant. Nay, the Testimonies on behalf of the Holy Scriptures are more pregnant than any that are brought for other Writings. Besides all that can be said for the Sacred Volume of the Bible, which is wont to be said for other Writings, I have shewed you that there are some things peculiar to this above all others. The main thing we have insisted upon is this, that the Books of the Old and New Testament have been faithfully conveyed to us; and that they are vouched by the constant and universal Tradition both of the Jewish and Christian Church; and that these Books, and no others, are of the *Canon* of Scripture: for to be of the *Canon* of Scripture, is no other than to be owned by the Universal Church for Divinely Inspired Writings. The Church witnesseth and confirmeth the Authority of the Canonical Scriptures; for she received them as Divine, and she delivers them to us as such. Yet I do not say that the Church's Testifying these Books to be the Holy Scriptures, gives an *Absolute* and *Entire* Authority to them. A Clerk in the Parliament, or any other Court, writes down and testifies that such an Act, or Decree, or Order, was pass'd by the King, Magistrate or People, and

and he witnesseth that he hath faithfully kept these by him, and that they are the very same that at such a time were made by the foresaid Authority: but the Authority of this Act, Decree or Order, rests not in the Clerk, but wholly in the King, Magistrate or People. So the Church recordeth and keepeth the Sacred Writings of the Bible, and bears witness that they have been faithfully preserved, and that they are the Genuine Writings of those Persons whose Names are prefixed to them: but the Divine Authority of the Scriptures depends not on the Church, but on the Books and Authors themselves, namely their being Inspired. And indeed this Authority of the Scriptures cannot depend on the Church, because the Church itself depends on the Scriptures. These must be proved before the Church can pretend to be any such thing as a Church. We cannot know the Church but by the Scriptures; therefore the Scriptures must be known before the Church. It follows then that the Papists are very unreasonable and absurd in making the Ultimate Resolution of Faith to be into the Testimony and Authority of the Church. This we disown as a great Fallacy; but yet it is rational to hold that the Church's Testimony is one good Argument and Proof of the Truth of the Sacred Scripture: according to that known Saying of St. *Augustine*, *I should not believe the Gospel, if the Authority of the Church did not move me.* Not that he founds the Gospel, *i. e.* the Doctrine of Christianity, and the Truth of it, on the Testimony of the Church; as the Papists are wont to infer from these Words, and frequently quote them to this purpose. No: the Father's meaning is this, that by the Testimony and Consent of the Church he believed the Book of the Gospel to be

verily that Book which was written by the Evangelists. This is the Sense of the Place, as is plain from the Scope of it ; for he speaks there of the Copies or Writings, not the Doctrine contained in them. The good Father relies on this, that so great a number of knowing and honest Persons as the Church was made up of, did assert the Evangelical Writings to be the Writings of such as were really inspired by the Holy Ghost ; and that they were true and genuine, and not corrupted. And the whole Body of Sacred Scripture is attested by the same universal Suffrage of the Church, *i. e.* the unanimous Consent of the Apostles, and of the First Christians, and of those that immediately succeeded them ; several of which laid down their Lives to vindicate the Truth of these Writings. This is the *External Testimony* given to the Holy Scriptures. It is the general Perswasion and Attestation of the Antient Church, that these are the Scriptures of Truth ; that they were penn'd by holy Prophets and Apostles, immediately directed by the Spirit, who therefore could not err. It was usual heretofore among the Pagan Lawgivers to attribute their Laws to some Deity, tho they were of their own Invention ; intending thereby to conciliate Reverence to them, and to commend them to the People. But here is no such Cheat put upon us : God himself is really the Author of the Holy Scriptures ; these Sacred Laws come immediately from Him, they are of Divine Inspiration. There is no doubt to be made of the Divinity of the Scriptures, and consequently there is assurance of the Infallibility of them.

CH A P. III.

The Authority of the Bible manifested from the Testimonies of Enemies and Strangers, especially of Pagans. These confirm what the Old Testament saith concerning the Creation, the Production of Adam and Eve, their Fall, with the several Circumstances of it; Enoch's Translation, the Longevity of the Patriarchs, the Giants in those Times, the Universal Flood, the building of the Tower of Babel.

I Have propounded some of the chief Arguments which may induce us to believe the Truth and Certainty of the holy Writings of the Old and New Testament. I will now choose out another, for the sake chiefly of the Learned and Curious, which I purpose to enlarge upon; yea, to make the Subject of my whole ensuing Discourse. I consider then that we have in this Matter not only the Testimony of Friends, but of *Enemies and Strangers*: and it is a Maxim in the Civil Law, and vouched by all Men of Reason, that the Testimony of an Enemy is most considerable. The *Jewish* and *Christian Church*, as I have shewed already, give their Testimony to the Scriptures: but besides these Witnesses there are *Others*, there is the Attestation of Foreigners and Adversaries. These fully testify the Truth of what is delivered in the Holy Bible: we have the Approbation of *Heathen Writers* to confirm many of the things related in the *Old Testament*; and both Professed *Heathens* and *Jews* (for we must now look upon these latter as profess'd *Enemies*, when we are to speak of the

Christian Concern) attest sundry things of the *New Testament*, and vouch the Truth and Authority of them. Here then I will distinctly proceed, and first begin with the Old Testament, and let you see in several Particulars, that even the *Pagan World* gives Testimony to this Sacred Volume; that the *Gentiles* relate the very same things that this doth; that the *Great Truths*, and *Notable Histories*, *Notions* and *Practices* in the Books of the Old Testament, are to be met with in Profane Writings, but taken from these Sacred ones. The *Heathens* borrowed many of their *Rites* and *Usages* from Traditions which were founded in the Holy Scriptures. They derived many things in their Religion and Manners from these Sacred Fountains, though it is as true that they have laboured to pollute them. But I will make it clear and manifest that they fetch'd them thence; and I will abundantly prove that most of the chief things in the Old Testament have been attested both by the *Fables*, and the *Serious History* of the Pagans. There have been some High-fliers, I know, who have carried on this Notion to a ridiculous Extravagancy. Thus * *Zimmeranus* speaks of an odd † *Capuchin*, who hath vented very wild things in prosecuting this Argument, viz. that the Gentile Mysteries were taken from the True God, and from the Scriptures inspired by him. And one *Jacobus Hugo* (in his *Historia Romana*) is quoted by the same Person as very extravagant in this kind: for he holds that the *Roman Story* was a Narrative of the *History of the Gospel*. Plous *Aeneas* was St. Peter; and his sailing from *Troy* to *Latium*, was the Story of St. Peter's leaving the Chair at *Antioch*, and

* *Analecta*, pag. 216. † *Jacob. Bolduc de Oggiio Christiano*.

and going to Rome. *Homer* and *Virgil's* Heroick Poems are an account of *St. Peter* and the Church, and of the Shipwrack and Misfortunes which this latter meets with in the World. *Ilium* or *Alia* is *Jerusalem*; that was the Name which *Aelius Adrianus* gave it. The Acts of the Apostles, the Jewish War, and the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, are contain'd in *Homer's Iliads*; and so are the Life and Death of Christ, and the whole Gospel. He tells us that *Romulus* and *Remus* signify the Apostles *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, the Founders of the Roman Church. And more extravagantly yet he goes on, telling us that *Diana* signifies the Holy Trinity; *Curtius* on Horse-back swallowed up in the Lake, is the Virgin *Mary*, whose Temple is seen there in the Market-place at *Rome* with this Inscription, *D. Virginis Templum à pœnis inferni liberantis*. And a great deal more of such Stuff this *Hugo* hath, which no Man of Consideration and Sense is able to bear. Indeed such wild and far-fetch'd Conceits may be justly entertain'd with Laughter and Contempt. Nor do I look upon some things which some others (of more composed Thoughts) mention as any real Testimonies given to the Scriptures. They strangely fancy an Affinity between *Scripture* and *Paganism*, between what they read in the one, and what they meet with in the other, though there be no Cognation at all. Thus the Greek Fable of *Minerva's* being the Offspring of *Jove's* Brain, took its Rise from the Doctrine of the Trinity, and the Eternal and Ineffable Generation of the Son of God, saith a * Learned Man: and *Isis* the Egyptian Goddess, is (saith he) *Isab*, *Mulier*, or *Virgo*, i. e. the Virgin *Mary*,

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from

* Casp. Peucer. de Divinat. generib.

from a Tradition among them, that a Virgin should bring forth a Son who was to be the Redeemer of the World. And I could mention others whose Names are better known, who have been too extravagant in this kind, carrying the Notion on so far, and strongly fancying every thing almost which they meet with in Pagan Story, to have some reference to, and be taken from the holy Scriptures. But I shall very industriously avoid this Vanity and Folly, and only represent to the curious and critical Reader those Passages in Pagan Writers, which with great Probability and Reason we may conclude to have been taken from the Books of the Old Testament. I shall endeavour to let you see the Sacred History of the Bible, even through the Fables and feigned Stories of the Heathens, and thereby confirm you in the belief of the Truth and Reality of that Sacred History whence they were taken.

I. To begin first where all things began, the *Creation*: this, as it is particularly described in the first Chapter of *Genesis*, is plainly to be found in Pagan Authors, who without doubt had it from this first Entrance of the Scripture. For though a Man by the Light of Nature may know that the World had a Beginning, yet this particular way of its beginning, as 'tis there set down, could not be attained to but by Divine Revelation: wherefore it is rationally to be asserted that the Pagans took this Notion from God's Revealed Will in Scripture; and at the same time they do hereby attest the Truth of that holy Book. The general Opinion of the antient Gentiles was, that the World was made out of a preceding *Chaos*, which they represent to be a rude, disordered, and indigested

gested Mass of Matter, reduced to no Shape and Form. *Sanconiathon*, the Phœnician Historian, so much prais'd by *Porphyrius*, the Philosopher in * *Eusebius*, makes mention of this *Chaos*, as the Source of all things, in his Fragments of *Phœnician Theology*. The antient Poet *Orpheus* held that this *Chaos* was the first Principle of all things. And † *Hesiod* agrees with him, affirming that the *Chaos* was that out of which all Bodies were made.

Ἡ τοι μὲν πρῶτις χάος γένετ', αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
ταῖ ἐνύστερνον, &c.

It is described by || *Ovid* after this manner ;

*Ante mare & terras, & quod tegit omnia Cælum,
Unus erat toto naturæ vultus in orbe,
Quem dixere Chaos, &c.*

Where in forty or fifty pair of good smooth Verses, he most excellently describes the Origine of all things, and makes the very *Chaos* beautiful. This is the same with *Hyle*, the first original Matter of all things, the Poets *Demogorgon*, which was borrowed from the shapeless Lump of the *Chaos*. And in the Phœnician Language we may find it in the very sound of the words *Thoth* and *Bau*, which are but a small Variation from *Tobu* and *Bobu* in the Hebrew Text, the same with *Chaos* among the Greeks and Latins. This is founded on those Words of *Moses*, Gen. 1. 2. *The Earth was without form, and void ; and Darknefs was on the face of the Deep*. This dark and formless Heap of *Water and Earth*

* *Præpar. Evang.* l. i. c. 5.

† *Theogon.*

|| *Metamorph.* lib. i.

Earth mingled together, contain'd in it the *Elements* of all things that were made afterwards hence sprang the *World* as it is now shaped and modelled. From this Account which *Moses* gives here of the Creation, the old Pagan Theologians i. e. the Poets, made the *Ocean* to be the Origin of all Generation; which is no other than the (if you give the plain meaning of it) that the moist and fluid Matter gave beginning to all Bodies that are. *Orpheus* own'd this Hypothesis, calling the *Ocean* the Parent of all things, in one of his Hymns: and out of some other Pieces of his Works, the same might be proved. *Homer* does the like, asserting the *Ocean* to be the Antient of the Gods:

Ὠκεανόν τε θεῶν γένεσσι καὶ μητέρα Τιθόνην.

And again, ————— ποταμοὶο ῥέεθρα

Ὠκεανὸς, ὥστερ γένεσσι πάντεσσι τίτυκται. *Iliad*

On which Words the Scholiast gives this Reason ἐπεὶ πρώτων στοιχείων, &c. i. e. *Water* was held to be the first Element, and from that the other three sprang. Which Opinion is taken from the Scripture-account of the first Principles of the World, viz. from *Moses's* making the dark Deep or *Water* to be the Production of the first Day, and consequently to be the Source of all things that were framed afterwards. Hence it was that some of the *Stoicks* held the *Chaos* to be no other than *Water*, as *Philo* informs us. * They think (saith he) that *Water* and the *Chaos* being the same, this latter hath its Deno-

* Τῶν δὲ Στωϊκῶν ἔνιοι τὸ ὕδωρ πρὸ τὴν γένεσιν τίνομα τοῦ ἠδὲ νομίζοντες. De mundi Incorruptib.

denomination from *χλός*, which signifies flowing
 pouring out. Hence * *Seneca* declares it to be
 the Opinion of this Sect of Philosophers, that
Water is the first Principle of all things. The
 scholiast upon *Pindar*, thinks that his *Ἄριστον πέδον*
 alludes to this antient Opinion; but I can't
 say any thing in defence of that. We are certain
 that the former Quotations are very plain and to
 the purpose: and now I will bring another as con-
 siderable as any, viz. of *Thales*, the Founder of
 the Ionick Philosophy, and one of the first that
 made Disquisitions on Nature: he expressly main-
 tain'd that all things were produc'd of Water, as
Diogenes Laertius, *Tully*, and others relate of
 him. Especially the Words of this latter con-
 cerning him are remarkable, || *Thales affirm'd*
saith he) that Water was the beginning of Things,
and that God was that Mind which made all things of
Water. Which seems more particularly and sig-
 nally to refer to what *Moses* saith, speaking of the
 first Original of the Universe, that the Spirit of God
 moved on the Face of the Waters, Gen. 1. 2. giving
 us to understand that Water and Slime were the
 Material Cause and First Principle of all things,
 and that God was that Spirit or Mind who made
 the World out of those first Waters. And the
 Barbarick as well as Greek Philosophers held this,
 witness the *Brachmans* among the Indians; as *Strabo*
 is quoted by *Philo* saith. And the (*) *Egyptians*
 thought so too, and therefore worshipp'd this E-
 lement, as that Learned Jew observeth. *Helmont*
 (as

* Nat. Quæst. l. 3. c. 13. † In Thalete. || Aqua dixit
 esse initium rerum, Deum autem eam Mentem quæ ex aqua
 omnia fingeret. De Nat. Deorum, l. 1. c. 25. (*) Τὸ ὕδωρ
 ἔστι τὸ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος πάντα γίνονται. De vita Moïsis.

(as well as *Thales* and other Philosophers of old) patronizes this Opinion, maintaining that all things are from one Element; they are material simple Water disguised into various Forms by the Plastick Virtue of their Seeds. And an * Honorable Person of late hath amas'd several things together for the maintaining this Hypothesis, and let the World see what may be said for it, though he is not peremptory himself. This without doubt the Antients borrowed from the *Mosaical History* of the World, which acquaints us that at the first Creation † all things were contain'd in Water and lay brooding there two days together; accordingly it makes *Water* to be the primitive Matter or Vehicle of the Universe.

To the *Chaos* and *Water* the Antients added another concurrent Principle, namely *Night*. That the World had its Beginning from *Night* and *Chaos*, was an universal Tradition of the Pagans, not only Poets, as || *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Hesiod*, *Homer* and others, who frequently talk of *Chaos* and *Night* or *Erebus*, and tell us that all things were begotten by them; but *Philosophers* also, (if we must distinguish between these and the Poets, who were *Philosophers* too) as *Epicharmus*, *Thales*, *Plato*, and the Greek Theologizers, who speak of those Two as the Original of all things in the World. ||| *Aristotle* relates, that the Persons skill'd in ancient Theology, believed all things were made of *Night*. Which questionless is of *Mosaick* Extraction, and sprang first from those words in *Gen.* 1. 2. *Darkness was on the Face of the Deep*. The *Deep* is their *Chaos*, and the *Darkness* is their *Night* or *Erebus*; for the known

* Robert Boyle Esq. † *Gen.* 1. 2, 6, 9. || *Nuſ* *ſermon*
in Hymn. ||| *Metaphys.* l. 14. c. 6.

down and usual Signification of * *Ereë* is *Caligo*,
Darkness. Or perhaps this may be borrowed from
[Ereb] *Vespera*, the *Evening*, mentioned in *Gen. 1.*
as the first Beginning of Time from the Crea-
tion: whence the old Notion of * *Ether* and *Day*
being begot by the *Night*. And hence the Pagans,
who had seen something of these Writings, came
to have this Sentiment, that *Night* and *Darkness*
were the first Principles of the World. This is
the same with what *Moses* here delivers, only 'tis
express'd in different Terms.

And so as to what is said in the *Mosaick History*
concerning † *God's* orderly dividing, separating, and
digesting of this confused Chaos and dark Mass, the
Old Philosophers have agreed to this likewise.
Anaxagoras is reckon'd commonly in the number
of the antient Atheists, but he little deserved that
Name; for (as *Plutarch* saith of him) || he was the
first that denied Fortune or Fate to be the Cause or
Principle of the fair Order and Harmony of the
Universe, and first set up a Pure and Immixt Spi-
rit or Mind, who separated the homogeneous Parts
from the whole Mass and confused Mixture of
things. And *Diogenes Laertius* gives these as his
very Words, (*) *All things were in a heap and jum-
ble at first: afterwards came the Eternal Mind, and
disposed and ordered them in an excellent Manner.*
This *Aristotle* meant, when he said, that (†) in in-
finite Matter a Mind or Intelligence produced Motion,
and separated the Parts: which Mind is called by
Simpli-

* Νυκτὸς δ' αὖτ' Αἰθέρις τε καὶ Ἡμέρη ἐξεγένοντο. Hesiod.
Theogon. † Gen. 1. 4, 6, 7. || Πρῶτον τ. ἴς, ὅλοις ἡ πύχυν,
ἢ ἀνάγκην διακοσμήσεως ἀρχὴν, ἀλλὰ ἰὺν ἐπίεσσε καὶ διαρῖν
ἢ ἀκραιπν. &c. (*) Πάντα χεῖματὰ ἦν ἑμὲ εἶτα νῦν ἐλ-
θὼν αὐτὰ διακόσμησα. In Anaxag. (†) Lib. 8. φυσικῆς ἀκρί-
βειας.

Simplicius on the Place, *κοσμοποιὸς* vñs, that finite Mind which made the World. So * *Tully* asserts that those Particles of infinite Matter were alike in themselves, and were very small, subtle, and at first very confused, were afterwards brought into Order by the Divine Mind. This was the Work of God in the Creation. Now I ask, whence had they this Notion concerning the Origine of the World? It is not a Principle in Philosophy; therefore they had it somewhere else, which is the thing I am proving. The Speculations and Theories concerning the Rise of the World, were not their own, but were Traditional Principles, i. e. they received them from the Antients, and these had them conveyed to them from the Bible. Their Philosophizing on this Matter was from that Divine Penman *Adam*, the Sum of which was this, that God first of all produced a *Chaos*, i. e. the rude Beginnings of *Earth*, swallowed up and even overwhelmed with the *Watry Abyss*; out of which dark, confused and indigested Materials he made all things both in Heaven and Earth as out of the first Matter, which by a Divine Skill and Power he separated and divided, till it arose to this excellent and complex Frame wherein it appears at this day. Thus the antient Philosophy of the Gentiles was borrowed from *Moses's* Description of the Creation; thus the Writings of the first Heathen Philosophers bear witness to the first and antientest Penmen of the Old Testament. And if you ask, how the Pagans came by this Information from the Holy Wri-

* *Materiae infinitae particulas similes inter se, & minutas, primum confusas, postea in ordinem adductas à Mente Divina* *Tulsi. Quaest. l. 4.*

Writings? be pleased to stay but till we come towards the Close of this Discourse, and then I hope I shall give you a good and satisfactory Account of the Question, and let you see by what means the *Hebrew* Writers arrived to a Knowledge (though indeed dark and obscure) not only of these Particulars already named, but of a great number more which I shall now proceed to add.

II. *The Production of Adam and Eve* is attested by the same Persons. That the First Man was made of the *Earth*, or the Clay of the Ground, is delivered by the most Authentick Authors among them. I will not insist upon the constant Opinion and Perswasion of the *Athenians*, who held they were sprung from the Ground they lived on, and were not descended from other Nations: Which perhaps arose, first, from the Tradition concerning the making the first Man out of the Earth. *Plato*, and several good antient * Authors, testify that the People of *Greece* held themselves to be *Αἰθεράγενες*, i. e. born of the Earth: and in memory of this they wore Golden Grasshoppers, and were called from those Animals *Tettigopbori*, because this sort of Creatures is thought and believed to have its Rise from the Earth. And there were said to be not only in *Attica*, but in *Thessaly* and *Arcadia*, some of these *Autochthonous*, People that were begot out of the Soil. Yea, the old *Britains*, our Ancestors, were said to be such, as *Diodorus* the Sicilian and *Cæsar* tell us, nay seem to believe. They were *Aborigines*, i. e. they had their Original from the very Ground they lived on. Which

Notion,

* Demosthenes in Epitaph. Isocrates in Panegyric. C. c. Orat. pro Flacco.

Notion, as I conceive, was either from the *Giant* called *Sons of the Earth*, or from *Adam* and *Eve* who we are certain were formed out of the *Earth*. These were the true *Αὐτόχθονες*, the antient *Autochthones*; born from their own Soil; the *Earth* was their Parent. This Terrestrial Extraction of the First Man is mentioned in * several Places by *Plato* And *Empedocles* (as *Censorinus* tells us) and *Zenon Eleates* (as † *Laertius* relates) held the same. There is a Passage in *Cornelius Tacitus*, which I am perswaded refers to this; for speaking of the Original of the Germans, he saith 'tis recorded in their antient Annals and Monuments, which are in Verse, that || *the God Tuit, and his Son Mannus, born of the Earth, were the Founders of that Nation.* *Tuit*, or *Thuet*, is the same with *Θεός*: *Mannus*, or *Man*, is *Adam* the first Man, (for *Man* in the German Language is *Vir*) who was the *Son of God*; and the reason is here given, because he was made by him out of the *Earth*; (for I conceive there is a Transposition in the Words, *i. e.* *et* should be placed before *terrâ editum*; which Words belong to the next, *viz. filium Mannum.*) Hence it appears that this Notion of Man's Original from the *Earth* was among the old Germans. who derived it first from the Mosaick Records. I will at present omit several Quotations out of the *Greek Poets* who were the first Divines and Philosophers among the Pagans, (as *Orpheus*, *Hesiod*, *Homer*) who testify this very thing. From these the *Latins* borrowed it, as *Juvenal*, who speaking of the first

* In his *Protagoras*, *Critias*, *Menexenus*, *Politicks*. † *Γενεσις ἀνθρώπων ἐκ γῆς εἶναι.* In *Zen.* || Celebrant carminibus antiquis (quod unum apud illos memoriae & annalium genus est) *Tuitonem* deum, *terrâ editum* & *filium Mannum* originem gentis conditoresque. *De morib. Germ.*

and antientest People of the World, describes
their Original thus ;

Compositiq; luto, nullos habuere Parentes.

which Words are a plain Reference to *Adam's*
made of Clay, or Earib. But *Ovid*, who was
acquainted with all the antient Notions of the
World, is more clear and open, and * relates the
Passages in the *Mosaick* Story concerning the
Original of the World, and that in Words coming
near to *Moses* as may be. In the close he tells
Man was made after the Creation of all other
things :

*Sanctius hic animal, mentisq; capactus alta,
Deerat adhuc, & quod dominari in cætera posset ;
Natus bomb est.*

This is *Moses* exactly. *Deerat adhuc* answers to
Gen. 2. 5. [there was not a Man.] *Quod dominari*
in cætera posset, is the same with what we read in
Gen. 1. 26, 28. that Man was made to have Domi-
on over the Fish of the Sea, and over the Fowl of the
Air, and over every living thing that moveth on the
Earth. Here are two of the chief things which
are delivered in the beginning of that Sacred Hi-
story in *Genesis*, viz. that Man was made last of
all, and to have Rule and Dominion over all the
Creatures: *Sanctius animal* excellently expresses
that Man was made for Religion ; ζῶν τὸ θεοειδές
as † *Plato* calls him : or, he is stiled *Holy*,
because made after God's Likeness ; which follows
evidently after,

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Finxit

Finxit in effigiem moderantum cuncta Deorum.

The word *finxit* here is the proper Version of the Hebrew [Fitzer] which is used in *Gen. 2. 7. The Lord God formed Man. Deorum* answers to *Elohim* in the plural Number; and so *Moses* introduces God speaking, *Let Us make Man, Us* in the plural. *In effigiem Deorum*, is the true Translation of *בְּצֶלְמֵם יִבְרָאֵם* in the Image of God, in which Man is said to be created, *Gen. 1. 27.* So that there is another grand Truth which the Pagans took from the Holy Writings, viz. that God created Man after his Likeness, or in his own Image, *Gen. 1. 26, 27.*

Thus you see this Interpreter of the antient Theology agrees with *Moses*: yea, it is evident without any fanciful straining, that he not only took the Things themselves, but the very Words and Expressions from the Divine Writings. One applies and attributes this Formation of Man to *Prometheus*, the Name certainly of the Wise God for *πρωτομάρτυς* with the Greeks (from whom he borrowed this) is *Sapiens, Providens, Sagax.* As this *Prometheus* formed Men of Clay, which agrees with the Formation of *Adam* recorded by the inspired Writer. Wherefore both * *Tertullian* and † *Lactantius* think it reasonable to believe that the first Formation and Origine of Man's Body, which the fabulous Poets speak of, was transmitted from the sacred and inspired Verity; and that the thing

* *Ipsam corpus nostrum quod de limo figulatum, etiam fabulas nationum Veritas transmisit; utrumque originis Estu- rum confiteretur. De carne Christi. † De hominis fictione Po- ræ quoque, quamvis corruptè, tamen non aliter tradiderunt nempe hominem de luto à Prometheo factum esse dixerunt: eos non fecellit, sed nomen artificis. Instit. l. 2.*

is the same in both, though disguised by the Poets in other Words and Names. And when *Ovid* adds, that he took *Fire from Heaven* to animate his lumpish Clay, you must pardon this innocent Addition; for, as you shall observe all along, it is the way of these Men to put in something of their own, to disguise the Sacred Stories with their own Inventions and Fables: though truly here we are able to interpret this very appositely, and to applaud the Poet, who knew that dull and inert Matter could not actuate and enliven it self, but that there was need of some Heavenly and Divine Principle to set it on work, some active Ray of Life from above to inspire it: And what is this but the *Breath of Life* mentioned in *Gen. 2. 7.* by which Man's Body was enlivened and invigorated? for when it is said there, that *God formed Man out of the Earth*, it is immediately added, *He breathed into his Nostrils the Breath of Life, and Man became a living Soul.* From which manner of Expression, *Nismath hajim*, and that other in *Gen. 7. 22.* *Nismath ruach hajim*, the *Breath of the Spirit of Life*, the antient Sages among the Gentiles (who were no strangers to this and other Texts, as I shall shew afterwards) derived two Notions: the first whereof was this, that the Soul is *Breath*, and accordingly in Greek and Latin it hath its * Names from breathing. This נשמת חיים, this *Spiradum vite*, (as the Vulgar Latin renders it) by which Man's Body was inspired, was the occasion, I guess, of these Denominations of the Soul from *Breath*, *Wind* or *Air*: and that of the Poet, *Divina particula aure*, (which is spoken of the Soul)

H 2

seems

* πνευμα, à πνέω: spiritus, à spirando: animus & anima, à ἀνέμῳ, ventus.

seems to refer to this. Another Notion which they derived from this metaphorical Expression of *Breathing* or *Afflation*, was, that the Soul, the Rational Soul of Man, is a *part of God*: for as Breath is something that comes from within a Man, Souls (that are set forth by Breath) are the Emanations of God; they come from him, and are Parts of him. The Soul, say the Platonists, * is not only the Work of God, but a Portion of him. Which it is likely was *Plato's* meaning, when he said the † Soul is a sharer of the Nature of God. But this was more especially the *Stoicks* apprehension of Humane Souls; they are (saith the Royal Philosopher) || *a Part, a Piece, an Effluviūm of the Godhead*. With whom *Ariannus* agrees, telling us that (*) our Souls are so linked to God, that they are Particles of him, and as 'twere pluck'd from him. But he is very extravagant when he adds, in pursuance of this, that as to our Souls, we are not inferior to, or less than God himself. (†) *Epictetus* himself, and (||) *Seneca*, pronounce the Soul to be a Piece, a Part of the Divine Essence. *Cicero* speaks like one of this Sect, (as he frequently doth) when he saith, [*] our Souls are taken out and pluck'd off from the Nature of God, and are certain Segments of the Divine Mind. And because it was held by some Philosophers, that some of the

Infer-

* 'Η δὲ ψυχὴ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ υἱόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέρος. *Plutarch. Platon. Quæst.* † Οὐκ αὖτε κοινόν ἐστι φύσας. *In Plat. doct.* || Οὐκ ἀπόμωστα τὰ διὰ τοῦ ἀποσπασμα, τὰ τὴν καρδίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. *Stoicis. ἢ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ.* (*) Ἀνθρώπου ἡ ψυχὴ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλὰ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ σώματος, καὶ ἀποσπασμα. *Lib. 1. cap. 14.* (†) Τὸ διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ. (||) *Dei pars. Epist. 92.* [*] A naturā divīnā sumptus animos & delibatos habemus. — *Humanus animus sumptus est ex mente divīnā. Tusc. lib. 3.*

Inferiour Animals, as Bees, had Souls resembling those of Men, therefore they asserted that they likewise * were parts of the Divinity. All this comes (if I mistake not) from that forenamed Passage in *Moses's* History concerning the Production of Man, *God breathed into him the Breath of Life*; which was interpreted as if humane Souls were partial Effluxes or Aporrhæas of the Divine Essence it self.

The making of *Eve* out of *Adam*, was also obscurely intimated in what *Plato* saith in his *Symposium*, namely, that the first Man was ἀνδρόγυνος, a Mixture of both Sexes. Which Fable of his was from the Jewish Tradition, that the first Man was made an *Hermaphrodite*; that he had two Bodies join'd together, one of a Male, another of a Female; and that God afterwards split him into two distinct Bodies, whence arose Man and Woman. If the Jewish Rabbies (who were better acquainted with Scripture) talk'd after this dotting rate, *Plato* may well be excused, who perhaps had it only on Tradition, and had not the Means to correct his Mistakes which they had. But this is plain, that this Fable is a Corruption of the Sacred Story, which speaking of our First Parents, saith, † *God called their Name Adam*; as if their having but One Name, signified they were but One Person: and again in the same Verse, *Male and Female created he them*; as if the first Man, who is spoken of in the Verse immediately foregoing, consisted of a double Sex. But it is evident that the Words relate to both; and the reason why the Name *Adam* is given to both, is because they

H 3

were

* *Esse apibus partem divinæ mentis.*—— *Virg. Georg.*

† *Gen. 5. 2.*

were both of them from the *Earth*, one immediately, the other remotely : but afterwards we read that they had distinct Names, *Adam* being appropriated to the Man, and *Eve* to the Woman. And this ridiculous Fable which *Plato* had picked up, might be occasioned likewise from a misunderstanding of that Text, * *God took one of the Man's Ribs, and out of it made her a Woman.* Because the Woman was formed out of the Man's Side, they inferr'd that *Adam* was at first both Man and Woman, and that the Woman at her first Make stuck to his Side. Which is a gross mistaking of the Text, but confirms the Truth and Antiquity of that Book of *Moses*, which assures us of *Eve's* Formation out of *Adam*, which was the thing that gave rise to this erroneous Tradition.

May we not think that *Adam's* Dominion over the *Beasts*, which was accompanied with his Calling them, and giving them Names, was the Foundation of what the Poets talk of *Orpheus's* drawing the *Beasts* after him, and making them Tame, and causing them to stand still, and as it were answer to their Names? Or else it was a Representation of the *Beasts* and all sorts of Animals coming in to the *Ark* at *Noah's* Call, which is a Confirmation of another known Passage in the Mosaick Writings. But I am not positive here, and in some such-like Passages which occur in the Poets : tho' in others I shall heap up several plain and evident Circumstances, sufficient to convince the Reader that they have reference to something spoken of in Scripture. As to *Adam's* giving of Names to all things, mentioned *Gen. 2. 19.* it appears that *Plato*

was

was not a stranger to it; for in his * *Cratylus*, where it is disputed whether Words signify by Institution or from Nature, he first denies the Language of his Grecians to have been the Original one, (as in † another place he calls his Countrey-men the Greeks, *Youths* and *Striplings* of yesterday, and consequently their Language was not the ancientest) and then he hints that *Hebrew* was the Original Tongue; which is meant by what is said, Gen. 11. 1. that the whole Earth was of one Language, and of one Speech. And though he conceals the Name of the *Jews* or *Hebrews*, yet when he expressly affirms in this *Dialogue*, that the right Doctrine of *Names*, and their Interpretation, are to be fetch'd from the || *Barbarians*, as the more antient, we are not to doubt that he means the *Jews* or *Hebrews*: for all agree that they were call'd *Barbarians* by the Greeks (as these were, so by them.) And hence I gather that *Plato* and other Heathens knew, and perhaps had read, that *Adam* gave *Names*, proper and significant *Names*, to all *Creatures*; which *Moses* particularly makes mention of, and must be the very thing that is here meant by *Plato*, when he acknowledgeth that the true *Etymologies* of Things, and the Interpretation of *Names*, are to be derived from the *Barbarians*.

The *First and Innocent State of Man* (and that with some of the Circumstances of it which could be known only from the Book of *Moses*) is spoken of by the antient Writers among the Heathens. Thus you will find that (*) *Hesiod* gives us an admirable Description of it. In *Plato's Atlantis*, or *Critias*, are plainly to be seen the Footsteps of

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the

* Or, Περὶ ὀνομάτων ὁρδόντων. † In *Timæo*. || *Ἐν*
ἡμῶν ἀρχαῖότες βαρβάρων. (*) *Ἐργ. 2. μῦθος* v. 108, &c.

the Old and Primeve State of Man, when the *Divine* (as he saith) prevail'd, when the Divine Heavenly Nature was not corrupted by the Fall. And in his *Politicks* (where he likewise speaks of the Primitive and Pure State of Man) he tells us that in those first Times Man got his Living without Trouble and Labour, that he fed only on the Fruits of the Earth, and that Nakedness was an Attendant of that first and Golden Age of the World, alluding to *Gen. 2. 25. They were both naked, the Man and his Wife.* So an * Antient Writer acquaints us, that the Egyptians find in the old Writings, that the first Men and Women were naked, which is according to what's read in the place. In the *Sibylline Verses*, which are borrow'd from the Scripture, the same Allegories and Descriptions are used in setting forth the happy Age of Man, that you find used in that holy Book. The Happiness of *Paradise* is obliquely described by *Homer*, and the Felicity of the First Age by *Vergil*. And without question the Blessed State of *Paradise* is referr'd to by (*) *Ovid* in his description of the *Golden Age*, or *Saturn's Reign*. There we may see represented the Simplicity and Innocency of our First Parents, the Peace and Tranquillity, the Contentment and Satisfaction which were peculiar to the State of Integrity. *Paradise* itself, the Seat of this Happiness, seems to have been known by the antient Pagans: for it is probable their Writers understand this, when they tell us of the *Elysian Fields*; for *Gardens* (such as *Paradise*) and *pleasant Fields* are the same with them. These you may see described by *Plato*.

* Diodor. Sic. l. 1. † Odyss. 10. || Georg. lib. 1. & *Metamorph. lib. 1.*

his *Phædo*, where he tells us that they are blessed with a mild and gentle Air, pleasant Streams, a constant Spring, fragrant Flowers and Fruits ever growing. Of these *Virgil* speaks in his sixth *Æneid*. And they are the same with the *Fortunate Islands* which the Greeks write of, a Place of extraordinary Delight, and where none but Good and Vertuous Men inhabit. Or, if we must parallel it with a Garden so expressly call'd, we have *Alcinous* his Garden, or Orchard, in * *Homer*; which was taken from the description of *Paradise*, saith *Justin Martyr* in his Oration against the Gentiles. Or, the Garden of *Adonis*, which is so celebrated, may refer to that of *Eden*, and is easily derived from it. Or, † the Garden of *Jupiter*, in *Plato's* *Symposiacks*, may enigmatically refer (as that Learned Father *Origen* deemeth) to that of *Paradise*. So likewise may the pleasant Orchards of the *Hesperides*, in which were Trees that bore Golden Apples: and it may be some confirmation of this Notion, that near the Fountain of the River *Tigris* (on which *Paradise* was seated) we read of a Place that bears the Name of *Hispereitis* and *Hispereis*. It is not unlikely that these diverse Gardens were transplanted from that in *Eden*. It is not unlikely that some or all of these Greek Fables were founded in Truth, and arose from what the inspired Book tells us, that God placed Man in a Garden, the Garden of *Eden*, which signifies Pleasure or Delight: for it is added, that here grew every Tree that is pleasant to the Sight, and good for Food, *Gen.* 2. 9. And as this Garden was the Platform of those before mentioned, so the Tree of Life in this Garden gave rise to the Poets *Nectar* and *Ambrosia*,

* *Odyss.* ii. † *Διδος νῆα* &c.

brofia, which are no other than the Food and Repast of these Earthly Gods, these Divine Creatures that inhabit here. The former of these (according to * one Derivation of it) made the Drinkers of it ever youthful: and † another Etymology speaks this Drink to be such as suffers them not to Die. These were the very Blessings of the *Tree of Life*; it had a property to keep off Old Age, and to preserve Man's Life a long time. The latter, namely || *Ambrosia*, had the same Virtue; it was said to keep those that ate it, free from Mortality. This therefore, no less than the other, seems to refer to, and be borrowed from the *Tree of Life*, which should have made the Eaters of it Immortal, and secured them in a State of Blessedness for ever. Thus the Production of Man, and sundry things referring to his Blessed State in Innocency, which are found in the Writings of the Heathens, were taken from the Sacred Fountains, and consequently the Writings of these Heathens do in some measure attest and confirm to us the Truth and Certainty of the Holy Scriptures.

III. *The Fall of Adam*, and the several particular things relating to it, are to be found in these Pagan Records. First, the Forerunner of it, viz. the Degeneracy of the Angels, is plainly spoken of by that Antient Philosopher *Empedocles*, as (*) *Plutarch* relates; for whom else could he mean by his *Dæmons*, to whom he gives the Name of *Ὀυρανόπετες* (*Heaven-fallen Creatures*) than these Apostate Spirits, who were thrust down from the Regions

* Νεκταρ, qu. νέκταρ, τὸ νέος ποτὶν τὰς πίνοντας. Suidas.
 † Ἄνθ' & κείνῃ. || Qu. *Aleesia*. (*) Devitand. zt alien.

Regions of Happiness above, and became Devils by their own voluntary oppoling of God, and declining his Government? Next, we have good Records among the Pagans of the Fall it self of *Adam* and *Eve*, especially of the latter, because she was first and most eminent in the Transgression, (as the Apostle speaks) and was the cause of the Man's defection from his Duty. She is represented by * *Homer's Ate*, whom incensed *Jupiter* thrust down from Heaven, threatening that she should never be restored to that Place again. Though some have thought that this might refer to the Apostate Angels (of whom before), because it is common with the Poets to imply Many when they mention but One Person; and so here, though One be said to be cast down from Heaven, yet it may intimate to us the Fall of all the cursed Crew of Wicked Angels. But it is more natural, I think, to apply this Story (it being of the Female Sex) to our Grandmother *Eve*: for what the Poets tell us of *Ate*, viz. that she was the first-born Daughter of *Jupiter*, and that she was that pernicious Woman that brought Mischief on the whole Race of Man, exactly agrees to her, so that there is no need of explaining it. It is not to be doubted that our first Parent *Eve* was also meant by *Pandora*, whom *Hesiod* and others of the Antients mention, acquainting us, that out of her deadly Box which she gave to *Epimetheus*, flew all Evil into the World, and thereby she became the Original of all the miserable Occurrences that happen to Humane Kind. *Eve* was this *Pandora* who gave that fatal Gift of the Fruit of the Tree unto her Husband, as it is express'd in *Gen. 3. 6.* and he himself afterwards with

with unspeakable Regret, and too late an In-
into his Condition, (whence he justly merits
Title of *Epimetheus*) repeats the same, *She*
me of it, ver. 13. and with it imparted all Evils
Mankind. Wherefore from that Unhappy
and from her *General Bestowing* of all Evils on
World, she had the Name of *Pandora* among
first Greek Poets, who had arrived to some notion
of this Unfortunate Woman's Miscarriage,
had from the Inspired Writings learn'd, that
her sprang all the Miseries and Calamities of
Life, and even Death it self.

As for *Original Sin*, the early Corruption
Depravation of Man's Nature, which was
Fruit of our first Parents Transgression, we can
not but observe that it is taken notice of by
Gentiles of old; who call it the * *Congenite*
the † *Domestick Evil of Mankind*, the || *Natural*
Repugnancy of Man's Temper to Reason: and some
Pythagoreans, quoted by *Jamblicus*, stile it a ||| *Un-
happy, a Mortal kind of Life, a many-beaded Be-
ast* &c. The Moralists are full of such Notions,
complain of the Infirmary of Nature, that it is
very much vitiated and hurt; that the Fountains
polluted, the Springs defiled; and that Man
propense to all Evil, and averse to what is good
and vertuous. The Greek and Roman Philoso-
phers do all complain of the low and degenerate
Condition of Man: but this is chiefly done by the
best of them, as the Stoicks and Platonists. Some
(to mention no other of the first of these) fre-
quently in his Epistles and other Discourses, speaks
knowledge

* Σύμμετον τὸ ἀμαρτάνειν ἀνθρώποις. Sopater. † Ὁ
κακόν. Hierocl. || Τὸ πεφυκός ἀντιβαῖνον τῷ λόγῳ. Αἰνείας
||| Ὁνητὸν πὶ ζωῆς εἶδος, πολυκέφαλον θηρίον.

acknowledges, and sadly reflects upon the Lapse of Man's Nature. And as for the other Sect of Philosophers, they abundantly lament this degenerate State of Man. * Three of them especially talk most passionately and feelingly of the Defect of a former Innocency, of the Departure of Souls from God, of the strong Propensities of Humane Nature to Evil, by a detrusion into terrestrial Bodies. I speak not this, as if I did not think they might partly have these Notions from the inward Sense they had of this Innate Evil; but from what I have suggested, (and shall afterwards) it seems probable to me that there was a Tradition among them concerning the First Cause and Author of this Evil. † Plato himself speaks very sensibly of this Loss of the first State of Purity and Happiness, and relates the Defection of Man from his Primitive Condition, from whence || he saith flowed all Mischiefs into the World. And I propound it to be thought of, whether his Doctrine of *Preexistence* was not a way used by him to disguise the Fall of Man. This Philosopher held that Mens Souls were created Happy, and that afterwards they Apostatized; for which they were ever after imprisoned in Bodies. Now this I say, that from Moses's Writings (with which he was acquainted) he might learn the Story of Man's Fall, and then wrapp'd it up in this obscure manner, which was a usual way with him, as his Writings shew. It was (as I conceive) his knowledg of the Apostacy of our first Parents, that gave rise to his Doctrine of the Preexistence of Souls: That is the thing which is couched in this Ingenious Hypothesis of his, which

* Porphyrius de Abst. Simplicius in Epictet. Hierocles in Pythag. Carm. † In Politic. || In Atlantis.

which afterwards so prevail'd among those of the Sect. The meaning of his Opinion is, that Mankind was fallen, and their Souls were become degenerate, and that they were punish'd for what *Adam* their Representative did long ago.

If we enquire further, we shall find that the Gentile World was not ignorant of the several *Circumstances* of Man's Fall; as first, that it was by the *Devil's* means. It was an antient Tradition among the Pagans, that a sort of Malignant Spirits, Malicious Dæmons, envied Mens Happiness, and did what they could to molest them, and hinder them of Felicity. The Pythagorean and Platonick Philosophers speak often of these Envious and Mischievous Spirits; the Original of which we can conceive to be no other than what *Moses* History saith of the *Devil's* tempting our first Parents, *Gen. 3. 1, &c.* This is couched in another Opinion which prevail'd among some of the Pagans, viz. the Notion of Two Principles, the one the Cause of all Good, the other of all Evil. *Θεός* and *Δαίμων* they were stiled by the Manichees, who had it from *Manes* their Founder, a Persian; and he received this Opinion from his Countrymen the Persians, who were Gentiles. These two Opposite Principles, the one for conferring of Good, the other for procuring (as also the averting) of Evil, were called by that People *Oromasdes* and *Arimanius*, and were both worshipp'd by them, as * *Diogenes Laertius* and others assure us. But this was not only the Persuasion and Practice of the *Magi*, who were the Philosophers of *Persia*, but *Plutarch* shews the Antiquity, and almost Universality of this Opinion of Two Different Principles.

* Proem. ad vir. Philos.

ciples, among the rest of the Philosophick Tribe. It prevail'd among the antient Grecians, whose two distinct Principles were *Jupiter Olympius* and *Hades*. The *Egyptians* too had their *Typho*, the Evil Principle, and *Isis*, or *Osiris*, the Good one. The *Chaldeans* had the same Notion of a Contrary Cause of Good and Evil, holding some Planets (which were their Gods) to be productive of all the Good, others of all the Evil among them. This antient Tradition of the Pagans so generally received, was, I suppose, derived from what is recorded in the first Entrance of the Bible, viz. that God was the bountiful Author of all Good to Man, not only creating him of nothing, and giving him his Being, but placing him in a State of Happiness, and conferring all Felicity upon him: but on the contrary, the *Devil* was the first Author of Evil, tempting our first Parents to Sin, whereby they lost all their Happiness, and fell under a Curse, and were expell'd out of Paradise; and afterwards all Evils and Mischiefs came upon the World for their sake. Hence arose among the deluded Heathens that Twofold Principle *God* and *Demon*, or rather Two Opposite Gods; for the true Tradition was corrupted into an absurd and irrational Opinion among the Gentiles of two Anti-Gods.

There was also this Circumstance of the History of Man's Fall among the Heathens, that *the Devil* appear'd in the likeness of a *Serpent*. Preparatory to which is that which *Plato* saith, (as he is quoted by * *Eusebius*) that in *Saturn's* days the Folks could talk and hold discourse with *Beasts* as well as Men; which is an Allusion to the noted Colloquy between
Eve

* Præpar. Evang. lib. 12, 14.

Eve and the *Serpent*, and her Seduction by entertaining Discourse with him. I should guess that *Eve* is disguised under the Fable of *Proserpina*, the Daughter of *Jupiter*, whom *Plato* stole away ravished, or as others tell us, whom *Jupiter* knew in the form of a *Serpent*. The plain meaning of which is, that *Satan* in the likeness of a *Serpent* deceived *Eve*. The Devil's taking the Shape of this Animal, and his circumventing thereby our first Parents, is intimated by the Heathens in the obscure Writer *Pherecydes*, where *Ὀφιοεύς* is the Title of that Great one who opposed *Saturn*. The Truth which lies at the bottom of that fabulous Story, is, that the Apostate Angels or Devils opposed God at the beginning of the World: the Ring-leader of which Cursed Spirits was he that in the shape of a *Serpent* assaulted our first Parents; this was that *Ὀφιοεύς*, that *Demoniacal Serpent*. You will find * *Origen* asserting that this was taken from *Moses's* relation concerning the *Serpent* in *Paradise*; and not this from that, as *Celsus*, most egregiously failing in Antiquity and Chronology, maintained. † *Eusebius* also is of the same Opinion, affirming that this *Ophioneus* refers to the Devil in the form of a *Serpent*; and adds (to make it probable) that *Pherecydes* was conversant with the *Phœnicians*, who worshipp'd their God under the form of a *Serpent*, the Devil affecting to be adored in that Shape which he first assumed. And not only in *Phœnicia*, but in other Countries, *Dragons*, or *Serpents*, or *Snakes*, (for these are promiscuously used for one another) were reckoned among the Secret Mysteries of the Gentiles. These had so great a Veneration for *Serpents* or *Dragons*, that

* Cont. Celsi. lib. 6. † De Prep. Evang. lib. 1. cap. 10.

that some of their Temples had their Denomination thence, and were stiled *Draconian*, saith *Strabo*. The *Babylonians* worshipp'd a *Dragon*, as the *Apocryphal* Writings relate. The *Egyptians* worshipp'd *Ophionus*, as † *Eusebius* testifieth; and in their Hieroglyphicks they shewed that they were wonderful Admirers of *Serpents*: for the Heads of their Gods were incircled with Serpents and Basilisks, saith *Horus*; the Crowns and Diadems of their Kings were set with Asps and Snakes; Serpents being the Emblems of Dominion and Principality, yea of Immortality and Divinity, saith the same Author. And, which is yet more to our purpose, *Eusebius* observes that the Egyptians, as well as the Phœnicians, used to call Serpents || *Good Demons*: which is a plain Relick of the Devil's assuming the Form of some goodly Serpent, and appearing like a good Dæmon or Angel of Light, when he accosted our Mother *Eve*, and laid siege to her Integrity. And to pass from *Egypt* to *Greece*, there were here also some Remembrances of this notable thing: for the Images of *Serpents* were set over the Gates of Temples and Consecrated Places; and generally they (*) painted Serpents or Dragons in all Holy Places, as the Genius of those Places: for they perswaded themselves that the Genius of the Place appeared in the shape of a *Serpent*. Among these Grecians the Devil was commonly worshipp'd in this Primitive Figure, more especially at *Dolphos*, whence (as a Learned Critick hath remarked) *Apollo* is called *Pythius*, and

I

Pytho,

Lib. 14. † *Præp. Evang.* lib. 1. cap. ult.

† *Ἀποδεδειγμένως*. Ibid. cap. 7.

(*) ——— Pinge duos angues: sacer est locus; extra Meite.

Pytho, from נחש a Serpent. I might add what * *Clement of Alexandria* reports, that the Heathens at their Feasts of *Bacchus* were crowned with Serpents, and used to carry a Serpent in Procession and cry with a loud Voice, *Eva, Eva*; for *Hew* or *Hivia* (saith he) in the Hebrew signifies a Serpent. This latter was partly a Mistake of his, it is in the *Chaldee* that it signifies so, and is a Word used by the *Chaldee* Translators in *Gen.* and other places, for a *Serpent*; and so we are thereby informed what a Reverence was paid to Serpents by the Antients. Or, what if I should offer the Conjecture, that *Eva*, or *Evia*, or *Hevia*, are plain Remembrance of our Mother *Eve*, or *Hew* or, according to the Hebrew Termination, *Hew* or *Havah*? Which is the more probable, because the proclaiming of this Name is join'd with the carrying of a *Serpent*, which we know that unhappy Woman was too well acquainted with. And perhaps the word *Evantes*, which is used by † *Virgil* to signify those madding Frolicks, had its Original hence. Thus there is a double Memorial of that Pagan Festival Solemnity, to wit, of a remarkable Person, and as Remarkable a Thing recorded in Sacred Story. Now I ask, whence came this Memorial of Serpents to be observ'd so generally among the Pagans? Whence was it that the Old Heathens were such Adorers of these Creatures? How came it to pass that the Devil was worshipp'd by them under this Form? Where did this Custom prevail among the Phoenicians, Babylonians, Egyptians and Grecians? Nay, || *S. Iustin* acquaints us, that some Heretick Christians

* *Prærept. seu Exhortat. ad Gent.*
|| *De Hæres. cap. 17.*

† *Æneid. 6.*

made it a great part of their Religion to worship a Serpent. And if we should leave the Antients, and come down to latter Ages, I might here alledge what * *Luther* saith he heard a Merchant affirm, namely, that in the *Indies* he had seen People worship a *Great Snake* with the highest Reverence and Honour imaginable. Of all this there cannot be a better Account given than that which I have already offered. It is questionless a remembrance of what happened in the beginning of the World, and is recorded in the Book of *Genesis*, that *Satan*, who had been a kind of God, a Glorious Angel, (and therefore pass'd for such a one still among the Ignorant Heathens) appear'd in a *Serpentine* Figure to *Adam* and *Eve* in *Paradise*.

And this reminds me of another Circumstance of Man's Fall, viz. the Place, which was *Paradise*, or the *Garden of Eden*; which (as I said before) seems to be represented by the famous *Garden of the Hesperides*. This I know hath been a commonly received Notion; this Poetical Passage hath been usually applied to this purpose: but let us not think it the less true, because of the Commonness of it. If any Man seriously weigh what is reported of this Garden, he will think it not improbable that the Fall of Man is couched in this Poetick Fable. For this Garden yielded *Golden Fruit*, i. e. very choice and excellent Fruit, and such as was as tempting as Gold was afterwards; which plainly points to the *Forbidden Fruit* in *Paradise*, which was so desirable and delightful, so tempting and charming. And this Fruit, these *Golden Apples*, were kept and watch'd by a *Dragon* or *Serpent*; which plainly refers to the *Devil* in the form of a

Serpent, who was always watching about the Tree not to keep the Man and Woman from eating it, but to solicit and tempt them by all means to do it: What they add of *Hercules's* slaying a *Dragon*, is an addition of their own Fancies, and must always be expected in their representing these Stories, (as I have intimated before:) the Issue was, that the *Golden Fruit* was stolen and that is, in plain Terms, our Parents did eat of a Forbidden Fruit. This was a downright Steal or Robbery; for it was taking away that which was not their own, and which they were strictly commanded not to take away. Thus *Paradise* was removed by the Poets out of *Asia* into *Africa*, whatever Place it was where the *Hesperides* had their Garden. This Fiction of theirs was not out of *Genesis*, which speaks of the Garden *Eden*, of the *Serpent*, and of the Forbidden Fruit which were the occasions of Man's being tempted and deceived. Whence it is clear that the *Classical Poets*, *Philosophers* and *Sages* among the *Heathens* were not ignorant of the very things which *Moses*, the inspired Writer gives us an account of. Of the first Transgression of Man, and the Origin of it; the Depravation of Mankind, and the miserable Consequences and Effects of it, as the *Cursing of the Earth*, and the *Barrenness* which ensue upon it, with the *Infirmities* and *Diseases* that Men's Bodies were thereupon incident to, are to be fully described in the Writings of those Pagans, especially of that * *Renowned Poet* before mentioned who was so thorowly skill'd in all the Pagan Theology. And this proves what I designed, that the most considerable Passages of the Sacred History

* Ovid *Metamorph.* lib. 1.

of the Bible are asserted by the Writers among the Gentiles.

IV. From the Fall of Man till after the Confusion and Dispersion at *Babel*, there are many considerable things spoken of by Pagans, which they could not have any notice of but from the Old Testament. *Enoch's* being taken up by God (together with the Translation of *Elias* afterwards) gave occasion to the Stories of their *Heroes* being Translated; of *Astrea* and others leaving the World, and ascending to Heaven alive, and being turn'd into Stars and Celestial Signs: as also the *Apotheosis* among the Gentiles might be founded on this. Again, the Testimony of the Pagans concerning the *Long Lives of the People of the first Age of the World*, was plainly, without any Disguise, taken from the Sacred History. "All that have committed unto writing the Antiquities either of the Greeks or Barbarians, attest this Longevity of the Men before the Flood, saith * *Josephus*. And immediately he subjoins: " *Manetbo* the Egyptian Writer, *Berosus* the Chaldean, *Mochus*, *Hestius*, *Jerom* the Egyptian, who have treated of the Egyptian Affairs, agree with us in this. "Also *Hesiod*, with *Hecataeus*, *Hellanicus* and *Acusilaus*, *Ephorus* and *Nicolas*, tell us that those People of old lived a thousand Years. Which is a Confirmation of the Truth of what we read so often in *Moses's* Account of the first People of the World, viz. that they commonly lived seven, eight, or nine hundred Years. The Greek and Latin Poets relate likewise that there were *Giants* in the first times of the World: which most probably

pably was borrowed from *Gen. 6. 4.* where *Moses* speaking of the Times before the Flood, tells us that *there were Nephilim, Giants in the Earth in the Days.* And from what is said in the same Verse *The Sons of God came in unto the Daughters of Men and they bare Children to them,* arose the Fiction of *Orpheus, Hesiod,* and other Greek Poets, that the *Heroes* were partly the Race of Gods; that the *Giants* were the Sons of *Heaven and Earth*; that is, according to the plain and intelligible Language of Scripture, they sprang from the *Sons of God and the Daughters of Men.* This I verily think is the Foundation of what Poetick Writers tell us concerning the old *Heroes* especially, viz. that they were the By-blows of the Gods; that they were begot by some Deity upon a Woman, or were the Product of some Goddess and a Man.

To proceed. *Berosus* the Chaldean Priest and Historian, relates how wicked and debauched the Old World was, how *Noah* told them of it, and of their approaching Ruine by the *Universal Flood*, which is the next thing to be spoken of. The Fame and Memory of this *Deluge*, and of *Noah's Ark*, were among the Pagans every-where. Not only the forefaid *Berosus* (quoted by * *Josephus*), but *Nicolaus Damascenus* (quoted by the same † Author), *Abydenus* the Assyrian (cited by || *Eusebius*), *Alexander Polyhistor, Melò, Hieronymus Egyptianus, Apollodorus,* and all the Barbarian Historians, as *Josephus* saith, i. e. according to his way of speaking, all the Pagan Historians have made mention of *Noah's Flood*. If the Credit of these Writers now named be called in question, (as I confess they are

* Cont. Appion, l. 1.
‡ Prepar. Evang. l. 9.

† Antiqu. Jud. l. 1. c. 4.

by some) there is abundant mention of that *Flood*, and of several Circumstances belonging to it, in others, whose Writings are not suspected. In *Lucian's Dea Syria* are most of the Particulars which are recorded in the sixth and seventh Chapters of *Genesis* concerning that *Deluge*: as first, the Natural Cause of it, the excessive Rain or Fall of Waters from Heaven, and the opening of the Fountains below: then the Moral Cause of it, the Corruption and Wickedness of the World. The People at that time kept not their Oaths, entertained not Strangers, were hard-hearted to those who were in Distress; they were every ways vitious and profligate, and thereby merited this great Judgment. Next, there is mentioned the Preservation of *Noah* and his Family, with the Manner of their being preserved, namely by sheltering themselves in a Great Ark; and thus he and his Wife and Children were reserved for a Second Generation. This befel *Noah* because of his great Prudence and singular Piety, as this Author adds. With him entred into the Ark two of every sort of Animals; and being shut up in that safe Custody, they all sailed together without any Harm, nay with a great Friendship and Concord. Lastly, *Noah's* erecting an Altar after he came out of the Ark, is expressly taken notice of. These are the things, saith he, which the Greeks relate out of their Archives of the *Flood*. All which you will find to be like the Narrative of *Moses*, only *Deucalion* is put instead of *Noah*. * *Plutarch* (another credible Writer) speaks of the sending of the *Dove* out of the Ark, as a sign of the abating of the Flood, or rather to discover whether the Waters

* De solert. animal.

were decreased: and he adds, that it returned to the Ark again. But this Author, as well as former, disguiseth *Noah* under the Name of *Calion*, it being the usual way of the Grecians to affix new Names to Persons. From the Dove bringing an *Olive-branch*, we find in all Ages this hath been ever the Symbol of Peace and Concord, of Agreement and Friendship. * *Livy* tells us it was so among the *Carthaginians*, and among the *Greeks*. † *Polybius* saith it was the same among the most *Barbarous Nations*: for when *Hannibal* was passing the *Alpes*, those People came and met him with *Olive-branches* in their Hands; || This (as he subjoins) being a Badg and Sign of Friendship among all those *Barbarous People*. What more probably was this derived than from the History of the Flood, written by *Moses*? From the same Authentick Narrative we learn that *Noah* sent forth a *Raven* (and that first of all indeed out of the Ark; but it seems to be said that he returned not again, *Gen.* 8. 7. to which the following Fable of the *Raven* or *Crow* seems to relate. (*) *Apollo* was pleased once upon a time to employ this Bird on an Errand, and send him out to fetch fresh Water, and fetch it to him; but he returned not till after the time that *Figs* were ripe: and he staid, and sat on a certain Tree which he spent till they ripened. (†) *Ovid* tells us it was an *Apple-Tree*: and others (as *Ælian* reports) say the Messenger of *Apollo* made no haste, because he saw the *Corn* very fair, though not yet fit for Harvest.

* Lib. 30. cap. 38. & lib. 29. c. 18. † Hist. lib. 9.

|| Τὸν δὲ πρῶτον πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν ἐστὶν οὐδὲν μακρὸν.

(*) *Ælian*. Hist. l. 1. c. 47.

(†) Immemor imperii sedisse sub arbore ferat,
Dum fierent tarda dulcia poma mora. *Fest.* l. 2.

and this tempted him to neglect his Master's Commands, and not mind what he sent him about: for which *Apollo* turn'd him into such a Black Bird as he is. The Main of this Fable is the thing we are to look after, and that is, that the Crow was sent abroad to find and discover Water, and that he returned not again. This seems to be taken from the Sacred Story, even that of *Noah's* sending forth the Raven, or Crow, to discover the Fall or Increase of the Waters of the Deluge. To this purpose perhaps is that which * one Faith is observ'd of the Crows by the Antients, that they are Forgetful Creatures, and oftentimes return not to their Nests. See this more fully illustrated and proved by a Learned Critick of this last Age, † *Monfieur Rochart*. Thus there are both plain and obscure Passages in Heathen Writers, which keep up the Memory of the Flood, and of several remarkable things which attend it. Only they have corrupted the True History, and the Chronology of it, by confounding the Names of *Noah* and *Deucalion*. Yea, they tell us of *Ogyges's Flood* (as well as that of *Deucalion*) which was in the time of *Ogyges* King of *Attica*, when *Inachus* reigned among the *Argives*, which was about the time of *Abraham*; and so they place it about five hundred Years after *Noah's Flood*, *A. M.* 2140. but others say it was six hundred Years after it. This *Ogygian Flood* drowned the Country about *Athens* and *Achaia* in *Peloponnesus*: whereas the latter, viz. *Deucalion's Flood*, (which was in Greece likewise) happened in *Thessaly* where *Deucalion* reigned; and it drowned that Countrey, and some part of Italy; *Deucalion* and his Wife *Pyrrea* securing them-

* Servius.

† De Corvo quom ex arca emisit Noe.

themselves at the same time in a Vessel, and at last landed safely on *Parnassus*. This some tell us was about three hundred, others say four hundred Years after the Flood in *Ogyges's* time. But the some have placed these Two Floods at such a distance from one another, and consequently have made them two distinct ones, yet others confound them together, and make them one and the same. And it is most probable that they were so, and that both have reference to *Noah's* Flood: for nothing is more usual with the Fabulous Poets, than to split one Story into two or more, and to confound the Truth with different and disguised Names. There is reason to believe that *Ogyges* and *Deucalion* were but feigned Names of *Noah*, and that the Flood which is said to have happened in their days, was but a Representation of the Universal Deluge in *Noah's* time; and that *Ararat*, or *Caucasus*, is to be understood by *Parnassus*. They that know how common it is with the Greek Poets to alter the Names of Persons and Places, and to substitute others in their room, will not be backward to credit this. But it is easy to see through their Poetical Fictions and Disguises, and particularly here, that they had a notice of the History of the Flood, which the Holy Scripture hath given us a plain and true Account of. I might here observe what * *Ovid* saith concerning *Deucalion* and his Wife, viz. that as soon as the Deluge ceased, they betook themselves to their Devotions, and solemnly worshipp'd the Gods: which questionless refers to what the Sacred Story relates, that || *Noah* erected an Altar (the first that we read of) to sacrifice to God, and to praise him for his Deliverance

* *Metamorph. lib. 1.*† *Gen. 8. 20, 21.*

ance out of the raging Deluge. And I might observe here (in order to what I shall prove afterwards) that *Parnassus*, the place on which *Deucalion's* Ark rested, was a Mountain * dedicated to *Nachus*, where he had his Rites performed to him: whence by the by it may be gather'd, that *Noah* (who is the same with *Deucalion*) and *Bacchus* were the same Persons, which I shall make good in another place.

It might be made appear from other Particulars, that the Tradition concerning *Noah*, the *Flood*, and the *Ark*, which was derived from the Holy Scriptures, hath been spread abroad among the Pagans. † *Kircher* thinks that *Nisroch*, 2 Kings 19. 37. *Isa.* 37. 38. is as much as *Numen Arca*, the Ark-Deity or Idol, and was the Image of *Noah's* Ark, worshipp'd among the Assyrians. It may be it was an Idol in the shape of a Boat or Ship, and made perhaps of the Relicks of the Ark. I could mention that *Janus*, said to be the most antient King of *Italy*, coined Money which had on it the Figure of a *Ship*: which it is very likely refers to the Matter in hand. The Impress of the *Ship* is a Memorial of the *Ark*, which was so noted among the Antients: and *Janus* is *Noah*, as you shall hear afterwards. We may plainly discern likewise, in another Name given to *Noah* by the Poetick Writers, how there is preserved the remembrance of the chief and most notable things which are recorded of him. He was called *Prometheus*, (not but that this same Name may be applied to some others; for this too must be observed, that the Greek Poets set forth different Persons by the same Name, as sometimes one Per-

son

* *Macroh. Saturn.* l. 1. c. 18.

† *Oedyp. Ægypt.*

son by different Names, as you shall see in the
 sequel of this Discourse;) he was, I say, called
Prometheus by the Greek Poets: for according to the
 description of this Person you cannot but acknow-
 ledg, that *Noah* was covertly meant by him. (1.)
 It is said the *Flood* was in *Prometheus's* time,
 which none will deny agrees to *Noah*. (2.) *Prometh-
 eus* is said to have repaired and restored Man-
 kind: which is another plain Parallel, and need
 not to be insisted upon. (3.) *Prometheus* is said
 to be the Son of *Japetus*, i. e. of *Japheth*: and it is
 no wonder that the Names of *Father* and *Son* are
 confounded by the Poets. That they have hit
 near the Historical Truth, is a thing that is worth
 the consideration of our Consideration. (4.) Even where
 the Fiction runs higher, we still see some Footsteps
 of Truth. They feign that *Prometheus* was by *Jup-
 iter's* Order chain'd to *Caucasus*, where an Eagle,
 some say a Vulture, feeds upon his Entrails. Here
 is, according to the usual Mistake of the rambling
 Poets, one thing put for another: Mount *Caucasus*
 is put for Mount *Ararat*, or the *Gordiean Hills*, on
 which *Noah's Ark* rested. And one Fowl is put
 for another: they change the *Raven* and *Dove* into
 an Eagle or Vulture. And as to the being chain'd
 and fed upon, that is purely Poetick Invention,
 and is not to be regarded. (5.) *Prometheus* has
 his Name from his excellent Wisdom and Fore-
 sight. This exactly agrees with *Noah*, he was
 a *prophet*, i. e. one that is wise before the Event
 comes. Being warn'd of God, he foresaw the Ge-
 neral Destruction which was approaching; and by
 preparing an *Ark*, he preserved himself and his Fa-
 mily from it. Judg now whether *Noah* was not
 the *Heathen Prometheus*, and whether this and o-
 ther such Fables among the Gentiles had not their
 first

first rise from the History of the Bible. *Berosus* in his *Chaldean Antiquities*, speaks of *Noah's three Sons*; though it is true he adds others, as *Tethys*, *Typhæus*, &c. *Japheth*, one of his undoubted Sons, (whom only I shall mention at present) he is often mentioned among the *Old Grecians*; who refer their Original to *Japetus*, or *Japhetus*, making him the antientest Man: thence *Ἰαπετός* is *αἰχολόγος*, *ὑπερόλογος* in *Suidas* and *Hesychius*. Thus among the Pagans we find unquestionable Monuments of the Truth of the Bible.

The next remarkable thing after the Flood, was the Attempting to build the Tower of Babel: and this is not omitted in Pagan Records. *Berosus's* Chaldee History mentions it, but with such Additions as these, (if I may call them Additions, seeing they have some kind of ground in the Sacred Story) That it was built by *Giants*, and those *Giants* were * *Terræ filii*, out of the Earth; and that they waged War against the Gods, and were at last dispersed, and that the Building was quite beaten down by a great Wind. The Erecting of this Tower of Babel is mentioned by *Hesiodus*, and by one of the Sibyls, saith *Josephus* in his *Antiquities*; and by *Abydenus* and *Eupolemus*, as *Eusebius* testifieth in his *Evangelical Preparation*. It is likely that *Belus's* Tower, mention'd by *Herodotus*, is the Tower of Babel. That it was made of Brick and Slime, as you read in *Gen. 11. 3.* is attested by *Justin*, *Q. Curtius*, *Vitruvius*, and others; for what these Writers say of the Walls of Babylon, is applicable to that. And as for the Poets, the History

of

* Perhaps *γίγας*, *Gigas*, is a Corruption of *γεργανός*, *terrigena*; & *Giants* are express'd, *Prov. 9. 18.* where *Rephaim* is translated *γίγαντες*. † *Lib. 1. cap. 3.*

of the *Babel-Builders* is turn'd by them into the Fable of the *Titans*, whom they feign to have heaped Mountain upon Mountain, to scale Heaven, and fight the Gods; and by name they mention * *Japheth*, one of *Noah's Sons*, as a dough Giant among them, (for they pick'd up any Name that they had by Tradition, and clapp'd it in) *Homer* tells us they cast up three Hills on one another, † *Ossa* on *Olympus*, and shady *Pelion* on *Ossa*, hoping thereby to make their way to the Heavens: but this proved successless, and the bold Invaders were scatter'd and broken by Thunder from *Jupiter*. All this Grecian Fable of the *Theomachy* of the Giants, was derived from what the History of *Moses* relates in *Gen. 11. 3*, &c. that *Nimrod*, a great Hunter, a Giant-like Man, with his sturdy Fellows, attempted to build a City and Tower, whose Top should reach up to Heaven; which the Pagans interpreted to be Defying of the Gods, and making War with them. And truly they did not come short of the true Meaning of their grand Design; which was to defy Heaven, and to exalt and magnify themselves: Though I grant it was Hyperbolically spoken when they said, *Let us build us a City and Tower to reach up to Heaven*; for they could not dream of performing this in reality, because they knew the Height of the late Flood (which lifted up the Ark fifteen Cubits above the highest Mountains) was short of Heaven; besides, they would not have built on the Plain, (as they did) but on the highest Hills, if they had

* ——— Tum partu terra nefando

*Eoumq; Japetumq; creat, sævumq; Typhoen,
Et conjuratos coelum rescindere fratres. Ovid.*

† Ὅσσαι ἐπ' Ὀλύμπῳ μέμασαν θίμει· αὐτὰρ ἐπ' Ὀσσει
Πήλιον εἰσοσφύλλον, ἐν ἑσπερίῳ ἱμέρατι δὲ. *Odyss. A.*

had any such Project in their Heads. Nor was it to be a Refuge from the Waters of another Flood; for they had God's Word for it that no such Deluge should ever be again, *Gen. 9. 15.* But their Design is plainly set down, *chap. 11. ver. 4. Let us make us a Name, lest we be scatter'd abroad on the face of the whole Earth; i. e.* Let us go about this Work, that we may have here a Place to fix in; that by erecting this vast City and Tower, we may have room enough, and live together in one Body; and make our Lusts our only Law, and act as we please, without the Controul of others: and that afterward, when by reason of our great Numbers, and Increase, we must be forced to remove, we may by this famous Monument be known; and when we leave this World, we may hereby purchase a Name in future Ages, and even survive after Death. Thus their Intentions and Enterprizes were prophane and impious, and no less than an arrogant Contempt of God. But some of the Poets interpreting the foresaid Words in a gross Manner, as if those daring Sinners did actually scale the Heavens, have presented us with their Conceits upon this remarkable Occurrence; but as to the main, it must be acknowledg'd that they confirm the Truth of the Sacred History. And even this last Particular, *the making them a Name,* seems to be transcribed into the Fable, when they tell us, that after the Giants, who were begot of the Earth, had fought the Gods, their Mother Earth (being incens'd at the Defeat of her Sons) brought forth *Fame*: This was the Giants last Sister, according to that of the Poet;

*Illam terra parens irâ irritata Deorum,
Extremam (ut perhibent) Cæo Enceladôq; sororem
Progeniit.* We

We read that when these Builders were hot
 their Work, God on a sudden defeated their Pro-
 jects by confounding their Language, v. 7. and then
 by scatter'd them abroad from thence upon the face
 all the Earth, v. 8. Of which Confusion or Di-
 vision of Languages, there is this Remembrance
 the Greek Tongue, That in it Men are call'd
 * *μεικτός* : which Epithet was given them, by
 † *Eustathius*, on the account of the Division
 Tongues which the World suffer'd at *Babel*; and
 this (saith he) was the common Opinion of the
 antient Christians. Then, as to the Division of
 Earth among the Sons of Noah, set down in the 10.
 Chapter of *Genesis*, it is not to be doubted but
 the Fiction of dividing the World among the
 Bratbren, the Sons of *Saturn*, was taken from thence.
 So that there are some Remainers and Footsteps
 of the Sacred Truth to be observ'd, which way so-
 ever you look. This I might further shew in the
 Account which *Moses's* History gives of the First
 Plantations, upon the Division of the Earth among
 Noah's Sons, as in the Posterity of *Javan*, where
 were the *Javans*, or Greeks, called *Ἰάβωνες*.
 But because I shall afterward have an occasion to
 speak of this, namely, when I treat of the Au-
 thenticity of Scripture, shewing it to be the most Au-
 thent and Compleat History in the World, I will
 defer it till then, and at the same time let you see
 that the Mosaick History gives us the best Account
 of those First Planters; and also that in several of
 those Names, are to be read the Names of Coun-
 tries and Nations, which we meet with in Pagan
 Authors.

C H A P.

* — Γενεὰ μεικτῶν ἀνθρώπων. Hom. Iliad. θ. † Μεικτός, i. e. μίανσιν τὴν γλῶσσαν ἔχοντων. Eustath. in loc.

CHAP. IV.

Several things relating to the Patriarch Abraham, the Destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, the Oppression of the Israelites in Egypt, the History of Joseph, the Pass-over, the Conducting the Israelites through the Red-Sea, their Travels in the Wilderness, the Brazen Serpent, attested by Heathens, An Enquiry into the rise of the Report concerning the Jews worshipping an Ass's Head, and also their worshipping of Clouds.

BETWEEN the Confusion of Tongues, and the Giving of the Law by *Moses*, there are many observable Passages in the Old Testament, which are also taken notice of, and attested (tho in an obscure and oblique Manner) by Pagan Writers. The great Patriarch *Abraham* is mentioned by *Berosus*, *Hecataeus*, *Nicolas Damascenus*, *Eupolemus*, *Alex. Polyhistor*, as *Josephus* and *Eusebius* acquaint us in their Writings before named. The wise Men of *Greece* asking their Gods whence the Knowledge of Arts came, received this Answer, *Μένει ο δ' ἄρα καλεῖται σοφός*; where by the *Chaldean* it is not unlikely was meant *Abraham*, who was the great Father of Knowledge and Wisdom, and of whose Race were so many Wise and Learned Persons. In the name of this great Man, the Heathens used to perform their Conjurations and Magical Exploits: The God of *Abraham*, the God of *Isaac*, and the God of *Jacob*, were words usually pronounced in their Charms and Spells, saith *Origen*. Nay, * he tells us, that

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* Contra Cels. lib. 4.

ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ being so frequently repeated in the Old Testament, gave occasion to the Pagans to think *Abraham* was some God. I find also that the *Pagan Writings* make mention of the same, or the like Custom that this Patriarch used in making of Covenants, viz. the cutting or dividing of one or more Animals into two parts, and passing between them. Thus in *Gen. 15. 9.* when God made a Covenant with him, he commanded him to divide a Heifer, a Goat, and a Ram into pieces, and to pass between them. Whence afterwards this Ceremony was made use of when a League or Covenant was entred into between Man and Man: and the Parties did as it were declare by that Action, that they wished to be cut asunder in that manner as the Beasts were, if they break the Covenant which they made. Of this Custom you likewise read in *1 Sam. 11. 7.* *Jer. 34. 18. 19.* And to this perhaps belongs what is recorded in *Gen. 21. 28.* *Abraham took Sheep and Oxen, and gave them unto Abimelech, (viz. to be dissected and divided, according to the foresaid Usage, and that in order to Sacrifice) and both of them made a Covenant.* Which gave rise to the like Practice among the Pagans when they were to make solemn Agreements and Covenants. * *Diodorus Siculus* relates this Custom used by the Grecians and Trojans in the time of the War between them. From † *Livy* and ‖ *Curtius* we learn that the People of *Macedon* and *Boetia* did the like, cutting a Dog in pieces. (*) *Lucian* hath something concerning the *Scythians* to this purpose: and *Suidas* tells us this was the Federal Usage of the *Motossi*. Thus these Gentiles borrow'd their

Way

* Lib. 2, & 5. † L. 40, c. 6. ‖ L. 10, c. 6. (*) In *Tomius*

Way of Covenanting from the old Patriarchs. It is not improbable that *Abraham's Feasting the Angels*, yea, the *Son of God himself*, (Gen. 18. 8.) gave occasion to the Poets to speak of the Gods being feasted by Mortals, as they tell us of *Philemon* and *Baucis*, their entertaining of *Jupiter* and *Mercury*; which is but a corrupt Representation of *Abraham* and *Sarah's* Treating their Heavenly Guests. And here I might add, that from this and other Instances in the Old Testament, of the frequent and visible Appearing of God and Angels unto Men, as to *Isaac*, *Jacob*, *Moses*, *Gideon*, *Manoah*, and several others; and from their assuming of Bodies of Humane Shape in order to that, there arose a Notion among the Pagans, that their Gods forsooth vouchsafed sometimes to come down and visit them in the likeness of Mortals. Thence *Homer* and other Poets so commonly talk of the Apparition of the Gods in sensible Shapes, and bring them in after that manner. Thence it was that the People of *Lystra*, in the lesser *Asia*, cried out that the Gods were come down to them in the likeness of Men, (Acts 14. 12.) and upon this Apprehension, they were preparing to offer Sacrifice to them, and had got the Priests ready with their Oxen and Garlands for that end. Nay, thence it was that some of the Poets made those mad Fables of the strange Metamorphosis of their Gods: as how *Apollo* took on him the Shape of a Hawk, of a Lion, and of a Shepherd; how *Bacchus* appear'd like a Grape for *Erigone's* sake; how *Neptune* chang'd himself into a Flying Horse for *Medusa's* Love, and into a Steer, a Ram, a Dolphin for others: How *Jupiter* turn'd himself into a Showr of Gold (the most powerful Courtship) for *Danae*, into a Bull for *Europa*, into a Swan for

Leda, into an Eagle for *Ganymede*, into a Sity for *Antiope*, into a Flame for *Agina*; besides other scandalous Transformations: yea, even *Saturn* became a prancing Steed for *Philly*, the Daughter of *Oceanus*. All which wild and frolick Conceits of the Poetick Tribe concerning their Gods transfiguring themselves, and making themselves visible in several Shapes and Fashions had their first foundation in those forementioned Instances recorded in the Old Testament; which without doubt were known to the Neighbouring Nations, and were transmitted as wonderful things to others that were next to them. We are not to attend to the extravagant Addition which the hot-head Poets made to the True Relations: But we are to observe the main thing in which these fanciful Superstructures are built. They seem to me to be founded on the Holy Scriptures; they seem to be borrowed from what we read there, viz. that Angels, those God-like Spirits transformed themselves into Humane Likeness, and frequently visited and conversed with Men here on Earth. This Sacred Truth lies veiled under those Fabulous Histories; and though they have added many things to it, viz. new and incredible Circumstances, yet we have no reason to disbelieve the Substance of the History because of these Additions.

Again, *Sacrificing of Men*, especially of the Sons, which some Pagan Stories relate, might have its original from *Abraham*. It is recorded by *Phyrius*, saith * *Eusebius*, that *Saturnus* an ancient King of *Phœnicia*, that he might appease the Gods and save his Kingdom from imminent Danger,

* Prepar. Evangel, l. 1. c. 9.

divert Evil and Ruin from his Country, offer'd his
 * Only Son on an Altar. This *Saturn* is the An-
 cient Patriarch *Abraham*, and his only Son is
Isaac; and *Phœnicia* was mistaken for *Palestine*.
Pelopidas (saith *Plutarch* in his Life) was bid in a
 Vision to sacrifice a Virgin; but it so happen'd that
 a Mare-Colt came running through the Camp,
 whilst they were disputing whether the Vision
 should be obey'd, and by the advice of the Augur
 was taken and sacrificed instead of a Virgin. I on-
 ly propound this; May we not conceive that this
 was done in imitation of what they had heard by
 Tradition, that when *Isaac* was to be offer'd, a
 Ram came in the way, and was sacrificed instead
 of the pious Youth destined to that Slaughter?
 And several other considerable Passages relating
 to the Patriarchs, might be collected out of the
 Writings and Practices of the Heathens of old:
 but I proceed to other Matter.

The History of the *Destruction of Sodom and
 Gomorrah*, is expressely attested by *Abydenus* and
Nic. Damascenus, (as you will find in † *Grotius*,
 for that Learned Man disdains not their Testimo-
 ny) and by more Authentick Authors, as *Diodo-
 rum Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Solinus*, *Tacitus*, *Pliny*, who have
 preserved the Memory of this terrible Judgment
 of God on those Cities. All these Prophane Wri-
 ters testify that those Places were destroyed by
 Fire. But *Solinus* and *Tacitus* say it was particu-
 larly by Thunder and Lightning. And *Strabo* in-
 sinuates they were swallowed up by Subterraneous
 Fires breaking forth, and causing an Earthquake
 at the same time. They might be destroy'd by
 both these: for the latter is probable from this,
 K 3 that

* *Μεγίστην*. † *De Verit. Christ. Relig.*

that Eruptions, both of Fire and of Water, generally attend great Earthquakes: and we know that the Lake *Asphaltites* was produced at the time; which shews that the Earth opened her self, whence gushed out an Inundation of Water, that is here stagnated, and become a filthy Lake. And we are sure they were destroyed by the former, because the Sacred Writ, whence those Authors took their Story, testifies as much: for I conceive that is denoted by *the raining of Fire and Brimstone from the Lord out of Heaven*, Gen. 19. 24. Showers of Liquid Sulphur, (which by the by I guess came to have its Name at first among the Greeks from this so noted Accident; Sulphur was called *Sesquid*, *quod à Deo fit*, because it was *from the Lord out of Heaven*) continued Showers, I say, of this sulphureous Matter, accompanied the terrible Lightnings and Thunder-claps: and by this means *Lot's Wife became a Pillar of Salt*, ver. 26. i. e. being thus struck with Thunder and Lightning, her Body presently became Hard as a Statue. This sometimes is the Product of those dreadful Meteors: Thunder (say both *Seneca* and *Cardan*) makes the Bodies of those who are struck with it, Stiff and Immoveable. This was the surprizing Effect upon this poor Woman: She turn'd her Head towards the smoking City, to see that strange Spectacle; and behold! she became a more wonderful Sight her self.

—— *Stetit ipsa Sepulchrum,*
Ipsaque Imago sibi. ——

She became her own Monument and Statue; she stands a *Pillar of Salt*, of lasting and durable Remembrance, not only in the Sense that we read of

a *Covenant of Salt*; Numb. 18. 9. i. e. firm and perpetual, but in the most literal Sense, a *Pillar of Real Salt*; (into which her Body was turn'd by virtue of the Sulphureous Vapours and Steams) which dissolves not, but is so hard that it may serve even for Building; of which * *Pliny* speaks. Therefore *Clement of Alexandria* and *Tertullian*, and the two antient Christian Poets *Prudentius* and *Sedulius*, deliver it as their Opinion, that this Unhappy Woman was converted into a Mass or Solid Body of Hardned Salt, such as the Mineral one is. This being so remarkable a thing, it could not but be snatch'd up by the Inquisitive Poets among the Greeks; and accordingly they tell us of *Niobe's* being turn'd into a Stone for her refractory Contempt of some Goddess's Commands. This Fable, as may be conjectured, was taken from *Lot's Wife* turn'd into a hard, and as 'twere stony Pillar, for her disbelieving the Threatnings of God to the Sodomites, and for despising the express Command of Angels, who bid her *not look behind her*, ver. 17. And (now we are upon conjecturing) what think you of the Fable of *Orpheus's Wife*, his dear *Euridice*? To fetch her back again to Life, he went to Hell; here he perswaded *Pluto* to give him her again, but upon this condition, that he should not look back to her all the while she was coming. But it seems the kind Man turned to look on his Wife as she was following him: whereupon she was remanded back to Hell. Here seems to be an Allusion to *Lot's Wife*, and to her looking back, and to the sad Effect of it. *Orpheus* is *Lot*, *Euridice* is his Wife, *Sodom* is *Hell*, and the *Fire and Brimstone* there are a sufficient reason of that Appellation.

K 4

pellation.

* Nat. Hist. l. 31. c. 7.

pellation. But there is a changing of the story in the *Man's* looking back instead of the *Woman*, and in adding a great deal of other Poetick besides ; which is either to fill up the Fable, or to disguise the True Story, which is common among the Pagans, as hath been observed before. *Lot's Wife* turn'd into a Saline Pillar, was remaining * *Josephus's* time, if he may be credited : and we do not know any reason to the contrary. That we are certain of, upon the Faith even of *Profane History*, that the *Sulphureous Lake of Asphaltites* remained in *Strabo's*, and afterwards in *Pliny* and *Tacitus's* time, a Monument of the Divine Vengeance upon the Cities of *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah* ; God turning those fruitful and pleasant Places into a stinking and almost poisonous Lake : which is particularly taken notice of by those and other Historians, who mention how bad the Fruits are that grow about that Lake, and therein verify what is referri'd to in *Deut. 32. 32. Their Vine is of the Vine of Sodom, and of the Field of Gomorrhah.* Which is a further Proof to us of the Truth of the Holy Scripture, concerning the burning of *Sodom* and the neighbouring Cities.

I proceed. It is not unlikely that the *Vailing of the Bride* in use among the Pagans, was taken from the antient Usage of the *Patriarchs* ; for we read in *Gen. 24. 65.* that *Rebekah* was brought to *Isaac* covered with a Vail. Whence among the Jews Marriage had the Name of *Chuppah*, from *Chuppah* to cover. And hence this modest Practice pass'd into other Countries ; and we are told by credible Authors, that among the Greeks and Romans the Wife was brought to the Husband Vail'd.

* *Antiqu. l. 13. c. 15.*

Some think that the Custom mentioned among the Heathens, of *erecting Stones and Pillars*, came from Jacob's taking a Stone, and setting it up as a Pillar, Gen. 28. 18. and 35. 14. Yea, the *Βαῖτυλοι* and *Βαῖτυλια*, *Lapides Bætulici*, in use among them, had their Name from Bethel, the Place where Jacob erected the Stone. Joseph Scaliger (that incomparable Critick) shews how they resembled one another, these *Βαῖτυλια* being *Consecrated Stones*, erected by the Pagans for some Holy Purpose and Religious Remembrances. They used to anoint these Stones: wherefore such a one is called by * *Arnobius*, *lubricatus Lapis*, & *ex olei sanguine irrigatus*; and by † *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Λιπαρός*: which confirms the former Notion, that these were borrowed from that at Bethel; for it is expressly said, that Jacob poured Oil upon the Top of it, Gen. 28. 18. Let it be queried whether the Gentile Custom of anointing Stones used for Landmarks, (of which *Herodotus* and others speak) was not grounded on the same Practice of the Patriarchs.

Some have thought the Sacred History's relating that Jacob's Sons came out of his Thigh, (for so it is according to the Hebrew in Gen. 46. 26.) gave occasion to the Fable, that *Bacchus* was born of *Jove's* Thigh: for though, according to the Idiom of the Eastern Speech, that Phrase [*to come out of his Thigh*] signifies no more than *to be born of him*, or *to be his Son*; yet the Greeks not understanding the Oriental manner of speaking, mistook the Place, and made a Fable out of it. There are two very || Learned Men who approve of this, and there-

* Contr. Gent. l. 1. † Strom. 7.
|| Mr. Mede, *Monf. Bochart*.

therefore I thought good to mention it; but I confess I took upon it only as an ingenious Fancy, and therefore I am not ready to press this equally with some of the other Particulars I have offered before.

It will not seem improbable, I suppose, that Practice among the Heathens of *closing or shutting the Eyes of the dying Person*, and this by one who was the most beloved of him, was derived from *Gen. 46. 4. Joseph shall put his Hand upon thine Eyes*. Accordingly we find this last Office of Friends spoken of in *Homer*, and other antient Writers both Greek and Latin.

The Gentile Story of *Buſiris's sacrificing of Strangers*, hath a very solid Foundation; for we easily perceive that this arose from the true and unquestionable History in *Exodus*, where we read of a *New King over Egypt, who set over the Israelites Task-masters, to afflict them with their Burden, and who made their Lives bitter with hard Bondage*. *Exod. 1. 11, 14.* and this was He that made the Edict of drowning the Hebrew Children, *ver. 22.* This great Oppressor of *Israel* was that *Buſiris*, whom the Gentiles speak of as a noted Tyrant of *Egypt*; and several agree that that was his true Name. The *Israelites*, who came out of *Canaan* into *Egypt*, were the *Strangers*, and are truly called so. The *sacrificing of them* is the cruel and bloody handling of them. That Egyptian Oppressor and Tyrant might rightly be said to *sacrifice his Strangers*, when he used the poor Hebrews so inhumanely.

Joseph's Great Fortunes and Noble Acts in Egypt are celebrated by professed *Historians*, as well as *Poets*, among the Pagans; and therefore I need not mention these latter. And of the former

is sufficient to name *Justin*, who acquaints us that *Joseph* was the youngest of his Brethren, and his excellent Wit and Parts were dreaded by them; which very thing moved them to sell him into *Egypt*, where in a short time he became a great Favourite of the King. He goes on and tells us That this Brave Man was very skilful in doing Wonders, and was the first that found out the Meaning and Interpretation of Dreams: The Scarcity or Dearth which happened to *Egypt*, he foresaw many Years before it came. That Land had perished, if the King had not by his Advice laid up Corn in store. He was a kind of Divine Oracle, and consulted by the World, because of his infinite Sagacity, his transcendent Knowledg and Wisdom. Any one that hath read the Sacred History, may see that this Character was borrowed thence. And it is a very notable and illustrious Confirmation of the Truth of the Mosaick History, and in that of the whole Sacred Scripture.

Next, I will mention this, that the Annual Custom of the Egyptians (which † *Epiphanius* speaks of) of marking their Trees and their Flocks with something of a Red Colour, as a kind of Preservative against any Harm and Mischief that might befall them, was from the Israelites Practice of old in *Egypt*, when they sprinkled the Lintels and Posts of the Doors with Blood, *Exod. 12. 22.* which preserved them from the last and worst Plague which befel the Egyptians. In remembrance of this, or rather in a superstitious Imitation of it, the People

of

* Minimus inter fratres ætate *Josephus* fuit, cujus excellens ingenium fratres veriti clam interceptum peregrinis mercatoribus vendiderunt. *Hist. l. 36. c. 2.* † In *Hazeli Nazarethorum*.

of *Egypt* afterward set a red Mark on their Houses and Goods : And that this Custom was borrowed thence, will appear the more probable by considering that this was done by them at the entrance of the *Vernal Equinox*, as *Epiphanius* relates, which was the very time (as we learn from *Exod.* 12) when the Israelites distinguish'd their Houses with that Bloody Token. Again, I might offer it to be enquired into by the Learned, whether the *Εαυθηρια*, the *Sacrifices for Passing*, which were in use among the Grecians, especially the Lacedaemonians, and are mention'd by *Xenophon*, *Thucydides*, and *Plutarch*, be not an Imitation of, or an Addition unto the famous Jewish *Pesach*, which is *Παχος*, *transitus*, the Pass-over, viz. when the destroying Angel passed over the Israelites Houses and did the Inhabitants of them no harm. Might not this give occasion first to those Grecian *Εαυθηρια*, *Passover-Sacrifices*, especially considering that that Jewish Feast is call'd not only *Παχος* but *διαβατηριον* by *Philo*, *Cyril of Alexandria*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, and others ?

The Conducting of the Children of Israel out of *Egypt*, and their miraculous Passing through the *Red-Sea*, and the overthrow of the Egyptians, it, could not but be famous among the Pagans, though they endeavour'd to stifle, or at least to diminish it : whereof * *Justin* only tells us that the King of *Egypt* followed the Jews when they left *Egypt*, but was forced to return back by reason of a great Tempest which arose of a sudden. The Fame of *Moses's* dividing the *Red-Sea*, was kept among the Gentiles ; as † *Diodorus Siculus* witnesseth : " There is, saith he, a Report spread
" mon

* Hist. lib. 30. † Lib. 3.

Among the *Ichthyophagi*, a People inhabiting the Shore near the Arabian Gulph, (which is the Name given to the Red-Sea among Geographers) namely, that all that Place where that Gulph is, was dried up, the Waters flying back: but after the Bottom had appear'd for some time, the Place, by a reflux of the Sea, was turn'd into its former Condition. So he. And herein he gives a most remarkable Testimony to the Truth of those words in *Exod. 14. 21. The Lord caused the Sea to go back, and made the Sea dry land, and the Waters were divided; and in v. 27, The Sea returned to its Strength, and the Waters covered the Host of Pharoah.* It seems the *Ichthyophagi* handed this Report to the Historian, not the Egyptians; though he had Converse with these a long time, and they had Correspondence with the *Ichthyophagi*: but the Egyptians were so cunning to conceal their Disgrace and Misfortune: and hence it is that there is so little said among the Pagans concerning this matter.

As to the Red-Sea it self, *Mare Erythraum*, there is in that Name a Remembrance of a known Person spoken of in the Old Testament, *viz. Esau*. For as to what hath been said by some, that this Sea had its Name from its Red Colour, proves an arrant Falshood. Coral at the bottom of it, which some talk of, is not red enough to give it such a Colour. And the Weed which grows in it, whence it is call'd *Jam Supb*, *Mare algosum*, (as *Junius* and *Fremelius* always render it) or *Mare junci*, (as others, as if it were the Rush or Reed-Sea) cannot give it the Denomination of Red, because (whatsoever some say of this weedy Stuff at the bottom of it) the Water of this Sea is of the same Colour with other Seas, as all Travellers attest. Yea, though

though that be true which hath been lately suggested by some inquisitive Persons, that this We call'd *Suph* is a kind of *Saffron*, of which when taken out of the Sea, is made a red Colour call'd *Suso* by the Ethiopians, used for dying Cloth in *India* and *Ethiopia*; yet seeing the Sea it self is dyed with it, but retains the Colour of other Seas I cannot think it is called the *Red* merely because of that Weed or Sedg used by Dyers. Others have said it hath this Epithet, because the Stones, Cliffs, Banks, and Sands of it, by Reflection and Repercussion of the Sun's Rays, give such a Tincture or Colour to the Waters: but this also is a mere Fancy, and hath been confuted by those who have purposely writ of this Particular Sea (*viz.* that Part of the Ocean on the East which strikes in with a Bay into the Arabian Shores, and parts *Asia* from *Africa* in those Places;) and by those who have seen it, and tell us it differs not from other Seas. In brief, all impartial Writers agree that it can't be call'd so from its Red Colour, because it hath nothing of that to be seen in it. Why then did the Learned Seventy Elders of the Jews translate it *Ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα*, the *Red-Sea*? The Reasons we may conceive to be these; because first, the Hebrew word *Suph* gave some occasion for it, it being (as I said before) that kind of Sea-weed which was used in dying of Cloth with a red Colour, and so may be translated *red*; *murex* is purple, because *murex* is that Shell-fish of the Liquor whereof Purple is made. But the chief, and indeed the only proper Reason (for the other was but an Occasion) of this Version of the Seventy, is this, because *Ἐρυθρὰ* hath reference to One that was *Ἐρυθρὸς*, *i. e.* *Red*, and this was no other than *Edom* or *Esau*; for in express words

The Scripture saith, *Esau is Edom*, Gen. 36. 1. Now *Edom* in Hebrew is the same that *Ἐρυθρὸς* is in Greek; whence *Philostratus* saith, *Mare Erythraeum* was call'd so from *Erythraus*: with whom agree *Strabo*, *Curtius*, and other Historians, who relate that it was named so from *Erythraus*, a King of that Country, or Coast, where this Sea is. This *Erythraus*, or *Erythraeus*, was *Esau*, who was called *Edom*, (it signifying the very same with *Ἐρυθρὸς*); and that for these two Reasons, (both which are assign'd in Scripture, and therefore we cannot question the Truth of them); First, Because he was ruddy at his Nativity, *he came out red*, Gen. 25. 25. whence you read in the same Verse that he had his Name. Secondly, Because he was an excessive Admirer and Lover of *Red Pottage*: thus he is expressly said in the 30th verse, *Therefore his Name was called Edom*, because he was so eager to be fed with that red Broth. This *Edom* gave Denomination to the Land where he was great and ruled, and accordingly it was call'd *the Land of Edom*, Num. 21. 4. and is so in other places: and the Sea adjoining to this Land, received its Name from him too; therefore you find them both join'd together in this place in the Book of *Numbers*, *They journeyed by the way of the Red-Sea to compass the Land of Edom*. As we know Seas are denominated from the Persons and People they belong to; as the British, the German, the Indian, the Ethiopian Sea; so it is here, the *Red-Sea* hath its name from *Edom*, (who is *Esau*) i. e. *Red*; who by the Greeks was accordingly stiled *Erythraus* or *Erythraeus*, which signifies the same. Thus these Pagan Nomenclators have left us some Remains of Sacred History in this and other Names that they have impos'd upon Persons and Things.

The coming forth of the Israelites from Egypt is attested by *Berosus*, *Strabo*, *Numenius*, and *Jos. The last of these* (whom we have quoted before as a substantial Witness to the Verity of the Jewish History) tells us, that * *Moses*, who led the People out of Egypt, stole from the Natives of that Country some of their sacred things : which any Man may see is founded upon what we read in *Exod.* 31. 21. & 12. 25. They went not out empty, took with them Vessels of Gold and Silver, and precious ornaments. It is expressly attested by the same Jewish Historian, that the Jews travell'd in the Desert of Arabia, and that *Moses* came to Mount Sinai with other things relating to their Travels through that Place. All which are Authentick Evidence of the Truth of Scripture-History.

† *Herodotus's* Relation of the fiery Flying-Serpent in Arabia, is a Confirmation of what we meet with in *Numb.* 21. 6. where we are told that the Israelites were stung and tormented with Fiery Serpents in their Passage through the Wilderness. As to the Brazen Serpent, mention'd in the same Chapter, whereby the Israelites were healed, it may be no far-fetch'd Imagination to think that the Magical Images and Sculptures among the Heathens, especially the Egyptians, which the Greeks call'd τελέσματα, and the Arabians (corruptly from the Greek) *Talisman*, were Imitations of this. They were certainly for the same purpose, viz. to avert Evil and Mischief from Persons : therefore *Gassarel* thinks these *Talisman* were the same with the *Averrunci*, among the old Romans : and some of the old Hebrew Doctors have

* Dux exilium factus sacra Egyptiorum furto abstulit.

† Lib. 2. cap. 75.

When them the name of *Scuta Davidis*, on the same
 account. It is not improbable that the Images of
Amulets and *Misc*, which the Philistian Magicians
 made use of, were from the same Original, and
 were the first and earliest Emulations of the Ne-
 buchadnezzar. For as to what * *Leunclavius* saith con-
 cerning the later Invention of the *Talismans*, viz.
 that they were not till *Apollonius Tyanicus's* time,
 and that he was the Inventer of them, is founded
 wholly on their being called † τὰ τῶν Ἀπολλωνίου
 ταλίσματα by *Justin Martyr*; which (supposing
 likewise the Author, out of whom he took it, not
 to be spurious) imports only this, that they were
 prepared and used by him, not that they were his
 invention. Some tell us that the *Telestematical*
 figure of a Stork or Scorpion, made under a cer-
 tain Configuration of the Heavens, hath driven
 away Storks and Scorpions, just as the Figure and
 Similitude of a Serpent drove away the venomous
 fiery Serpents, and cured those that were stung
 by them. But I need not stay here to shew the
 vast Dissimilitude between the one and the other:
 for the Brazen Serpent, set up by *Moses*, was not a
talisme, i. e. a Statue or Figure that hath its
 power and Efficacy from the Influence of the Stars,
 and the Shape of the Thing it self. It cured not
 by Art or Nature, but by Divine Institution. It
 was erected by the immediate Appointment and
 direction of God himself, and was moreover a
 type and Representation of the Crucified Jesus.
 But the *Telestematical* Images among the Pagans
 were made on purpose to take the Influence of
 the particular Stars, and operated (as they said)
 by virtue of the Likeness of the Figures to the
 Things

L

Things

* Pandect. Turc. cap. 130. † Respons. ad Orthodoxos.

Things themselves. We may more truly say they were acted by some Evil Dæmons that designed both to amuse and deceive the World, and to make these Telestematical Preparations serviceable (as generally they were) to superstitious and idolatrous Ends. But that which I am chiefly to serve here, is this, that it is probable these *Falmans* of the Pagans were derived at first from the *Brazen Serpent*. This is certain, that many of the Magical Rites were founded on the Religious Practices and Ceremonies which the Jews by God's Order observed.

Some have thought that the Report among the Pagans (which *Plutarch*, *Tacitus*, *Apion* mention of the Jews worshipping of *Asses*, had its Origin from what we read in the Old Testament, and particularly from something which happened in the *Wilderness*, (which makes me mention it in the place) viz. their worshipping a *Calf*, which is a very vile Creature as well as an *Ass*; and so there might be a Mistake of one for the other, as has been usual in Reports of this nature. And what is said by *Tacitus* concerning the *Asses*, may be applied to the *Calf*, viz. * that a Herd of them shew'd the Israelites the Way to a Fountain, where they quenched their Thirst in the *Wilderness* and thence the Effigies of the Animal, which more particularly did them that Favour, was worshipped by them. Now this easily agrees to the *Golden Calf*: for the holy Book acquaints us that the Israelites in the wide *Wilderness* were Wanderers and Thirsty; wherefore they desired a Guide to lead them, and Water to quench their Thirst.

According

* Effigiem animalis quo monstrante errorem sistimque delegerant penetrali sacraverunt. *Hist. lib. 3.*

Accordingly the *Calf* was designed by them to be their Conduct in their Journey: This would find Springs of Water, and lead them to it; this would be their Oracle, and standing Testimony of God's Presence with them. Hereupon therefore we imagine the reproachful Imputation laid upon the Jews of *adoring an Ass*, had its Rise, there being only a Mistake of one Animal for another. And truly that is Mistake sufficient here, since we are able to give an account of this reproachful Fault, without substituting one Animal in the place of another. But before we do so, let us (being we are fallen into this Subject) take notice what other Opinions there are concerning this ancient Report of the *Jews worshipping an Ass*. There are (besides that which I have named) several Apprehensions of the Learned about it. Some think that there being in *Palestine* a great many Asses, and those of very great account, for their very Princes rid on that sort of Animals, thence the Pagans, who hated that People, feigned that they worshipp'd their Asses. And a poor Fiction indeed it had been, if 'twere on that account: for if they had not rid upon them, but have kept them up, they might rather thence have gathered that they paid an Adoration to them. But I suppose few Readers will believe there is any Ground here; and therefore I let this pass. * Another very busy Critick guesses this Report to have risen from Gen. 36. 24. *This is that Anah that found the Mules* (he reads it *eth bajamim, the Waters*) *in the Wilderness, as he fed the Asses of his Father Zibeon*. Whence, say he, the Pagans tell us, that *Moses* found out Waters by help of the Asses which he fed; and thence

L 2

thence

thence Asses were honoured. But neither is there here any Ground for such an Inference: for first there is no probability that the Gentiles took notice of such an obscure Place of Scripture as this; *2dly*, *Anah* and *Moses* are here confounded: *3dly*, *janim* is put for *jemim*; And lastly, the whole Sense and Import of the Text are perverted: *Anah* is mention'd in this place with Infamy, and the Words are to be understood thus, This is *Anah* who was the first that caused and provoked Horses to engender with She-Asses; whence a new Species against Nature is begot into the World: this is that base Man, of an incestuous Fancy, the Inventer of this unnatural Brood of Animals. This I take to be the meaning of those words, *This is that Anah that found out the Mules in the Wilderness*. There is * another Author who thinks the Pagan Fable is founded on an Allusion to a Word, as thus, A Jewish Temple was built in Egypt (an imitation of that at Jerusalem) by *Onias* a High-Priest, as † *Josephus* relates: now, the word *Onias* being akin to *ovg*, the Alexandrines and some merry Greeks, who hated the Jews, thought they were facetious, when they said *ovg*, an *Ass*, was worshipp'd in the Temple of the Jews. But here is contain'd nothing of the Circumstances (as the finding a Place of Water, and quenching their Thirst, &c.) belonging to the Fable: besides that, a *Mule* and an *Ass* are unhappily confounded by this Author. Briefly, this is a mere Strain of Fancy, and can never find acceptance among Persons of Reason and composed Thoughts. There is yet another Opinion which I have met with somewhere,

* Tanaquil Faber. Epist. 6.

† Antiqu. Jud. l. 13. c. 6. & De bello Jud. l. 7.

that the Gentiles thought the Jews worshipp'd an Ass because of that Law in *Exod.* 34. 20. concerning the redeeming the first-born of an Ass. This Animal being exempted from Sacrifice, when Calves and Lambs and Kids were not, it might seem to be some excellent thing, and therefore was worshipp'd. But according to this way of inferring, the Pagans might have reported that the Jews worshipp'd a Dog, there being a particular Prohibition against offering it in Sacrifice. Besides, this Account (like that before mentioned) hath not any of the Circumstances with which the Fable is clothed in Pagan Writers, as that it was an Ass's Head that was worshipp'd, and that by means of it a Spring of Water was found out, &c. which we ought particularly to consider when we are giving an account of this Pagan Taunt against the Jews.

Lastly then, to offer a Conjecture of my own, I am strongly inclined to think this Calumny of the Heathens against the Jews arose from the *History of Samson*, in which is particular mention of the *Jaw-bone of an Ass*, and of the strange things done by it, *Judg.* 15. 15, 16. *Samson* (as you shall hear anon) was famous among the Pagans, his Actions were noted and celebrated among them. And this particular Action and Exploit of the *Jaw-bone*, where-with he slew a thousand Men, being singular and wonderful, was well known to them; especially it came to be famous and talk'd of, when there was this surprizing Miracle added to it, that when *Samson* was exceedingly tormented with Thirst, and like to die for want of something to quench it, God clave a hollow Place that was in the *Jaw*, and there came Water thereout; and when he had drunk, his Spirit came again, and he revived, *ver.* 18, 19. Here

was the *Jaw-bone* of an *Ass*, which was a considerable part of the *Head of an Ass*. The minding of this gave the first occasion to me to think that the Tradition among the Pagans was taken from this: for if you consult those Writers who make mention of it, you will find the Report was, that the Jews worshipp'd the *Head of an Ass*. So we read in a * virulent Writer against the Jews, that that particular Part, and no other, was set up in the Temple of *Jerusalem*, and Religiously venerated by that People; and that *Antiochus* took it down, and carried it away with him, (it being of Gold, as he would make us believe, and therefore worth the carrying) when he rifled the Temple. *Minutius Felix* takes notice of this particular Reproach of the *Christians*, (for you must know that Heathen a *Jew* and a *Christian* were the same; for the first *Christians* being *Jews* by Birth, the same Calumny was fix'd on both) that they adored the † *Head of that most vile Beast*. Which also *Petrus* || *Arbiter* testifies in those words;

*Judæus licet & porcinum numen adoret,
Et cæli summas advocet aurículas.*

From the first Verse it appears that the Gentiles thought the Jews worshipp'd Swine, perhaps because they abstain'd from eating their Flesh; for among the Gentiles, what they did not eat, was generally worshipp'd. And in the next Verse there is a mistake of *cæli* for *cilli*, i. e. *asini*, (as some Criticks have well observ'd) for *asini* is the Dorick word for an *Ass*: so that as before the

Poet

* Appion contr. Jud.
Olivio. || In Catalectis.

† Turpissimæ pecudis caput.

Post chargeth the Jews with worshipping of Swine, so here he alludes to that flying Story among the Pagans, that that Nation revered an *Ass's Head*; for *auricule* is put here for *caput*, which could not stand in the Verse; the prominent and most conspicuous Parts of the Head are put for the Head it self. And if they worshipp'd the Ears, because a part of the Head, then they paid the same Honour to the Cheeks, to the Jaws, and to the Jaw-bone, which is a more solid Part. None of the Authors of the foregoing Opinions have attended to this, that it was the *Head of an Ass*, (not an Ass in general) that was said to be worshipp'd by the Jews; and thence arose their Mistakes. Let it be noted therefore, that this was the scurrilous Reflection of the Pagans on the Jews, that they gave Religious Honour to the *Head of an Ass*: and let it be observed at the same time, that it was an *Ass's Head* which *Samson* found, and so bravely managed, though it was one particular Part of it, viz. the *Jaw-bone*, with which he did execution on his Enemies. Wherefore I offer it as a probable Assertion, that the Report concerning the Jewish People *reverencing of an Ass's Head*, took its rise from that prodigious Exploit of *Samson*, that strange Execution which he did with the *Jaw-bone of an Ass*. This gave occasion to the Israelites to extol and magnify that marvellous Weapon, and at the same time the Providence of God in administering such an unexpected Engine to him, and enabling him to do such great things with it. The neighbouring Gentiles soon heard of this, and spread abroad this Rumour, that the Hebrews celebrated and worshipp'd the *Ass's Head* or *Jaw*; and it is likely they thought they really did so, because they themselves used to make any thing the

Object of their Adoration: or because an *Ass* was a contemptible Creature, they said this as a Jest to the Jews. And then if you remember the Reason which is assigned by the foresaid Historian why they worshipp'd an *Ass*, you will be further confirmed in this Notion which I now tender. The Reason, as you have heard, was because the Creature (as they said) was instrumental in finding out a Fountain of Water, whereby they allay'd their Thirst in the Desert. They worshipp'd an *Ass* with * *Pharaoh*, because it directed them to a Spring of Water. Which excellently agrees with what the Inspired History tells us, that there was a certain Place in the *Jam*, whence Water came forth; and therewith *Samson* quenched his Thirst. This makes the Pagan Story parallel with this in the Book of *Judges*; from whence it is most probable they borrowed it. And whereas 'tis said by some of the forecited Authors, that this was done in the Wilderness, they may be well excused herein; for it is only a mistake of the Place: (Yet by the by is a Pagan Confirmation that the Israelites were once in the Wilderness, according as the Scriptures relateth: yea and what *Tacitus* adds further concerning the Jews at that time, viz. † *their want of Water in the Wilderness*, one of the most remarkable things that happened to that People in their Travels, is yet a greater Proof and Confirmation of the Reality of the Sacred History.) I could add that this happened not long after this People had been come out of the Wilderness, and so there was no great mis-timing of the Story. That whereas 'tis said by the Historian last named, that

† *Nihil æque quam inopia aquæ fatigabat.* Hist. l. 5.

the Jews dedicated this Animal to their Temple, and is added perhaps of his own Head, which is an uncommon Practice among the Gentiles, (as well Historians as Poets) when they are relating things concerning those whom they have no Kindness for. This is the best Account I am able to give of this Gentile Tradition, which was of so antient Date: for I question not but that the * Jewish Writer was overseen, when he saith *Appion* the Grammarian of *Alexandria*, was the first that raised this Lie. And Monsieur *Bochart* talks as vainly, when he tells us, that *Appion* had the occasion of this Fable from the mistake of the words *דבר* *Do, pi jao*, (the Mouth, or Word of the Lord;) for *Do, pi jao*, in the Egyptian Tongue; for *Appion*, *Isisooth*, was an Egyptian, and *דבר* was antiently read *Jao*. Supposing this latter to be true, yet he could not learn hence that an *Ass's Head* was placed in the Jewish Temple, and afterward removed by *Antiochus*. Wherefore I see no Dependence or Connection between these things, and consequently this great Critick's Notion may be look'd upon as groundless, as any one that is conversant in that ingenious Man's Writings, knows there are many such. The short is; we must take this old Obloquy against the Jews as it is represented by the Pagan Writers (with whom we have to do at present) with its proper Circumstances: and if we do so, I conceive we cannot refer it to any Passage in the Old Testament so pertinently as to this which I have propounded. If I am not mistaken, this antient Calumny is derived from that part of the *History of Samson* which I have mentioned; which shews the Antiquity and Authority

thority of the Sacred Writings, and that the Scripture-History is the Ground of the most of the fabulous Passages and Reports in the Writings of the Heathens.

I could mention here also, that the Jews were accused of Pagan Writers to have worshipp'd the Clouds and the Heavens.

* *Nil præter Nubes & Cæli numen adorant.*

Which the Satyrist speaks of the Jews. And † *Strabo* reports the same. Some have thought that the *Cælicolæ*, the Heaven-worshippers, mentioned in that Title of the || *Codex, De Judeis & Cælicolis*, hath relation to this Matter: but I think it is evident from the Title it self, that the Jews and *Cælicolæ* were not the same, but two different sort of People; else it would not have been [Of the Jews and *Cælicolæ*], but [Of the Jews or *Cælicolæ*.] Moreover, he that looks into the (*) *Theodosian Code*, from whence *Justinian* took this, will be convinced that the Jews are not meant by *Cælicolæ*; for there they are said to be *an unheard Name, and a new Crime*: whereas they had that Name in *Augustus's* time, according to *Strabo*. There have been different Opinions concerning the rise of this Pagan Contumely, viz. that the Jews adored the Heavens and the Clouds. Some think it commenced from the superstitious and idolatrous Practice of that People in worshipping the Host of Heaven, as we read they did. But I cannot assent to this, because 'tis unreasonable to imagine that the Pagans would jeer the Jews for that which

* *Juvenal. Sat. 14.* † *Lib. 16.*

|| *Lib. 1. in Paratit. ad tit. 5.* (*) *Lib. 16. Tit. 8.*

which they visibly practised themselves. Others
 this arose from the Devotion of the Jews, who
 to look up towards Heaven when they
 made their Prayers to God. But this was in
 common to them with the Pagan Worshippers,
 who naturally had this Posture of Devotion, and
 call up their Eyes, and spread out their Hands to-
 wards Heaven: therefore this could not be the
 occasion of this Imputation. But there is another
 Opinion which I find most applauded, and it is
 this, that this Obloquy of the Heathens proceeded
 from their mistaking the use of the word *Shamajim*,
Heavens among the Hebrews, and even in the
 Scripture it self, where sometimes it signifies *God*
himself. This is the Conjecture of the Learned
 Mr. Selden: hence, saith he, the Gentiles in-
 fer'd that the Jews made *Heaven* a Deity. But I
 apprehend this Inference could not be made by
 them, because *Shamajim* is used in this sense but in
 one place in the Old Testament, viz. in *Dan. 4.26.*
the Heavens do rule, where *the Heavens* import *God*
himself. But I can't believe that the Pagans thought
 the Jews were Worshippers of the Heavens, be-
 cause in this one single place, and no where else,
 God is call'd *Heaven*. And though I grant the
 Jewish Rabbies used the word *Shamajim* thus, ma-
 king God and the Heavens Synonymous in some
 places of their Writings, yet they do it no where
 so as there might be occasion for this Mistake.
 Having thus told you what I conceive did not
 give rise to this Pagan Accusation, I will acquaint
 you what I take to be the true and only occasion of
 it. Here then you must observe that that which
 is the chief thing in the Jeer, is, that the *Clouds*
 were

* De Dis Syr. Syntag. 2. cap. 17.

were worshipp'd; *Nil prater Nubes*, &c. From adoring of these the Railery arises, and the *Heavens* are but mention'd by the by, as being the Place where these *Clouds* are. This being press'd, I offer it as a probable Assertion, that this Piece of Pagan Railery was borrow'd from what we often read in *Moses's* History, that God led the *Israelites* in their Journey from *Egypt*, and through the *Wilderness*, by a * *Cloud* that went before them. To this they often look'd up; the Conduct of this they daily attended to with great Reverence: the Report of which, occasion'd the Charge of the Pagans against the Jews, that they were *Cloud-Worshippers*. This is undeniable, that that miraculous Leading of that People by a *Cloud* could not but be very famous among the Neighbouring Gentiles, who soon communicated the news of it to others that were about them; and this Report came to be frequent in the Mouths of most Pagans. And truly when they related that the *Cloud* was adored by the Jews, they were not mistaken; for it was no other than the Symbol of God's Presence: it was a secondary and remote Object of their Reverence and Devotion, as the *Ark*, and more especially the *Mercy-Seat* was. Only here they shew'd their gross Ignorance in concluding that if the Jews worshipp'd one *Cloud*, they might as well pay the same Respect to another, yea to all: whence we are told by the Poet that they worshipp'd nothing else but *Clouds*. Though truly I am willing to take this Authority in another Sense, and I will go yet further, and offer this to be consider'd, *viz.* whether the wonderful *Fire*, as well as the *Cloud*, which went before the

* Exod. 13. 21. Numb. 14. 14.

the Israelites in their Travels, be not here mention'd by this Poet, seeing *Farnaby* in his Notes, and others before him, acquaint us that this Verse in some Copies is read thus ;

Nil prater Nubes, & Cæli lumen adorant.

Where by *Nubes* we understand (as I have said before) the *Pillar of the Cloud* which was the Israelites Guide in the Day-time, and by *Cæli lumen* the *Pillar of Fire* or *Light* which conducted them in the Night. It is very likely that this latter reading of the Verse is the truest, and accordingly you have a plain and obvious Account of what we undertook to enquire into, viz. the *Cloud* which the Jews were said to worship, and of something more, namely, the *Light of Heaven* which this Writer saith they shew'd the same regard to ; which is no other, I conceive, than that *Fiery Pillar* which continually appear'd to the Israelites in the Night, and directed them in their way : and 'tis most aptly here call'd *Cæli lumen*, the *Light of Heaven*, according to the very stile of the Old Testament, where 'tis stiled a *Light of Fire*, *Psal. 78. 14.* and where we are informed it was set up in the Heavens on purpose by God to give them *Light*, *Exod. 13. 21.* This, I say, is the plain Account of this Poetick Passage, and I do not see any Objection that lies against it. Wherefore I take it to be as notable a Testimony as any we have from the Pagan Writers of the Truth of the Mosaick History, and other Records of the Old Testament.

G H A P. V.

From the Writings and Practices of Strangers it is evident that there were such Jewish Usages and Ceremonies as these, viz. The Observation of Seventh Day : Washings and Purifications : Offering of First-fruits and Tithes : Abstaining from certain kinds of Food : Peculiar Garments for the Priests : Bearing the Tabernacle and Ark : The High-Priest's going once a Year into the Holy of Holies : Sacrifices, with several things that belong to them : The Mercy-Seat and Oracle : The Urim and Thummin : the Scape-Goat : the Water of Jealousy : the Feast of Tabernacles : Nazaritism : Unleavened Bread : Circumcision : the Law of Chereb : Lots : Cities of Refuge : New-Moons : Jubilee : Mysteries and Types. Ample Testimonies out of Profane Authors are added concerning Moses,

VL **T**HE Mosaick Ceremonies, and the prevailing of them (as very antient) are vouched by the very Practice of the Pagan World. To instance in some, (for it would be too tedious to mention all) and first in the dividing of Time into Weeks or Seven Days, and the observing a Seventh Day as sacred : thus *Hesiod* called it

ἑβδομῆρον ἱερὸν ἡμέραν,

*the Seventh Holy Day, because among the Gentiles this was a Day of Solemn Worship, set apart for Religious Offices. It is observ'd by * Lampridius*

* In *Alexand. Severo.*

of Severus the Emperor, that he used to go to the Capitol, and frequent the Temples on this Day. Yea, the very word *Sabbath* was used by some of them: thus * *Suetonius* saith, *Diogenes* the Grammarian used to hold Disputations at *Rhodes* on the *Sabbaths*. And from † *Lucian*, we learn that the Seventh Day was a Festival, and a Play-day for School-Boys. From these, and several other Instances which we may find in || *Clement Alexandrinus* and (*) *Eusebius*, it might be proved that the more Solemn Services of Religion among the Gentiles, and their Cessations from Work, were on the Seventh Day of the Week. Now, no wise Man will assert that this Custom was founded on Nature; for no Light of Reason could dictate this Division of Days into just seven, and no more: therefore 'tis reasonable to think that the general Agreement of the World in this Arithmetick, was derived from the Jews, who were particularly signalized by their Observation of the Seventh-Day, which was enjoin'd them by God himself, as in *Exod. 20. 9. Six Days shalt thou labour, and do all thy Work; but the Seventh Day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: In it thou shalt not do any Work, &c.* And in other places the Institution and Observation of this Particular Day are mention'd. Or, I might have traced the Original of this yet higher, and found it dated from the very Creation, from the beginning of all things, when we read of *God's resting on the Seventh Day, Gen. 2. 2. and his Blessing the Seventh Day, and Sanctifying it, v. 3.* From whence, without doubt, the Custom among several Gentiles of observing some Seventh Day in the Week, had its first rise.

Again,

* In *Tiberio*, cap. 32. † In *Pseudolog.* || *Strom. l. 5.*
(*) *Præpar. Evang.*

Again, the Gentiles took their several *Purifications, Lustrations, and Purifications* from the Jews of which the Books of *Moses* treat. When the Contents of these Writings, or the Practice of Jewish People came to be known to the Pagans, they presently set themselves to imitate them, and most of the Washings and Purifyings used by the Jews, came to be part of their Religion. The Jewish Priests washed their Hands and Feet before they went about their Sacred Office, before they sacrificed and touched Holy Things: and they had the Temple *Lavers* for that very purpose. Likewise they used *Asperision* toward others, and were enjoined to cleanse and purify them from the Defilements which they had contracted. In a word, every Thing and Person belonging to the Jewish Service and Worship were hallow'd and cleansed by certain ways of Purification prescribed by the Law. Hence we read of frequent Washings and Sprinklings among the Pagans:

* *Idem ter socios pura circumtulit unda,
Spargens rore levi, & ramo felicitis olive,
Lustravitq; viros.*

And † *Macrobius* assures us that the Gentile *Devotionists*, when ever they addrest themselves to their Gods, whether Celestial or Infernal, prepared themselves before-hand by using of Water more or less. Hence it became a Maxim among them, that || *all Sacred Things must be sprinkled with pure Water.* And they had Vessels for this purpose.

† *Virg. Aen. 6.* † *Constat Diis superis sacra factarum corporis ablutione purgari: cum vero inferis licetulum est sacra adu-
si asperio sola contingat.* *Saturn. l. 3. p. 1.* || *Td. ing. v.
Dionys. Halicarn. l. 7.*

which contained that Consecrated Element. It might be proved from good Authors (as you may see in the Learned Dr. *Spencer*) that they for the most part sprinkled the Worshippers as they went into their Temples. The truth is, these Rites of Washing and Purifying, which were used both by Jews and Gentiles, are so like one another, that we cannot but conclude either the Gentiles took them from the Jews, or these from them. The latter is in no wise probable, because it is unworthy of God, and of the Religion which he instituted among the Jews, to imagine that he would take Example from the Pagans, and make their Religion the Standard of that which he gave to his own People, (though it is true the Jews often imitated the Pagans in their Customs and Rites, but never by the Command and Order of God, but absolutely against it :) therefore the former is most likely and reasonable, viz. that the Pagans in way of Imitation took their Ceremonies of Washing and Lustration from the Jews. The same Argument may be used in all the Particulars which we shall mention afterwards under this Head : by this we may prove that those Ceremonious Observances, commanded the Jews, were not originally from the Gentiles, but first of all were enjoined by the True God. But concerning these *Purifications* which we are now speaking of, see what was the Judgment of *Justin Martyr* of old ; who producing the Prophet *Isaiab's* words, *Wash ye, make ye clean*, chap. 1. ver. 16. and commenting upon them, adds this, * “ When the Devils heard of this *Washing*, spoken of by the Prophet, they caus'd this to be the effect of it, namely, when-

M “ ever

Τὸ ἅγιον τὸ τοῦ ἀκαθάρτου οἱ δούλους, &c. Apol. 2:

“ ever they go into their Temples, or approach
 “ near them, or are about to be employ’d in their
 “ Sacrifices and Offerings, they sprinkle Water on
 “ themselves. This Learned Father was clear
 of the Opinion that this Rite of *Asperision* which
 the Gentiles used, was stolen from the Jewish
 Church, and not that this stole them from the
 Heathens. With whom agrees a late Learned
 Antiquary, who, speaking of the particular Mo-
 saick Lustrations, or Purgations used by the Jewish
 Priests, *viz.* of Washing themselves before they
 entered into the Temple, saith thus, * “ This Rite
 “ of Purgation was taken from the Jews by the
 “ People of other Nations, who when they entered
 “ into their Temples, had their Lustrations and
 “ Rites of Washing in Imitation of the Jews.

Thirdly, The Gentile Custom of offering *First-fruits and Tithes* was borrow’d from the Jews, and the Old Testament. That it was a general Usage among the Pagan Worshippers to offer their First-fruits to some of their Deities, is amply testified by † *Censorinus*. And that the Custom of paying Tithes was as general and antient, might be proved from the respective Histories which speak of this Matter. This was a considerable Part of the old Romans Religion, who (as *Plutarch* writes) were wont to bestow a tenth Part of the Fruits which the Earth yielded them, and of other Goods and Profits, on their Sacred Feasts, Sacrifices and Temples, in honour of the Gods: but this was not every Year, or by any compulsive Law, but freely and out of Gratitude. He tells us that *Camilus* faithfully pay’d to *Apulla* the Tenth of his Booty and Spoils taken from the Enemy; and that *Laelius*

* *Ag. Sheringham in Cod. Jom. cap. 22.* † *De die Natali*

grew rich because he religiously practis'd that laudable Custom of paying Tithes to *Hercules*. That the *Greeks* also paid Tithes, appears from that Dictate of the Oracle to them, — ΔΕΧΑΤΗΝ ἀπὸ μέρους τοῖς θεοῖς: and from that Delphick Inscription,

ὄφρα θεῷ ΔΕΧΑΤΗΝ ἀκροθίνια τε κρεμάσσειμεν:

From whence *Apollo* was call'd ΔΕΧΑΤΗΦΟΡΟΣ. Among the *Perſians* also this Custom prevail'd; for *Cyrus* (as *Herodotus* ſaith) offer'd Tithes to *Jupiter* after a Victory obtained. And this might eaſily be proved of other Nations: it was grown into an univerſal and fixed Custom to offer the Tenth to ſome God or Goddeſs, *poſt rem bene geſtam*, as *Servius* ſpeaks, after any conſiderable Succeſs either at home or abroad. Inſomuch, that at laſt it came to be an indiſpenſible Part of the Gentile Religion; and thence (as *Suidas* obſerves) ΔΕΧΑΤΗΝ among the *Greeks*, was as much as ἁγιαζέειν, *conſecrare*. Now this Sacred and Religious Rite of Dedicating juſt a tenth Part to their Gods, is no Law of Nature. Though this might put them upon offering part of their Increate to thoſe from whom they thought they received the whole; yet this particular *Quota* is no Dictate of Nature. They were not bid by the Law of exact Reason to conſecrate the Tithe of all to the Gods. It is as reaſonable and accountable to give a ninth or eleventh Part to them as the Tenth: Therefore this muſt proceed from ſome poſitive Law and particular Inſtitution. And hence I gather that the *Pagans* received this Rite and Custom from the

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Jews;

Jews, who were under a Law of Tithes by the special Command of God, as the Scripture informs us. And though a late * Author of great Learning, reckons Tithes to have had their Rise from the Pagan World, yet he cannot but be sensible that the contrary is universally imbraced by the Learned. *Selden* particularly proves that the Phœnicians and Egyptians, and others, who were near Neighbours to the Jews, received that Custom from the Jewish Nation; and that afterwards it was transmitted from those neighbouring Heathens to others farther off, as the Greeks, Romans, &c. Or, if it could be found that some Heathens before the Jewish Dispensation offered Tithes, we might reasonably assert that some of the Patriarchs before the Law gave occasion to the Heathens to do so. But this can no where be found; but on the contrary, the antientest Instance of giving Tithes is that of *Abraham*: we read that after a great Victory he devoted the Tithes of all the Spoils to the Priest of the most High God. From this and the like Practice, the offering of Tithes among the Heathens took its beginning.

Fourthly, *Abstaining from certain kinds of Food* among the Jews, caused (it is probable) the same Custom among other Nations. The *Distinction of Clean and Unclean Meats* was derived from the Jews to the Egyptians: thus † *Herodotus* and ‖ *Phalaris* report that these eat no Swines Flesh; yet if they do but touch it, they wash themselves. So it is related concerning the Phœnicians, Cretians and Syrians, that they abstain'd from this sort of Flesh. These last also eat neither Fish nor Pigeons. Some of the Greek Philosophers observ'd this Difference

* Dr. Spencer, de Leg. Hebr. † Lib. 2. ‖ Symposi.

ference of Meats very strictly, as *Diogenes*, *Pythagoras*, *Apollonius*, *Tyanæus*; as *Laertius*, *Plutarch* and *Philostratus* assure us. The Old Pythagoreans abstain'd from several kinds of Food, especially they refrain'd from eating of Fish. What God tacitly forbad in Sacrifices, as the Brain and the Heart, (for neither of these are commanded to be sacrificed unto God) those Philosophers openly forbad at their Tables. And they derived from the Hebrews their not eating things that died of themselves, or that had Blood in them. In many other Usages it might be shewed that the Pythagorean Way was an Imitation of Judaism.

Fifthly, *The Heathen Priests Garments* were in imitation of those which the Jewish Priests wore. The Pagan Pontiffs wore a *Mitre* on their Heads, as * *Philostratus* testifies: and a *White Vest*, or *Linen Ephod*, was the usual Apparell of their Priests in their Holy Service, as † *Valerius Maximus* and others inform us. A worthy || Writer before mentioned, asserts that the Priests Vestments of Linen were a Ceremony taken from the *Egyptians*, and quotes Authors to prove that the Egyptian Priests used such a sort of Vesture. But it is more probable that the Egyptians and other Nations had it from the Jews. I am not singular in this: it was the Sense of the Antients (as [*] *Photius* intimates) that the Worshippers of Idols, in imitation of God's Priests, clothed theirs with a peculiar sort of Garments, which were after the fashion of the *Ephod*. With which agrees the

M 3

Learned

* Lib. 3. † Lib. 1. cap. 1. || De Legib. Hebræorum.

[*] Οἱ δὲ εἰδύλων θεραπυταί, κατὰ μίμησιν δὲ ἱερέων τῶ θεοῦ, πῶς σφῶν ἱερῶσι σιλάς ἀφαιρεσμένας ἐπιθέντο, ἐκ γῆμα τοῦ Εφὸδ. Epist. 192.

Learned || *Bochart* : " The Egyptians (saith he)
 " being in many things followers of the Jews
 " permitted their Priests to wear no other Vei-
 " ments but Linen ones. And again in the same
 place he saith, " *Plutarch* doth greatly philoso-
 phize concerning the Linen Garments which
 " the Egyptians wore, but more subtilly than
 " solidly, he being ignorant that many Rites and
 " Usages of this nature were derived from the
 " Jews to the Egyptians. And † *Huetius* is posi-
 tive in this Notion, saying, " The Priests of *Isis*,
 " i. e. the Egyptian Priests, wore Linen, and
 " therein imitated the Linen Garments of the
 " Hebrew Priests.

Sixthly, *The carrying of the Heathen Gods in little
 Tabernacles, Tents, or portable Temples*, (as you read
 of the Tabernacle of Moloch, *Amos* 5. 25. and *Act*
 7. 43.) was taken from the Jews carrying the Ark,
 which was the Symbol of God's Presence. So || *Gasp-
 ar Sanctius* : " The Tabernacle (saith he) of
 " Moloch was a certain Bier on which Moloch was
 " carried about in solemn Pomp ; whom the Jews,
 " after the fashion of the Gentiles, carried with
 " them, whithersoever they went, in a Religious
 " Manner, and for Protection-sake, making him
 " the Companion and Guide of their Travels :
 " even as the Jews of old (*observe that*) carried
 " the Ark, and in it the Divine Oracle, through
 " the Wilderness. Thus Dr. * *Godwin* : " The
 " bearing or taking up of this Tabernacle may
 " seem to have its Original among the Heathens
 " from an unwarrantable Imitation of *Moses's* Ta-
 " bernacle, which was nothing else but a portable
 " Tem-

* De animal. Sacr. Pars 1. lib. 2.

† Demonstr. Evang.

|| In Comm. in Act. 7. 43.

|| Mos. & Aaron. l. 4. c. 2.

Temple, to be carried from place to place as need required: For (*as he goes on*) it cannot be denied that many Superstitions were derived unto the Heathen from the true Worship of God which he himself had prescribed unto his People. But the worthy Author afore-cited is of another Opinion, telling us, "That the Tabernacle of *Moloch* was the first Original of the Tabernacle of God. God saw that the Pagans took up on their Shoulders the Tabernacle of *Moloch*, and thereupon made a Tabernacle for himself, and an Ark to be born upon Shoulders, Thus he. And if you would see the Parallel between *Moloch's Tabernacles* and *God's Tabernacle*, take it from that Learned Pen thus: * *Moloch's* Tabernacle was portable; therefore God's was so. *Moloch's* Tabernacle contained in it his Image: so the Tabernacle of Testimony had in it the Ark, and a pair of Images, viz. the Cherubims. In *Moloch's* Idolatrous Temple *Moloch* shewed himself present by his Image, and by giving Answers thence: Accordingly in the Jewish Tabernacle the True God inhabited, and exhibited frequently a sensible Testimony of his Presence. The Idolatrous Tabernacle was called the Tabernacle of *Moloch*, i. e. *the King*: Semblably the Mosaick Tabernacle was accounted and held to be the Palace and Mansion of the Highest King, i. e. God. The Tabernacle dedicated to *Moloch*, represented the Sun placed in its Celestial Tabernacle: In imitation of this, *Moses's* Tabernacle was a Representation of the Heavens and the Stars, and the whole World. Seeing the Learned Author was pleased to publish this Parallel to the World, I hope it is

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* De Legibus Hebræorum, Lib. 3. cap. 3. Dissertat. 1.

no Offence to repeat it here, and with submission to so accomplish'd a Person, to deliver my Thoughts freely of it. He will not permit it to be said, that the Devil apes the Almighty: this he discards and brands as a * *Vulgar Error*. But I crave leave to ask this Question, Is not this more tolerable, yet more credible, than to say that the Cursed Fiend is imitated by God himself? Can we think that the True God is so careful and precise in following the Idolatrous Gentiles? Can we believe that he so exactly emulated every Point of Idolatry belonging to *Moloch's* Tabernacle? Surely this cannot be thought worthy of that All-wise Being, this cannot be consistent with what we read of him. Wherefore let us consult the Place in *Amos*; *Have ye offered unto me Sacrifices and Offerings in the Wilderness, forty Years, O House of Israel? But ye have born the Tabernacle of your Moloch, and Chiun your Images, the Star of your God which ye made to your selves*; chap. 5. 25, 26. Here God reproves and upbraids the Israelites for their gross Idolatry, and particularly for *bearing the Tabernacle of Moloch*. Whatever Disputes there be about other things in these Words, this is undeniable, and beyond all Controversy, that *bearing the Tabernacle of Moloch* was a piece of Idolatrous Service, it being opposed here to *offering Sacrifices and Offerings unto God*. With this Idolatrous Worship of theirs God was provoked and incensed, and tells them in the next Verse, *they shall go into Captivity* for this very thing. Is it then probable that this *bearing of the Tabernacle of Moloch* was the Original of worshipping the True God in the Tabernacle? Is it reasonable to believe that he made this manner of Worship his

Own,

* Lib. 3. cap. 2.

own, and instituted it as one of the chief and principal Parts of the Solemn Religion of the Jews? Were all things to be done by the Jews in their Religious Service, according to the Pattern in the Mount? How then can the bearing of the Tabernacle of Moloch among the Gentiles, be the First Pattern (as that Learned Author expressly saith) of Tabernacle-Worship among the Jews? God was grieved with the Generation of the Jews in the Wilderness, as he saith himself; he was exceedingly displeased with them for this their Idolatrous Worship: but behold! he soon changed his Mind, and took a liking to this Way, and set it up among the Israelites, and caused it to be the Choicest and most Sacred Piece of Divine Worship. Thus God's Worship was a Transcript from Moloch, instead of being the First Original Pattern. I must needs confess I cannot prevail with my self to entertain such Thoughts as these, and to frame such a Notion of God. I rather choose to embrace that *Vulgar Error*, (as he is pleased to stile it) that a great part of the Ceremonies which the Pagans used in their Religion, was taken from the Worship prescribed by God himself in the Old Testament, and particularly that the *Tabernacle of Moloch*, i. e. the Seat in which he was carried up and down to be worshipp'd, the *ἑστῆς* of that Idol, ** Tent or Tabernacle* (as St. † Luke calls that of the God Remphan) was in imitation of the Jewish Tabernacle, or portable Temple, wherein *Jehovah* was present; and that from the Ark in that holy Place, the Gentile Worshippers borrowed their *Chests*, and *Boxes*, and *little Houses*, wherein they carried their Gods up and down. I shall afterwards have occasion to account

* Psal. 95. 10.

† Acts 7. 43.

account with the Learned Author who opposes this, and the Doctrine which leads to it; therefore I shall add no more here.

Seventhly, The Heathens followed the Use of the Jews in some things which were done in their *Consecrated Places and Temples*. It was a custom, saith an * antient Writer, to go but once a Year into some of those Places, and it was wholly unlawful to visit some of them at all. † *Pausanias* instances in particular Temples which were opened but one Day in a Year: and of *Orem's* saith, || None was permitted to enter into it but the Priest. This any Man may see was borrowed from the Divine Constitution among God's People that the High Priest only was to go into the Holy of Holies, and that but once in a whole Year. To this likewise I may adjoin, that the *Adyta* or *Penetrabilia* among the Pagans, were taken from the Holy of Holies among the Jews. Those Places (which were the same also with their *Debra*) were (as [*] *Servius* explains them) Secret Accesses in their Temples; they were hidden and remote Apartments that were inaccessible to all but their Priests, and therefore they had the name of *Adyta*, as [†] *Cæsar* observ'd. This is a plain Imitation of the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, that Innermost Part of the Sanctuary among the Hebrews, whether (as hath been said) the Chief Minister of Religion only could have access.

Eightly,

* Quædam fana semel anno adire permittunt, quædam toto nefas viscere. *Minut. Felix.* † In Brutiis.

|| Ἀπόρρυτος μὲν ἄπαρ χρεῖται ἐξασθαι εἰσέλθειν δὲ ὁ μὲν ἱερεὺς παρά γὰρ τὸ ἱερωδικόν. *Eliac. 2do.* [*] Secreta Templorum. In *Æt. 2.* [†] Pergami in occultis & remotis Templi, quò præter Sacerdotes adire fas non est, quæ Græci ἄδυτα appellant. *De Bell. Civ. l. 3.*

Eighthly, The *Pagan Sacrifices*, and many Rites, Usages and Circumstances about them, were borrowed from the old Patriarchs and Jews, of whom the Old Testament gives us the Relation. The *Sacrifices of the Gentiles are sacrilegious Imitations of the Hebrews*, saith * *St. Austin* peremptorily; and at several other times he professedly declares that many of their Religious Observances were from the Jews: I might observe that their *Immolation*, (so called from a *Cake of Flower* which the Priest, when he came to sacrifice, laid on the Head of the Beast) and their *Libation*, or Tasting the Wine, and *Sprinkling* it on the Beast's Head, and likewise their Eating and Drinking part of the things which were sacrificed, making merry with the Remains of what was offered, were plain Imitations of what the Hebrew Priests did. The using of *Salt in Sacrifices* is another thing which may be mentioned here; for this also was derived from the same Fountain. Hence *Homer* gives *Salt* the Epithet of † *Divine*: and *Plato* observes that *Salt* is well accommodated to sacred things; wherefore it is call'd by him || θεοφιλης, or, as (*) *Plutarch* transcribes it, θεοφιλέστατον, most acceptable to the Gods. Of what Authority and Worth *Salt* is, you may learn, saith (†) *Pliny*, from its being constantly used in holy Things by the Antients. Whence had they this Notion and Practice but from the Hebrews, among whom *Moses*, or rather God, ordered all things that were offer'd in Sacrifice (||) to be seasoned with *Salt*: and thence it is call'd, in the same place, *Salt of the Covenant*, because they were bound as by Covenant to use it in
all

* *Cont. Faust.* l. 22. c. 17. † Θεῖον, *Iliad.* i. || In *Timæo*.
(*) *Sympos.* l. 5. (†) Maxima salis autoritas è sacris veterum intelligitur, *Nat. Hist.* l. 31. c. 7. (||) *Lev.* 2. 13.

all Sacrifices: to which our Saviour refers, (ap-
plying it to another Sense) * *Every Sacrifice*
be salted with Salt. To pass to some other Cir-
cumstances relating to the Gentile *Sacrifices*,
which sprang from the Old Testament: In imi-
tation of the *Perpetual Fire* on the Altar among
Jews, the Assyrians and Chaldeans kept a Fire
ways burning, and accounted it a very sacred
choice Treasure. This is *Nergal* which we
mention'd in 2 *Kings* 17. 30. according to the
opinion of a very † excellent Man. And some
think this sacred Fire was kept in that City which
they call'd *Ur*, from *Ur, ignis*. The Persians also
had their *Perpetual Fire*, which they religiously
kept, as || *Strabo* relates. So it was ordered by
the *Greeks*, that πῦρ ἄσβεστον should be kept in
the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, and in that of
Minerva in *Athens*: this Fire was call'd by the
ἱεῖα, whence the Latin *Vesta*. And the Romans
as well as the Grecians observed this Custom.
A Continual Fire was kept in the Temple of *Vesta*
at *Rome*, as *Virgil*, *Ovid*, *Valerius Maximus*, and
several other of their Writers acquaint us. The
Virgins (thence call'd *Vestal Virgins*) who had the
care of it, suffer'd it not to go out, unless in time
of Civil War: at all other times they continually
attended and watched it, constantly repaired
and recruited it. If by any strange Accident the
Fire was extinguish'd, it was not to be rekindled
by ordinary Fire, but by the Rays of the Sun,
which was done by Instruments on purpose. This
Sacred Fire thus perpetually kept burning, and
which was in order to the Sacrifices, was in imi-
tation

* *Matth.* 9. 49. † *Mr. Selden*, de Dis Syr. Syntag. 2. cap. 1.
|| Πῦρ ἄσβεστον φυλάττειν οἱ Μαζοι. *Lib.* 15.

tion of God's exprefs Command to his own People in *Lev. 6. 13.* *The Fire ſhall ever be burning on the Altar: it ſhall never go out.* And if you remember the Original of this Fire, namely, that it came down from Heaven, when *Aaron* the firſt time offer'd Sacrifice in the Deſart, you will be farther confirmed that the Pagans had this Uſage from the Jews: for herein alſo they imitated them, as was ſuggeſted before; they renewed this Fire from Heaven whenever it chanced to go out. The *Veſtal* Fire was borrowed from Celeſtial Heat, not kindled by any Earthly Flame: which ſhews that the Jews Heavenly Fire, which they kept always burning, and wherewith they ſet on fire their *Sacrifices*, gave occaſion to this of the Heathens. And what if I ſhould ſay that *Ἑστία* (of which *Veſta* is but a Corruption) is of Hebrew Original, and is as much as *Eſh Jah, Ignis Domini, i. e.* the ſacred Fire of God's own appointing? Next, the making of *Leagues and Covenants by Sacrifice and by Blood*, which was an uſual Cuſtom among the Pagans, was derived from Scripture-practice, of which there is * mention more than once. We read that among the old Romans their Solemn Compacts were both made and confirmed with the Ceremony of Striking, Killing and Cutting up the Sacrifice; whence *perculere, ferire fœdus*, to ſtrike a League, was no uncommon Phraſe. More eſpecially the Killing and Sacrificing of a Swine were moſt in uſe among them, as appears from † *Livy* and ‖ *Virgil*. And this Cuſtom was in uſe among the Grecians, as is to be ſeen in *Homer* often; and thence *συνδαι* was the word to ſignify not only the

* Gen. 21. 27. Exod. 24. 6, 7, 8. † Decad. 1. lib. 2.

‖ —Caſa jungebant fœdera porcâ. *Æt.* 8.

the Ceremonial *Liberations* at their Sacrifices, but so the *Compacts* which were made at such a time and (as * *Eustathius* observes) the Sacrifices by the name of *Genia*, i. e. Covenants given them. This Practice was in other Nations, (though with a mixture of some other Ceremonies and prophane Usages): when they swore to one another, and made Bargains in a solemn Manner, they used to slay some Animal and sacrifice it; and this was reckon'd as a Testimony of their mutual Agreement. For as a Sacrifice was a Federal Obligation, whereby Men made a League and Covenant with God, and entered into Communion and Friendship with him; so the same Ceremony was used as a Signification of Humane Friendship, as a Token of Covenanting between Men and Men. And because Sacrificing was accompanied with a friendly *Eating and Drinking with one another*, therefore also it hath been the Custom of all the World (of which it is unnecessary to produce Instances) to make Leagues of Friendship, and to contract Covenants in that sociable way. Eating and Drinking together have been not only a Sign, but a Pledg of Amity and good Agreement. Which you will find to be originally derived from the Practice of the Antient Patriarchs, and others in the Old Testament. Thus † *Jacob* and *Laban*, ‖ *Isaac* and *Abimelech*, (*) *David* and *Abner*, entered into League and friendly Correspondence, and confirmed their Alliances with one another. To which I will only add this, that *Salt*, which was used in *Sacrifices* (as you heard before) was a *Symbol of Friendship and Covenanting*; and with refe-

* In *Iliad* 7. † Gen. 26. 30. ‖ Gen. 31. 46;
(*) 2 Sam. 3. 20.

ference to this (besides the Reason before named) was call'd *Salt of the Covenant*: whence, among the Pythagoreans, *Salt* was a Representation of amicable Correspondence; and the Duration and Lastingness of it was fitly signified by this, which is a Preservative against Putrefaction. In short, among the Heathen Nations this was generally a Token of *Friendship*, and was used to express a *Familiarity* and *Agreement* among Persons. This we may conjecture was derived from the Jewish Practice, and particularly from *Melach Berach*, the *Salt of the Covenant*. Shall I add under this Head, that it may be the Greeks giving the name of Ἀναθήματα to the *Gifts* and *Presents* which were consecrated to their Gods in their Temples, had its rise from those Sacrifices and sacred Gifts call'd in the Old Testament *Terumoth*, *Heave-Offerings*; which had that Name because they were heaved or lifted up in honour of God, to whom they were brought? for those * Ἀναθήματα, in imitation of these, were call'd so from being *lifted* and *hung up* on some high Place in their Temples to their Gods. It seems these Heathen Devotionists would have their *Heave-Offerings*, their *Elevated Presents*, their *Exalted Gifts*, which were borrow'd from the Jews.

Ninthly, *The Heathen Oracles, and giving of Answers in difficult Cases*, were of Jewish Extraction. They were borrowed from God's *Holy Oracle* in the inmost part of the Tabernacle, and afterward of the Temple. You may easily trace them to the *Mercy-Seat*, whence God gave *Answers* to the High-Priest. This we may learn from the Name which is given it, viz. *Debir*, 1 Kings 8. 6. Psal. 28. 2. which

* From ἀναθεῖναι, sustollere, suspendere.

which in Latin is *Oraculum*. This hints to us the Thing it self, as well as the Word, is taken from the Jews. There is an * Ingenious Man labour'd to shew that the particular Shape or brick of *Apollo's Temple at Delphos*, and the Oracle of that Place, with the Ceremonies used there, were taken from the Old Testament. Though he hath found things which may seem a little too fanciful, yet the main may be true and solid, viz. that the *Pythian Oracles* were fetch'd from the Divine Ones in Scripture. Under this Head I will add, that it is not improbable that the Poetical Conceit of *Sphinxes* which used to utter Riddles and ænigmatical Sayings, was taken from the Sacred Oracle of the Jews, and from the *Cherubims* which were over the *Propitiatory*; whence *Answers* were given by God. For the *Sphinx* was (as the Poets feign'd) a multiform Creature, but had a Humane Face, and moreover had Wings: and so likewise those *Sphinxes* which were placed without the Egyptian Temples, were pictured with Wings. This is exactly according to the Representation which hath been given of the *Cherubims*; they were of a mixt and various Shape; but 'tis generally agreed they had the Countenances of Men, and that they were winged: and 'tis well known that these Creatures hovered over the *Mercy-Seat*, which was the Place of the Holy Oracle. So that upon these accounts, it seems to me very likely that some part of the Sacred History, concerning the Oracle and *Cherubims*, lies disguised under these Poetical Fictions: but let every one think as he pleaseth.

But the Devil especially brought in *Oracles* in imitation of the *Ephod*, and its *Urim* and *Thummim*,

* Dr. Dickinson's Delphi Phœnicizantes.

that great and celebrated Oracle among the Jews. This questionless was not unknown to the Gentiles; for a Proof of which, there are some al-
 long what * *Diodorus* the Sicilian, and † *Alian* deliver, viz. that the Chief Judg, or Lord-Chief Justice (who was also the Chief Priest) among the Egyptians, wore at his Neck an Image hanging at a golden Chain, and made of precious Stones, and the Name of it was *Truth*. The Egyptians had this, say ‖ *Grotius* and (*) *Vossius*, from the Hebrews, as many other things; for *Thummim* is rendered *Truth* by the Septuagint: and thence it is likely the Image of Truth, which hung at the Neck of the Egyptian High-Priests, alludes to the Precious Stone, or rather that Set of them which hung at the Breast of the Jewish High-Priest, in which were the *Urim* and *Thummim*. Indeed thus far I am willing to grant, that the Egyptians might borrow the word *Αληθεια* hence, and apply it to that excellent Jewel which was made of a *True Blue Sappir*, and therefore they used the word *Truth*: but I cannot proceed, and say (with some) that there is any proof hence that the *Thummim* was an Image. I grant that the Egyptians might have heard of the *Urim* and *Thummim*, and it may be fancied them to be some little Images made of Precious Stones, the *Urim* and *Thummim* being lodged in the same place with the twelve famous Gems which the High-Priest wore; and from thence perhaps the Mistake was propagated among the Gentiles, that those Oracles of the Jews were a sort of Images: I say it is probable that this false Notion concerning the Divine Oracles

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of

* Lib. 1. † Var. Hist. l. 14. c. 34. ‖ De verit. Christ. No-

† 1. (*) De 70 Interpretib.

of the Hebrews, was propagated among the
 thens: and in pursuance of this, I will add
 Conjecture, viz. that the *Aucilia* among the
 Romans, which were said to be *from Heaven*,
 in which the Fates of the City were contain'd
 lodged, (which really were but one, though
 to be many) had some reference to the Jews
 and *Thummin*, that Divine and Heavenly Di-
 situm, on which the Fates of all Persons depen-
 who repaired unto it, and consulted it; and w
 was indeed but one single Oracle, (as I have sh
 in another place) though by the different Na
 it seem'd to be more. And these *Aucilia* fr
 from Heaven, being in the Shape of *sheri*
 or *Bucklers* that are to cover the *Breast*, seem on
 very account to have reference to the holy
 Plate; in which, you know, the *Urim* and *Thu-
 mim* were deposited. And further, to ad
 this Notion, let it be remembered that these
 cilia were always in the keeping of the *Solin*, a
 ted sort of *Priests*; and the Badge of their O
 was a *brass Plate* or *Covering* on their *Breast*, w
 they wore over a *rich Partie-coloured Vest*; w
 latter seems to be in Imitation of the *Jewish*
 Priest's *gaudy Vestment*, as the former of the
 Plate, wherein the *Urim* and *Thummin* were
 ced.

Thus, without any straining, it appears that
 Pagans had some notice of that *Great Oracle* of
 Hebrews, though they were very much mis-
 in conceiving it to be some pretty Image, or
 strange thing sent from Heaven. Whereas
 most facile and obvious Account that can be giv
 of the *Urim* and *Thummin*, is, that they were
 Things, but Words, i. e. they were those
 words, URIM and THUMMIM, written on p
 gray

given in some small Plate of Gold, and put into the High Priest's Pectoral. And I am apt to think some of the more understanding Gentiles had an apprehension of this, and that thence we read so often in Authors of the *ἱερὰ ραββινικά*, which was an Imitation of the Hebrew Letters or Writing which made up the *Urim* and *Thummim*. From this sacred Scripture in the Ephod those Ephesian Images were borrowed, which they used in Magical Art, and whereby they did any thing that they had a mind to do. In all Businesses they fled to these, and consulted them, so that they were a kind of Oracle unto them. This I conceive was an Allusion to the Hebrew Oracle which consisted of Letters or Writing.

Penthy, The Scape-Goat, (*Ῥαμὰς*, from *ῥαμν* a Goat, and *αἶα* he went, as much as to say the Wandring Goat) dispatched into the Wilderness with the Sins of the People, and repeated Curses on his Head; gave occasion for the like Practice among the Gentiles. Thus the Greeks used in a formal manner to dismiss some Animals with a Curse; whence those devoted Creatures were call'd *ἀπειρα* by them, because they were thus sent away. The Romans did the like sometimes upon occasion: so *Caesar* speaks of some Horses that *Caesar* * had thus dealt with when he pass'd the *Rubicon*. After the same manner the antient Arabians devoted to their Gods Sheep and Goats. But the Practice of the Egyptians is most remarkable of all, who (as *Herodotus* relates) used to heap Execrations on the head of a devoted Beast or Sacrifice selected for this purpose; that if any Evil hung over them, it

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might

* *Caesar* consecraverat, ac vagos & sine custode dimiserat: *Id. l. 8. c. 1.*

might be turn'd on the Head of that Sacrifice. * They curse, saith he, the Heads of the Sacrifice with these words, *If any Mischiefs threaten the Sacrificers in particular, or all Egypt in general, let it light upon the Head of this Animal.* And when they had loaded him with all their Imprecations, they used to hurry him headlong into the River Nile, to be drowned, or they sold him to a Greek or some other profane Man, to derive all those Maledictions from themselves to the Belly of that Person. This Egyptian Expiation was taken from Aaron or the Scape-Goat, *Lev. 16. 21, 22.* where it is said, *Aaron was to lay both his Hands upon it, and confess over him all the Iniquities of the Children of Israel, putting them on the Head of the Goat: and he was to send him away by the hand of a fit Man into the Wilderness: and the Goat was to bear upon him all their Iniquities into a Land not inhabited.* Ἀποπομῶν is the word used by the LXX to express the Hebrew word *Azazel*; and accordingly the Ἀποπομῶναι θεοί, that were thought to avert Calamities, and the Ἀποπομῶναι, which were Sacrifices offer'd by the Heathens to avert independent Evils, are related to this.

Eleventhly, From the *Water of Jealousy* in use among the Jews, (*Numb. 5. 12, &c.*) where they tried the Honesty of a suspected Wife, the like Custom came to be used by the Gentiles. The old Greeks tried their She-Priests, or Nuns, who were suspected of Whoredom, with a Drink which they tendered to them to drink; and if the Party were guilty, she presently was struck dumb. They had also (as we learn from || *Philostrophus*)

* Καταρκέντης δὲ τὰς ἀεὶ λήγοντες τὰς κεφαλὰς, &c. Lib. 4. † Pausanias, lib. 7. || Vit. Apollon. l. 1. c. 42

Water, to try Perjury, which might be of the same Original.

Twelfthly, We read in several Authors, (some of whom you will find quoted in * *Cælius Rhodigi-*
us) that *Branches* were used in the superstitious
 Rites of the Gentiles, and in the Worship of their
 Gods. Among the Athenians particularly there
 was a Festival which took its Name from *Branches* :
 and *Plutarch* and others tell us, that they went a-
 bout with *Boughs* in their Hands in honour of *Bac-*
chus. If we compare this with what the Jews did
 in the *Feast of Tabernacles*, (as the † Scripture
 testifieth, and as ‖ *Josephus* relates) namely, that
 they sat under Booths which they shadowed with
 Branches; that they sacrificed to God, holding in
 their Hands Boughs of Myrtle and Palm; and that
 they went up and down many days with these in
 their hands, we may gather hence, that this He-
 brew Rite was borrowed by the Gentiles, who
 were very apish; especially if we take notice that
 the Jews and Gentiles kept this sort of Feast at the
 same time of the Year. For the Feast of Taberna-
 cles was celebrated on the fifteenth Day of the
 Month *Tirsi*, i. e. about the beginning of our *Sep-*
tember: then it was that they feasted, and made
 merry, and express'd it by all signs of rejoicing;
 and then it was also that the *Pagans* kept their
 great Feast in honour of *Bacchus*. I know [*] *Plu-*
tarch derives that from this, and so makes the Jews
 imitate the Gentiles, as some of late have done:
 but I hope I have suggested sufficient reason alrea-
 dy (and may do more afterward) to antidote a-
 gainst this vain Conceit.

N 3

I

* Lib. 7. c. 29. † Lev. 23. 40. ‖ Antiqu. l. 3. c. 10.

[*] Sympos. 4. 3.

I pass on to other Particulars: the *Nazarenes* among the Jews nourished their Hair for a time, then dedicated it to God; which was done by cutting it off, and offering it in the Temple or Tabernacle, and then burning it with the Sacrifice, Num. 6. 18. That the Pagans imitated them in this evident: thus concerning the Greeks * *Plutarch* testifies, that they dedicated the First-fruits of their Hair to *Apollo*, *Esculapius*, *Hercules*, *Bacchus* and other Gods. The Romans likewise the first time they shaved their Beards, and cut the Hair of their Heads, offered them to some Deity, as may be proved from † *Suetonius* and other Writers. And not only the *Greeks* and *Romans*, but the *Africans* and several other Nations took up this Custom, as you may satisfy your selves abundantly from || some Criticks who have handled this Subject.

Several other things I might mention, as the Jews putting away all Leaven at the Passover: whereas perhaps Leavened Bread was not permitted to the Gentiles at some certain times; yea it was not lawful (saith *Aulus Gellius*) for *Jupiter's* Priests to touch Leaven. From the Jews the Custom of Circumcising went to several Nations, and not from them to the Jews, as [*] *Strabo*, [†] *Celsus*, and others conceited. But [||] *Origen* confutes this Mistake, and shews that God himself first instituted this Ceremony; that *Abraham* and his Race first practised it, and in imitation of them the People of the next neighbouring Countries took it up, as the *Arabians* and *Egyptians*. Of these latter, and the *Ethiopians*, the *Persians*, *Phoenicians*, the

* In Theleo. † In Nerone. || Meursius in Græc. Feriæ. l. 3. Lipsii Comment. in Tacit. Montague against Selden's Hist. of Tithes. Casaubon in Theophrasti. charact. Heinssius in Sil. Ital. [*] l. 17. [†] Orig. contr. Cels. l. 1. [||] Ibid.

Troglodyta, and those of *Colchos*, * *Herodotus*, † *Diodorus*, || *Strabo*, testify that this Rite was used by them. *Philostorgius* relates the same of the ancient Arabians. *Pythagoras* was circumcised, saith *Theophrastus*. However, this is certain that this Jewish Practice came into use among several Nations, and it was originally from *Abraham* (who was first circumcised) and his Stock, who were Jews. I might add here, that the Jews at circumcising the Child gave it a Name: thence the Pagans took up the same Custom of giving Names to their Infants. Hence *Dies Nominalis* went along with *Dies Lustralis*, and this was about the eighth or ninth Day among the Romans; which seems also to be imitation of the Jews. Bigamy was forbidden to the [*] Pagan Priests, as it was to the Jewish ones. So in compliance with the Mosaick Law, it was unlawful for their [†] Priests to touch any dead Corps. From the same Sacred Fountain was their *Aqua Lustralis*, used in sprinkling of Sepulchres, and to purify those who had touched them, or came near them. From the Law of *Cerberus*, the *Anathema*, the Thing or Person devoted to Death, Lev. 27. 28, 29. seem to be derived the Pagan *καταδραματα*, and *Devota Capita*. The neighbouring Gentiles heard of the devoting to utter Destruction certain Cities and their Inhabitants; and 'tis likely they heard that this was done by the special Command of God. Hence they apishly and superstitiously imitated this Usage, (as you have seen they do in other things) and devoted certain Men to Death and Destruction, to please and propitiate their Gods. And this is the more credible,

N 4

because

* Lib. 2, & 3. † Lib. 3. c. 22. || Lib. 16, & 17.

[*] Liv. Decad. 1. l. 10. [†] Dio. Hist. lib. 54.

because the very word *Ἀνασμία* (which was sometimes confounded with *Ἀνασμία*) was used by the antient Greeks to signify those miserable and execrable Wretches who were thus destined to the Infernal Ghosts. When any great Plague or Calamity broke in upon the Pagans, Men, as well as Beasts, were devoted to Slaughter, and given up as Propitiatory Offerings to their Deities: and these, I say, were by them termed *Ἀνασμία*, Accursed, Devoted, Execrable Creatures, which answers to the Jewish *Cherems*, which were Things or Persons devoted to utter Destruction. This Pagan Usage was but a Transcript of the Hebrew one.

Perhaps the use of *Lots* among the Gentiles had its Original from what the Sacred Writings relate of this Practice. In *Lev. 16. 8.* two Goats (in order to some Sacred Design) were chosen by *Lot*. *Joshuab* found out *Achan* to be an Accursed Criminal by this means, *Josh. 7. 14, 18.* The first Assignment of Portions in the Land of *Canaan*, was by casting *Lots*, *Josh. 13. 2.* *Saul* was chosen King of *Israel* thus, *1 Sam. 10. 21.* By the same Method *Jonas* was discovered to be the Cause of the Tempest, *Jonas 1. 7.* From which antient Instances of *Lottery* it is probable the Gentiles borrowed the like Usage, and made choice of their Military and Civil Officers, and transacted other Matters in this way. In * *Homer* some of the Great Commanders are made after this fashion, as *Eurylochus* and others. Some of the Athenian Magistrates were annually call'd to their Places by *Lot*; whence they were stiled *κλήρωτοι*. Particularly this was the manner of chusing Judges at *Athens*, as you may see in || *Ce-*

line

* *Κλήρωτοι ἐν κλήρῳ*, &c. || *Antiqu. Lect. lib. 22. c. 18.*

Rhodiginus. Yea, some were chosen into the Priesthood with this Ceremony, and therefore had the name of κληρωτοι, as *Aristotle* tells us in the fourth Book of his *Politicks*. They used Lottery on other accounts, as you may see in *Suidas* in the word κληρωτηρια. This also was in use among the Old Romans sometimes; and not only in the Election of Publick Officers, but in other Affairs: more especially in their *Divinations* these Lots were made use of, as it were easy to prove. All which it is likely had its first Rise from the Old Testament, and the Practice of the Antients recorded there.

Is it not reasonable to think that the Cities of Refuge among some Pagan Nations, whither Offenders fled for Protection, had their Origine from those so expressly mentioned in *Numb.* 35. 13, 14, 15. Hence we read that *Cadmus*, when he built *Thebes*, founded a Place for all sorts of Criminals to repair to: and *Romulus* at the building of *Rome* erected a Sanctuary for Offenders to fly to. Further, I could observe that the *New-Moons* were celebrated by the Athenians and other Grecians. Concerning the first * *Plutarch* is very positive: and as to the rest, that † Proverbial Saying, σταντων νημενικων ημερων, in use among them, shews that they solemnly observ'd the first Day of the Month. The Romans likewise had the same Custom, as is manifest from that of || *Ovid*,

Vendicat Ausonias Junonis cura Calendas.

And these New-Moon Festivals are referr'd to by
Horace

* *Quæst. Rom.* † *Hesych.* || *Fast. l. 1.*

Hence more than once, as you may see in * *Turne-
bus*. All which is of *Hebrew* Extraction. I could
take notice that the Latin *Jubilare*, and *Jubilatio*
(which are found in *Varro* and other old Romans)
which signify great Rejoicing and Shouting for Joy,
are from the old Jewish Law of † *Jubilee*, a Time
of exceeding Gladness, being the Year when Ser-
vants and Debtors were restored to their Liberty
and Possessions, which occasioned great Rejoicing.
And I could propound more Instances yet to prove
that several Customs among the Heathens were ex-
tracted from the Holy Scriptures, and that Hea-
then Worshipers shaped New, Strange, and pro-
fane Rites, and Ways of Worship out of the Pas-
sages they read or heard of there; and that most
of the Heathen Usages are corrupt Imitations of
the Jews.

I will add to the several Particulars this one
more, which though I will not confidently pro-
nounce was borrowed from the Jews, yet I propose
it as a thing very probable: It is this, that the
Hieroglyphicks of the *Egyptians* were in imitation of
that People; for they were brought up under *Shad-
ows*, *Types* and *Symbols*, dark Representations,
and mystical Rites: which might give occasion to
the *Egyptians* to teach Religion and Morality by
Hieroglyphick Figures. I am not positive here, (nor
would I be any where else, unless I had good
Grounds to go on) because I am not altogether cer-
tain that the Hieroglyphick Learning began after
Moses. But there is great probability that it did,
and consequently that it was derived from what
they

* *Advers. lib. 15. c. 19. & l. 24. c. 45.*

† *Levit. 25. 9, 10, 11.*

they observ'd among the Jews. This is the Per-
 son of the Inquisitive * Kircher, who without
 any hesitation averreth, that the Symbolical and
 Hieroglyphick Learning was imbibed from the He-
 brews. Nay, to go yet farther, now we are come
 thus far; there are those who conjecture that a
 great part of the *Antient Gentile Philosophy* was col-
 lected from the Holy Book of Scripture. Among
 the antient *Persians* the *Mosaic* Religion might be
 discovered in many Instances which might be gi-
 ven of their Principles: and an Ingenious † French
 Author hath lately proved that their *Zoroastres*
 was the same with *Moses*. And as for the *Pytha-
 gorick* and *Platonick* Philosophy, which consists much
 in Figures and Numbers, in Dark and Symbolical
 Precepts, it is evident that it was made up out of
 the Sacred Hebrew Writings. The Platonists
 books concerning God, the *Genii*, the *Spirits* and
Souls of Men, though stuff'd with many Errors and
 Superstitions, discover a great Resemblance and
 Affinity with those things which the Bible delivers
 about the Nature of God, Angels, and Humane
 Souls. *Eusebius* particularly insists on this, and
 derives the *Platonick* Doctrines from the Scrip-
 tures. Hence both he and *Clement of Alexandria*
 take notice of what *Numenius*, the Pythagorean
 Philosopher, said of *Plato*, namely, that he was
 the *Greek Moses*. And indeed most of the anti-
 ent Sages and Philosophers were obscure and my-
 stick in their Stile, and way of delivering their
 Notions.

* Obelisc. Pamph. lib. 2. c. 7.

† Hart. Démonst. Evang. Prop. 4.

‡ Μαυσις Ἀπικίζων. Euseb. Præpar. Evang. lib. 11. c. 4.
 Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1.

Notions, as the Sacred Writers are observ'd to be very often. Hence it is said by the antient Father whom I last quoted, That || *the way of Philosophizing among those Pagans, was after the manner of the Hebrews, that is, Enigmatical.* But as to the Matter, as well as Stile, the chiefest of the old Greek Poets and Philosophers, as *Orpheus, Homer, Hesiod, Thales, Anaxagoras, Parmenides, Empedocles, Democritus, Socrates,* (besides *Pythagoras* and *Plato* before named) agree with *Moses*. We may say of them all, as an Historian saith of the first of them, (after he had set down several Particulars of some Philosophy in his Poems). * They have pronounced many things concerning God and Man, which are consonant to that Truth which we, who are taught by the Holy Writings, profess. This may give light to what an Egyptian Priest told *Solon*, † You Grecians (saith he) are but of yesterday, and know nothing of the Rise and Antiquity of Arts: there is not one of you that is Old, and there is no Learning among you that is Antient. His meaning was, that all their Knowledg was borrowed, and that the Sacred *Mosaick* Philosophy and Theology were the oldest of all. From this the Heathens took theirs, though sometimes they express it in different Terms. Thus we have gone through the *Mosaick* Records, and in many Instances shew'd the Derivation of Gentile Philosophy, Principles, Practices and Usages, from those Sacred Writings;

|| Ὁ δὲ τεύπει παρ' αὐτοῖς φιλοσοφίας ἑβραϊκὸς καὶ αἰγυπτιακός. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. i.

* Ὀλίγους δὲ ἐν συμφώνως τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τῇ κατ' ἡμᾶς μετ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὁ συνάπτει ἀπορρηγνύμενος Ὀρφείας. Cedren. Hist. Compens.

† Plato in Timæo.

and consequently we have evinced the Truth and Antiquity of these Records.

Before I leave this Head of my Discourse, I will here add the Testimony of Pagan and Profane Authors concerning this great Law-giver *Moses*; the first Penman of Holy Scripture: which is still in prosecution of what I undertook, to shew that the Writings of the Old Testament, and with them their Authors and Penmen, are attested by Profane Writers. It appears, first, from what these have said, that there was such a Person, and that he was what his Writings represent him to be. This is he that is called by *Orpheus* Ὀρφεύς, alluding to his Name *Mosheb*, *Exod.* 2. 10. which was given him because he was drawn out of the Water. He is celebrated by *Alexander Polyhistor*, *Philochorus*, *Thallus*, *Appion* (cited by * *Justin Martyr*), by *Manetho* and *Numenius* (alleged by † *Origen* and ‖ *Eusebius*), by *Lysimachus* and *Molon* (quoted by ‖‖ *Josephus*), by *Chalcidius*, *Sanchoniathon*, *Justin*, *Pliny* in *Porphyrus*. *Moses* is placed by [*] *Diodorus* the Sicilian in the Front of his famous Law-givers, only a little disguised under the Name of *Mercure*, who is there said to have received his Laws from *Mercury*. And why from *Mercury*? Perhaps because some Chronologers acquaint us that the Great *Mercurius*, stiled *Trismegistus*, (the antientest Philosopher among the Egyptians) was either contemporary with *Moses*, or is thought to have lived about his time. But *St. Augustine* tells us, in his

Noted

* Orat. contra Gent. † Contra Cels. lib. 4.
 ‖ Præpar. Evang. lib. 9. c. 6. ‖‖ Cont. Appionem, l. 2.
 [*] Lib. 1.

Noted Book *de Civitate Dei*, that this *Morinus* was Nephew to another *Morinus*, whose Uncle was *Atlas* the famous Astrologer; and he it was belike that flourished in *Moses*'s time. Whence (if I may be suffered to give my Conjecture) the Poets did very fitly relate how *Atlas* bore up the *Heavens*; when in the mean time they meant our *Moses*, who giving us the Authentick Records of the *World's Creation*, and beginning his History with the Production of the *Heavens*, is the True *Atlas* that supports the Spheres: nay, he may be rightly said not only to bear up the *Heavens*, but the *Earth*, and to keep them from sinking into their first Chaos, by transmitting the Account and Memory of them to all Posterity. I question not but that *Moses* was represented by *Hermes Trismegistus*; for *ἡρμῆς* is no more than a very Great, i. e. an Excellent Man; and such none can deny *Moses* to have been. *ἡρμῆς*, i. e. *Interpreter*, is applicable to none better than to Him, who was the first Sacred and Inspired Interpreter of the Mind of God in Writing. Letters were invented by this *Hermes*, saith * *Jamblicus* from his Master † *Plato*. *Moses* being the first Writer, may well be said to be the first Inventor of Letters. *Diodorus* also tells us that this *Moses* was the first that gave the Egyptians (he should have said *Jews*, but those Mistakes are common with him and other Pagan Authors) † Written Laws; and that he was [*] a Man of a great Soul, and very powerful in his Life. And in another place he saith, he

* De Myster. Egypt. † In Phileb.

† *Ἡρμῆς* ὁ νόμος. Ibid.

[*] *ἄνθρωπος τῆς ψυχῆς μέγας, καὶ τῶν βίῶν ἰσχυρὸς*. Ibid.

he was * one that excelled in Wisdom and Valour. *Strabo* makes honourable mention of this Great Personage, yea speaks not only of him, but of the Religion establish'd by him, with great Respect. He ranks him among the best Legislators, and highly praiseth his Laws, and gives them the Pre-eminence before all others. He reciteth some of his Sayings and Deeds, telling us that he left *Egypt*, and came into *Syria*, because he disliked the Egyptians for their making and worshipping of Corporeal Gods, of the Figure and Proportion of Brutes; and that *Moses* profess'd that God could not be represented by any Image or Likeness whatsoever. There are || other Gentiles who speak of *Moses*, and his Laws and Constitutions; and they would have been more favourable in their Testimonials concerning him, if their Heathen Principles had not bias'd them to a more undue Character. Which is taken notice of by *Philo* in the Life of *Moses*: " Though (saith he) some Pagan Historians speak of him, yet they say but little, and that not truly neither. Out of Envy, it is likely, or because of the great Disagreement between his and the Laws of other Law-givers, they vouchsafe not to remember him. But that Testimony which we have is sufficient, and we may thence be satisfied that *Moses* was the most Authentick Historian, and the Antientest Law-giver; and we may gather from what they say, that his Laws were

* *θερνήσει δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἀνδρεία πλείων διαφέρειν.* Eclog.

† *Geograph. lib. 16.*

|| *Dionys. Longinus καὶ ὁ ἄλλος. Trogus Pomp. & ex eo Justin. lib. 36. Tacit. Hist. lib. 5.*

were the first, and gave beginning to all others. The famous Law-givers and Politicians among the Grecians, as *Lycurgus* and *Solon*, had the main of their Politicks from *Moses's* Laws, whence afterwards the Romans took some of theirs. And as *Moses* received his Laws immediately from God, so in imitation of him the greatest Law-givers said they had theirs from some Deity; as *Numa* from *Ageria*, *Minos* from *Jupiter*, *Lycurgus* from *Apollo*, *Zabeucus* from *Minerva*, &c. Still this establissheth our Notion, that the Writings and Practices of the Jews gave rise to many things among the Pagans, which I will yet further pursue.

CHAP. VI.

Prophane Writers testify the Truth of these Particulars mention'd in the Old Testament, viz. The Gigantick Race of the Canaanites: The Sun's standing still: Jephthah's Sacrificing his Daughter: Sampson's loss of his Hair: The Foxes which he made use of against the Philistines: Elias's rapture to Heaven: Some passages relating to King Solomon, King Hiram, &c. The Sun's going back in King Hezekiah's time: Nebuchadnezzar's Transformation into a Beast: His Dream of an Image with a Golden Head, &c. Next, it is proved that the Heathens had their Deities from the Old Testament: Their Saturn was Adam: Their Minerva was Eve: Their Jupiter, Cain: Their Vulcan Tubal-Cain: Their Bacchus (as also their Saturn and Janus) Noah: Their Apis, Joseph: Their Mercury and Bacchus, Moses: Their Hercules, Joshua and Sampson: Their Apollo, Jubal: Their Ganymed, Elias, &c.

eventhly. **S**OME other things which the Old Testament acquaints us happened, after giving the Law by Moses, till the Babylonian Captivity, are to be found among Prophane Writers. We read, in Numb. 13. 33. of the Gigantick race of Canaanites, who are called the Sons of Anak, and, in Deut. 9. 2. Jos. 11. &c. they are called *Anakims*.

kims. Is there not some probability that the *Tyndaridae*, or *Διότιδες* (and there were more than *Caster* and *Pollux* that were call'd by that name, (a) *Tully* will inform you) who by the *Greeks* were called *Avaxas* (as (b) several Authors acquaint had their Name from those Great Men who were the Offspring of *Anak*? These being driven by *Josuah* out of *Palestine*, when he overcame the Country, it is likely went into *Greece*, and from them the *Avaxas* of *Athens* and *Sparta* descended and hence it was that the Name of *Avaxas* was given, not only to the *Tyndaridae*, but all Great Men and Princes. I will add, that 'tis probable the word gave Origination to *Avaxites*, which signifies Great and Principal Men, such as those *Avaxas* were.

From that Miracle in *Jos. 10. 13.* of the Sun standing still, perhaps the Poets Fiction arose, concerning the Night doubled or trebled by *Jupiter* for *Alcmena's* sake. For (as hath been suggested already) this sort of Men, when they get a Story by the end, make what they please of it, and turn it into quite another thing than it was at first. The rumour of that strange Accident had come to their Ears, and they presently turn'd it into a Fable. And who should stop the Course of the Sun but *Jupiter* the Supream God? And after the rate that they represented their Gods, that which is further added is apposite enough, for they are not ashamed to tell us that they are Lewd and Obscene, and indulge themselves in all Lustful Practices. Now, when the Sun stood still in one Hemisphere, the other wanted his presence and light, and is

(a) *De Nat. deor. lib. 3.*

(b) *Tull. ibid. Plutarch, in Theseo; Theodoret.*

they had as it were a double Night, for the Sun's
 staying here so long. But you shall have another
 Table shortly, that will speak to the same pur-
 pose.

Porphyrius tells us, that *Sanchoiathou* had his Hi-
 storical Narrations and Secrets from one *Jerombaal*,
 a Priest of the God *Iad*; which shews that that Hi-
 storian had his Matter from the Sacred Scriptures,
 the Hebrew Fountains of Truth, though he often-
 times corrupts them. And it is evident that they had
 partly learnt the Name of the true God, from the
 Hebrews, or their Writings; for *Iad* was *Jehovah*
 the true God, whom the Jews Worshipped, as I shall
 shew more afterwards. Besides, from the same
 Spring they had some knowledge of that Eminent
 Judge of Israel, *Gideon*; for *Jerombaal*, who is the
 same with *Jerubbaal* (as *Bochart* hath proved) is Gi-
 deon, as is expressly said in the 7th of *Judg.* v. 1. This
 was a Man of great Renown, and the Fame of his
 Noble Acts had reached to the Nations round a-
 bout. He might pass with them for a Priest, as
 well as a great Warriour, seeing he built an Altar
 unto God, and Offered a Burnt-Sacrifice upon it, and
 at the same time threw down the Altar of Baal, and
 cut down his Groves, *Judg.* 6. 25, 26. which made
 a great noise (you may be sure) among the Hea-
 thens.

Again, from *Jephthah's Daughter's* being Sacrifi-
 ced (which could not but be famed among the
 Neighbouring Gentiles, and afterwards spread it self
 further) the Greek Poets made the Story of *Iphi-
 genia's* being Sacrificed by her Father *Agamemnon*.
 That this is taken from that, and is the same Sto-
 ry (only with the alteration of the Names) is
 clear from this following Parallel. 1. The *Chrono-
 logy of Jephthah and Agamemnon* is the same. They

were at the same time, *i. e.* when the *Trojan War* was, or at least, when it is supposed to have been for *Dion*, *Chrysoström*, and some others are bold to say, there was no such *Trojan War*, no *Sack* and *Burning* of that City, no *Rape* of a *Greek Woman*: But the whole Tale of it was the *Invention* of the *Greeks*, the *prime Fiction* they set up with. It was all from the *Scripture*, viz. the *History* of *Jephthab's* Warring with the *Ammonites* and *Epbraimites*. But this is too high a flight, I am not ready to follow it. The Wars of *Trojan* as they are represented by the Poets, are too much to be made out of so little a Story. Notwithstanding this, it is not improbable that the Story of *Agamemnon* and his Daughter, are the same Relation with that of *Jephthab* and his. It is the general agreement of Chronologers, that these were at the same time, yea, the beginning of the *Trojan War* falls exactly in the very entrance of *Jephthab's* Government, saith a late (a) Writer. Hence it was easie to mistake one for the other, or rather one gave occasion for inventing the other.

2. *Jephthab* and *Agamemnon* are both of them represented to be *Great Captains*, and *Warriours*, and so agree in that common Character.
3. Their Daughters are said to be the *only Daughters* of their Parents.
4. They were both *Virgins*.
5. They were both of them devoted by their Fathers when they were Warring against their Enemies.
6. One is said to wander up and down the Mountains with her Companions. The other is feigned to be turned into a Hind by *Diana*, and to range in the Woods and Mountains. Or, some say *Diana* pitied the Virgin, and not suffering her to be Sacrificed.

(a) Horn. Ars. Noc.

sent her away to be a Priestess of hers. This is Poetick Fiction, but the main agreement here, is in the Reprieve granted after their being destined to Sacrifice. 7thly, and lastly, *Iphigenia*, the Name of *Agamemnon's* Daughter is no other than *Iphthigia*, i. e. *Jephthigia*, or, in plain English, *Jephthah's* Daughter. So that the very Name hinteth to us that the bringing of *Iphigenia*, Daughter of *Agamemnon*, a King of the Greeks, and General of their Armies, unto the Altar to be Sacrificed, for the saving of the *Grecian* Fleet, was borrowed from the Sacred Story of *Jephthah*, a Judge or King of *Israel*, and Captain General of their Forces, his Sacrificing his Daughter, in pursuance of the solemn Vow which he made upon his return after his Conquests over his Enemies. And this in the close might be added, that whereas *Humane Slaughters* were grown commendable, and fashionable even among the better sort of *Heathens*, by the instigation of the Devil, it is not unlikely that some of them were imitations of this Great and notable Example of *Jephthah*.

From *Sampson's* being shaved, was the Fable of the Fatal Hair of *Nisus*, King of the *Megarenses*, which being cut off by a desperate Loyer, ruined befell that *Nisus*. The Story in brief is thus; *Nisus* (who all agree Reign'd about the same time that *Sampson* was Judge of *Israel*) had an excellent Head of Hair,

(a) ——— Cui splēdīdus ostro
Crinis inhærebat magni fiducia regis.

Concerning which it was told him, that as long

O 3

as

(a) Ovid's *Metamorph.* lib. 8.

as he wore that, and kept it intire, he should prosper, and be Victorious, and none should be able to expel him out of his Kingdom. But his happy Daughter *Sylla* fell in Love with *Minos*, who was then his actual Enemy, and War'd against him: She to procure *Minos's* Love, takes the Course the Poet speaks of there,

—————*Fatali Nata Patrem
Crine suum spoliat.*

She cuts off her Father's Hair when he was asleep, and gave it to *Minos*, who overcame her Father, and took his Kingdom from him. The very mentioning of this Story is sufficient to let you see how it agrees with that of *Sampson*, only there was a Wife, and here a Daughter in the case, which is a mistake not unusual among the Poets. *Sampson* vex'd and injured by the *Philistines*, the *Foxes* (of which that Country afforded store) bit the Tails with Fire-brands between them, *Judg.* 15. and sent them among their Corn, and thereby burnt it down. Whence seems to be framed the Fable of the *Carseolan Fox*, which *Ovid* speaks of in his *Fasti*, Book 4.

In *Prætor's* sending Letters by *Bellephoron* to *Jobatas*, in which *Bellephoron's* Death was design'd and contrived, (of which (a) *Homer*, and others speak) there are perhaps to be seen the footsteps of the Story of *Uriah's* carrying the Letter of his Death to *Joab*, 2 *Sam.* 11. 14. There is but little difference between *Jobatas*, and *Joab*.

It was famed that *Elias* went up to Heaven in a Fiery Chariot, with Horses, according to what we read

(a) *Iliad*.

read in the (a) Sacred Story; whence the *Greeks* mistook *Han* (according to the Septuagint) or *Han* for *Han*, and applied it to the *Sun*, and its Course through the Heavens. Those *Fiery Horses* and *Chariots*, they understood of those of the *Sun*, and accordingly they fancy'd there are really such things, and their Poets frequently talk of them. (b) *St. Chrysostom* was the first mention'd this, and afterwards (c) *Venerable Bede*. But let the Curious inquire whether there be sufficient ground for it from that Prophet's *Flaming Vehicle*, in which he was rapt up to Heaven.

With Pagan Poets, let us all along mix their *Hierians*, and from them we shall be satisfied, that there were such Persons in being, and such things done in the World, as the Holy Scriptures speak of. *King Solomon* and *King Hiram's* Letters to one another (of whose Correspondence you read in 1 *Kings*, 5.) are to be seen in the *Tyrian Annals*, and at this day, saith (d) *Josephus*, any Man may have the sight of them from the Keepers of those Publick Writings. He sets down the words of *Menander*, who Translated those Chronicles out of the *Phenician* into the *Greek Tongue*, which expressly mention the great Friendship of those two Kings, and the latter's sending Materials, and Workmen for the Temple. He quotes *Dion*, who wrote of the *Phenician* Affairs, and attests the same thing of *Solomon*, and *Hiram*. (e) He tells us that *Menander* speaks of the great Famine and want of Rain in *Elias's* time; and that he speaks of *Salmanesser* King of *Assyria*, and that

O 4

(a) *Herodotus*

(a) 2 *Kings*, 2. 11. (b) *Serm.* 2. *de Elia*. (c) In lib. *Regum*, quæst. 28. (d) *Antiqu.* l. 8. c. 2. & contr: *Ap.* l. 1. (e) *Antiq.* l. 8. c. 7. l. 9. c. 14. l. 10. c. 1.

(a) *Herodotus* mentions *Senacherib* King of the same Country, and his being discomfited. (b) The same Author takes notice that *Nebuchadnezzar* (known of in *Daniel*) is mention'd in *Berosus*, in *Agesilaus* (who writ of the *Indian* Affairs,) in *Diodorus* (who treats of the *Persian*) and in *Philostrophus's* History of the *Phanicians*, and *Indians*.

To proceed, it is Recorded that the *Sun* went back in *King Hezekiah's* days, by the special Command of God, who (as you read in *2 Kings* 20. 11.) brought the shadow ten Degrees backward by which it had gone down on the Dial of *Ashur*. The Degrees in this Dial are to be understood of those in the Heavens, say some: Others think the Degrees were Lines Engraved on the Dial. So many Hours, or so many Half-Hours, or so many Quarters are thought by others to be meant. The Miracle was here, saith a (c) Learned Man, that the shadow on the Dial went back, not that the Sun it self did so. But this is a great mistaking of the Miracle; for it is expressly said, *Isai.* 38. 8. The Sun returned ten degrees, by which degrees it was gone down: The Sun it self, as well as the shadow, moved backwards. Again, 'tis undeniable that this Glorious Luminary of Heaven really went back, and consequently that a very considerable duration of time; it may be ten hours were added to the ordinary day: for the King of *Babylon* sent an Embassadour on purpose to *Jerusalem* to enquire about this Prodigy, and to know what caused so long a Day, and such a Change of the Course of Nature, *2 Kings*, 20. 12. This argues that those at *Babylon* saw this unusual Motion of the Sun, for as

(a) In *Eusebio*. (b) *Antiqu. l. 10. c. 11.*
 (c.) *Grot. in loc.*

to the going back of the *Shadow* on that Dial, they could not see it. This shews it was a real thing, and consequently Miraculous, and Portentous, and that it was not the shadow only on the Dial that went backward so many Lines or Stroaks, without the Sun's going back in the Heavens, as some have fancied. The *Chaldean* Astronomers could not but hear of, as well as see this Prodigious light (for it was as sensible to them, as to the King of *Babylon*) but out of ill will and malice they labour'd to suppress this Retrograde motion of the Sun: whence it is (as (a) Mr. *Broughton* hath observ'd) that though they reckon up several *Eclipses* which happen'd about this time, yet they say nothing of this Miraculous going back of the Sun. Yet (as a (b) knowing Person hath observ'd) there is a Mystical Remembrance of the Shadow on *Abaz's* Dial, and the length of that Day, among the *Persian* Priests, in their Religious Rites perform'd to *Mithra*. But what those other Pagans would conceal, their very Poets have deliver'd down to us in a Fable, telling us that the Sun being angry at *Hercules's* Birth, made the Night unusually long: For if the Sun make an extraordinary Day in one part of the World, it follows that there must be a Night of an extraordinary length in another part of it. We find also, that the foresaid *Persians* (in memory as it were of the Sun's prodigious going back in King *Hezekiah's* time) Celebrate a Tripple Sun, viz. Going forward, returning back, and again going forward, as *Tirinus* observes out of *Dion*.

Some

(a) Consent of Scripture. (b) Selden de Dis. Syr. Prol. cap. 3.

* Transmig-
ration of
Souls.

Some have thought that the *Pythagorean* *Metempsychosis* had its Original from *Nebuchadnezzar's* Transformation into a Beast, which the Book of *Daniel* speaks of. That he was really turn'd into a Beast, as to shape, it is not improbable, for we read of People among the *Scythians* call'd *Neuri*, that were constantly every year for some days together turn'd into Wolves, and then return'd to their former state again. (a) *Herodotus*, who relates this, saith it was confidently reported by the *Scythians*. The same happens every year to some People in *Livonia* (the Posterity of those *Neuri*) saith a (b) Credible Author, who made it his business to inquire narrowly into this matter: and he adds the like Examples in some other Countries. Wherefore it cannot be utterly dis-believ'd that *Nebuchadnezzar* was thus Be-
stialized, and remain'd seven years so, as the Sacred History informs us. Or, if by reason only of Melancholly he thought himself a Beast (as Physicians have reported that some have imagined themselves to be Wolves, others to be Dogs, others Cocks, and have really believ'd they Worried, Bark'd, and Crow'd, which are the Actions proper to those species of Animals) this was foundation sufficient for the amazed *Pagans* to proceed upon, and to make some fanciful matter out of it. Hence therefore some of the Heathen *Metamorphoses* (which the Poets are frequently talking of) were coined; and hence, as I have said, the *Pythagorean Transmigration*, i. e. the passing of the Souls of Men into Brutes, had its birth. Which is the more credible from this consideration; that this Wonderful Transformation of
that

(a) Lib. 4. (b) Casp. Pencer. de Divinat.

that Great Monarch happen'd at, or about the same time that *Pythagoras* was at *Babylon*, whither he Travell'd on purpose to gain the Eastern Learning. Hence he brought the Report fresh with him, and being of a fanciful Genius, thought the best way to solve that strange occurrence, was to assert the *Metempsychosis*; for the Corporal Transformation he thought argued also the Change of Souls.

Nebuchadnezzar's Dream (*Dan. 2.*) of an Image with a Golden Head, Breast and Arms of Silver, Brazen Belly, and Legs of Iron, which represented the four Monarchies of the World, was the foundation of the Poetical Division of Time into four Ages, which they distinguish according to those four Metals; first the *Golden-Age*, which began with the beginning of the World, and lasted to *Saturn's* being turn'd out of his Kingdom. This signifies the happy State of our Fore-Fathers in Paradise, for *Saturn* is *Adam*, as you shall hear afterwards. Secondly, there is the *Silver-Age*, which lasted from *Saturn's* Exile and being deposed, 'till *Nimrod*, or *Jupiter Belus*, who is the same. In this Age all Arts were found out, they say, and this truly in part is testified by (a) Scripture. Thirdly, they tell us of the *Brazen-Age*, which began under *Nimrod*, or *Jupiter Belus*, and lasted to the first year of the return of the *Heraclida*. In this Age Tyranny grew up, and Wars began, and Slaughter was rife, as the Poets relate; and not untruly, for we find the same in Sacred History. The fourth Age is of Iron; it began from the return of the *Heraclida* into *Peloponessus*,

(a) Gen. 4.

ponesus, and lasts to these very times, and so on (a) *Hesiod*, (b) *Virgil*, (c) *Ovid*, and other Greek and Latin Poets speak of these *Four Ages*, comparing them to those *Four Metals*, which without dispute was from *Nebuchadnezzar's Dream*, and *Daniel's* famed Interpretation of it. These were spread over all the East, and so it was easie for the Poets (as well as others) to light upon them, and to make thence their Comparison of the *Four Ages* to the *Four Metals*.

Eighthly, The Heathens had their *Gods* from Scripture. I have partly shew'd already that some of the Patriarchs, and other Persons in the Sacred Records, are described by the Poets under other Names than what the Holy Writ gives them. Now I will shew that they are often represented under the Names of *Gods* by the Poets, especially it is evident to an inquisitive Eye, that the Book of *Genesis* afforded the Pagan World the greatest part of their Ancient Gods and Goddesses. First, to begin with *Adam*, he without doubt was *Saturn*, of whom the Poets relate that his Father was *Cælus*, and his Mother *Tellus*, that he Ruled over all the World, and was Supream Sovereign; that under him was the *Golden-Age*, that afterwards he was expelled his Kingdom, and deposed from the Power and Dominion he had, and that he found out *Agriculture*. Answerably to which, *Adam* is call'd (d) *the Son of God*, which in the Language of the Poets is *Son of Cælus*: besides, he was formed by God out of the *Earth*, and so might be said to be both the Son of God, and of the Earth. *Adam* was the first Ruler and

Sove-

(a) Ἑρμ. καὶ ἡμίερ. (b) *Æn.* 8. (c) *Metamorph.* l. 1.
(d) 3. *Luke* 38.

Sovereign Lord, under him was the Golden-Age, or happy State in *Paradise*, which all Men might have enjoyed if he had not fallen. But he fell, and lost his Empire, and was expell'd that Blessed place. He was the first that Tilled the Ground, and taught Men *Husbandry*. Besides, I have this to add, that *Saturn* is the same with *Time* (for by the *Greeks* $\chi\rho\omicron\nu\varsigma$ with the change of a Letter is call'd (a) $\chi\rho\omicron\nu\theta$, and so they are Synonymous) and *Adam* well deserv'd that Name, being the *Eldest* of all Men, and because *Time* began from him. This is very plain, I think; and moreover the Name of *Saturn* might be given to *Adam* from *Satar*, *latere*, because after his fall from that happy state he had been in, he withdrew himself like a Guilty Malefactor, he fled for it, and hid himself in the Garden, *Gen.* 3. 10. Hence *Saturnus* is the same with *Latius*, as *Vossius* observes, and the Place which of old was call'd *Saturnia*, was afterwards call'd *Latium*, as *Virgil*, and others testify. Thus the first Founder of Mankind, *Adam*, was the first and eldest *Saturn*, the top of all the Heathen Deities.

And that *Eve*, the first of the Fair Sex, the Mistress of the World, and the Mother of all Mankind, was made a Goddess by the Pagan World, is not to be question'd, (yea, though she hath been represented by them (as hath been said before) in a far other Character, for I have often intimated that 'tis the way of the Poets to make a great many things out of one, and to represent the same Person after a different; if not a contrary manner.) And yet I do not at present remember that *Vossius*, or *Bochart*, or any other Mythologist

(a) Est idem $\chi\rho\omicron\nu\varsigma$ & $\chi\rho\omicron\nu\theta$. Macrobi. Saturn. l. 1, c. 12.

Mythologist (which is something to be wondered at) assign her any Goddessship at all among the Pagan Divinities. Nay, *Vossius*, who maintains that *Naamah* (*Gen. 4. 22.*) an obscure Woman, the Daughter of *Lamech*, was Deified by the Heathen, omits our Mother *Eve*, the Empress of the World, the common Parent of all Mankind. I shall therefore do her the right to assign the Rank which I think she held, and the Name which was given her among the Heathen Goddesses. To know this, we need only inquire who among them was the Goddess of Wisdom, and of all the Arts, and who invented the things which were most proper for the Female Sex to find out. This (without any curious search) was *Minerva*, and no other, and therefore I doubt not but *Eve* was this *Minerva*. The three great Inventions attributed to the Goddess of this name, are *Spinning*, and *Weaving*, and the use of *Oyl*; i. e. as I understand it, the use of it in preparing and ordering of Wooll, for 'tis likely that those who work'd in Wooll of old, made use of Oyl then as well as we do now. These are the staple Inventions of that Goddess; and as for the rest that the Poets talk of, they are meer fantastick Flourishes of Poetry, and are not to be minded.

Now, considering what I have said, what Woman in the World can we more fitly imagine to be meant by *Minerva*, than *Adam's Wife Eve*, who questionless was endued by God with eminent Qualities and Excellencies for the good of the World, and especially with such as were most useful in one of her Sex, and who was the Mistress and Guide of all the rest. She was certainly Noted and Celebrated for some Art or other which she found out: And 'tis as certain

that

that no Invention is more worthy of a *Woman*, than *Spinning*, and *Weaving*, and *working of Wool*, and *making of Cloathing*; for this last comprehends the other two, and was the peculiar Invention of *Minerva*, as (a) *Diodorus Siculus*, and others assure us, when they mention the things found out by her. This is call'd (b) *Minerva's Work* or *Business*. She was the first that invented the making of Apparel, saith another (c) *Antient Author*. It is true, all Artificial Works that were considerable, were ascribed by the Antients, to this Goddess, but *Spinning* and *Weaving* were more eminently said to be from her. Our Mother *Eve*, who had the Wit and Skill to discover these, and to improve them by her living so long in the World, might well pass among her own Sex at least, for the wisest Woman that ever was, and might be entitled the Mistress of all Arts and Sciences, that is, in the Language of the Poets, *the Goddess of Wisdom*. Whence I conclude, that our first Parent *Eve*, was *Minerva*, the First and Original *Spinster*, from whom her Sex derive that commendable Title. Only I will add this, That when the Poets tell us, that *Minerva* was Born of *Jupiter's* Brain, and without a Mother, they seem to refer to Sacred History; which acquaints us, that *Eve* was not Born after the manner of other Women, but was taken out of *Adam's* side. He that knows how they are wont to mistake and adulterate the passages in Holy Writ, and to take one thing (and so one part of the Body) for another, will not be averse to credit this, and consequently that this is some confirmation of our present Notion, that

Eve

(a) Lib. 6. cap. 14. (b) Ἐγὼν Ἀθηνᾶις. Apollon. l. 1.
 (c) Aristid, in Hymn. in Jov.

208 *The Truth and Authority*

Eve pass'd for a Goddess among the *Gentiles*, and was call'd *Minerva* by them, that is, (as *Arnobius* and some others intepret it) *Meminerva*, because she that had so good an Invention, had doubtless as good a Memory, which is so requisite to that.

Cain, the Eldest Son of *Adam*, was the first *Antient Jupiter*: (for I deny not that there were other Younger *Jupiters* among the Pagans) This first and oldest *Jupiter*, the Son of *Saturn*, is said to have invented the founding of Cities; and we know, that the first City in the world, was built by *Cain*. This *Jupiter* by the *Athenians*, was stiled Πολιεύς, a *Founder of Cities*, and Ἐκκείτης, an *incloser or strengthner of Cities*, saith *Pausanias*; which well agrees to the *First Builder*. Besides, this *Cain* Married his own Sister, and so the same is said of *Jupiter*; he Married *Vesta*, *Saturn's* Daughter, who was the Goddess of *Architecture*, and therefore was a proper Wife for him, who was the first *Architect*. Moreover, we are (a) told, that *Jupiter* Travell'd over all the World, which, in other terms, is *Cain's* being a Vagabond. The Old *Vulcan*, the Smith of the Gods, was *Tubal-Cain*; for by a common Aphæresis, and change of Letters, one of these Names is easily made the other. And here let me insert that which will be useful to observe in the like cases afterwards, viz. that the *Greeks* and *Romans*, when they take any Names from the *Jews*, they do not alwaies set them down according to the *Hebrew* Termination, nor with all the Letters of the words; they take the liberty to omit some, and to alter others. Thus it is here in the words before us, and thus we shall find

(a) *Diodor, Sic. l. 4. c. 25.*

find it in others that are to be mention'd afterwards, as we have found it in some already. This *Tubal-Cain*, or *Vulcan*, may be said to have found out *Fire*, or rather the use of it in his Employment, as he was an *Artificer in Brass, and Iron*, Gen. 4. 22.

Noah was famous of old, and if *Gods* were made of *Men* (as certainly they were) he could not mis of being made one; accordingly the most ancient *Bacchus* was *Noah*, who first Planted Vines, and taught the making of Wine, Gen. 9. 20. I will not insist on the derivation of *Bacchus* from *Noachus*, which some Learned Men approve of, though (a) *Vossius* will by no means allow of it, but thinks it too hard an Origination, because the *Greeks* did not pronounce (it is likely) *Noah*, but *Noë*, for the former was after the Points were brought in by the *Masorites*. But in answer to this Great Critick, I will say these three things; First, he goes upon a false supposition, that the *Masorites* invented the Hebrew Points, which I have already proved to be an Errour. Secondly, as I have already noted, the Pagans are wont to change the Terminations of Hebrew words, and indeed to shape them after their own way, and as they please. Thirdly, harder Etymologies please him sometimes: to go no farther than the same Chapter, he there makes *Διευς* to be *qu*. *Δις* taking no notice of the *ρ*, and the *σ*, though they be considerable Consonants, and no Terminations neither. Notwithstanding then, the suggestion of this great Master of Criticism, we may subscribe to the common Opinion of Etymologists, that *Bacch* or *Bacchus* (with the change of a

P

Letter

(a) Theolog. Gentil. l. 1. cap. 19.

Letter or two, which is very usual, or perhaps with the mistaking of one Letter for another in the beginning of the word, *Nim* and *Beth* being somewhat like in shape) was derived from *Noah*, and that from this Old Patriarch's Planting of Vines presently after the Flood, and his unhappy feeling the strength and vertue of the Grape, arose the Poets Tippling Deity, who is said by them to be

———(a) *Genialis confitor uvæ,*

The first Planter of the Grape, and the Inventor of Wine. And for the same reason, those who think *Janus* is derived from *Vinum*, hold that *Noah* was represented by this *Janus* another God among the Poets. This is true, that it is no unusual thing to set forth the same Person by different Names, as if they were different Gods. And that *Janus* comes from *Jajin*, and so is as much as *Vinosus*, and may have reference to *Noah* on that account is probable from this, that that part of *Italy* which *Janus* possessed, and where he is said to be Worship'd was call'd *OENOTRIA*, from *οἶν* & *Vinum*. Of the Antiquity of *Janus* that Old Writer *Fabius Pictor* gives this Testimony, which agrees well with *Noah*; (b) "In *Janus*'s time there was no Monarchy, for the desire of Ruling had not yet harbour'd in the breasts of Men: (accordingly we read that *Nimrod* afterwards was the first Monarch and Absolute Ruler:) He taught People first to Sacrifice *Wine*, and *Meal*. And the Epithet *Bifrons*, which is given to *Janus*, intimates that he was

Noah,

(a) Ovid. (b) In *Annalib.*

Noah, for he might truly be said to have had *two Faces*, because he look'd backwards, and forwards, he saw the times both before and after the Flood, he beheld the former and the latter World. God honour'd him so far as to make him (as (a) *Philo* speaks) both the end and beginning of Mankind. Others more fancifully say he was called *Janus*, & *Janua*, from his opening a door as it were for the preservation of Mankind: And (b) other such Conceits of the Name there are.

Again, this *Noah* was represented by *Saturn*, and here you must not wonder that *Saturn* denotes both *Adam*, and *Noah*, for there is great resemblance between these two, the one being the Parent of the World before the Flood, the other of that after it; and for this Reason perhaps *Noah* is call'd by the *Persians* the second *Adam*. Besides, the Poets confound many in one, and to make amends, sometimes divide one into many. But that *Noah* was meant by *Saturn*, is the Opinion of some of the Learnedest Criticks, as *Goropius*, *Becanus*, *Vossius*, and *Bochart*, the last of which hath (c) offered about a dozen probable Arguments (as he deems them) to make it good. I will mention to you some of them: *Saturn* is said to be the *Husband of Rhea*, i. e. of the *Earth*: So *Noah* is said to be *Ish haadamah*, Gen. 9. 20. *Vir Terra*, which the Heathens might interpret to be a *Husband of the Earth*, and thence incerted this into their Fabulous description of *Saturn*. Or, if you mean by those words that *Noah* was a *Humble*

P 2

Man,

(a) Ἠξίωσεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς καὶ τὴν γῆν ἡμῶν τῷ γένει καὶ ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι. De Abrahamo.

(b) Initium ædium dicitur *Janua*, initium mensium dicitur *Januarium*: sic Noachus erat initium alterius generis humani.

(c) Geograph. Sac. 1 part. l. 2. c. 1.

*Man, and led a mean Life, then the Saturnian Reign agrees with it, in which Men were strangers to Pride and Luxury, and lived a mean, but peaceable and contented Life. Or, take it as it is Translated, a Husband-man, one that looked after the Cultivating of the Earth, and so it fits both Noah, and Saturn, or rather shews these to be one and the same Person, who was employ'd about the Earth, and the Fruits of it, whereof the Vine was one of the chiefest. Saturn devoured his Children, i. e. saith this Author, Noah (a) Condemned the World to perish by the Flood, whilst he himself escaped. Or, it may be apply'd to his shutting up his Children in the Ark, among the Beasts, as if he intended they should be devour'd and destroy'd. Saturn vomited up his Sons again, in like manner Noah restored his Sons to the Earth, after they had been shut up in the Ark, and kept so long on that other Element. Saturn was driven out of his Kingdom by his Son, after he had first cut off his Father's Genitals : which refers to Curfed Cham, Noah's Son, who saw his Father's Nakedness, and told it with derision to his Brethren, Gen. 9. 22. The Pagans mistook this Text : for whereas the word is *וַיִּגְדֹּל*, he told or revealed, they perhaps read it *וַיִּכְרֹם*, he cut, whence they report that Cham or Ham (whom they call'd Jupiter) made an Eunuch of his Father. And truly, that Jupiter Hammon was the same Ham, Noah's Son, may be gather'd from the place where Ham and his Posterity were Seated, namely in Africa. Here, in the Desarts of Lybia, was the Famous Oracle of Jupiter Hammon, who had his Name from that Wicked*

(a) Heb. 11. 7.

Wicked Son of Noah, who in this place vented his Blasphemies (which pass'd for Oracles with some,) and thereby debauched the Minds of the generality of that Age; and in process of time he came to be Worshipped there under the Name of *Jupiter Ham*, or *Hammon*. I know some have thought *Hamon* is *Chamab Sol*, because he is reckon'd the same with the Sun: And others derive it from *Hamon Multitudo* (as *Abraham's* Name is Compounded of his former Name *Abram*, and *Hamon*, a Multitude, whence he is called a Father of many Nations, Gen. 17. 5. So that *Abraham* is but an abbreviature of *Abrahammon*.) But there is great reason to think that this *Hammon* is the same with *Ham*, Noah's Son, whose Posterity were Inhabitants of *Africa*, whence *Egypt* is call'd (a) the Land of *Ham*. This Affrican or Egyptian *Hammon* is mentioned (as *Bochart* thinks) in *Ezek.* 30. 15. I will cut off the Multitude of *No*, in the Hebrew, *Hamon* of *No*. And so in *Jer.* 46. 25. *Amon* of *No*, i. e. *Amon* the God of *No*: And in *Nabum* 3. 8. *No* of *Amon*: But the main Argument to prove *Noah* and *Saturn* to be the same is yet behind, which is this; that *Saturn* by the Heathens is said to have had three Sons, *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, and *Pluto*, and that he divided the World among them. This Fable of dividing the World among three Brethren, the Children of *Saturn*, did plainly arise from the dividing the Earth between the three Brethren, the Sons of *Noah*. Of these three was the whole Earth overspread, Gen. 9. 19. By these were the Nations divided in the Earth after the Flood, Gen. 10. 32. The Hot Country of *Africa* was

P 3

Cham's

(a) Pſal. 105. 23. 106. 22.

Cham's division, who might have his Name given him from a foresight of the place where he and his Race were to Inhabit, the Land of *Cham*, from *ON Caluit*: this is no unlikely derivation. Again, *Japhet* (another of *Noah's* Sons) was *Neptune*, as *Bochart* indeavours to shew, for the *Isles* and *Peninsulae* fell to his share, *Gen.* 10. 5. And *Vossius* is very positive in this, that the Antientest *Neptune* (for there were *Neptunes* as well as *Joves* many) was this *Japhet*, to his Lot fell *Europe*, for *Japetus* or *Japhet* is reckon'd the Parent of the *Europeans*: These are the true (a) *Japeti* genus. *Shem* was *Pluto*, and what may be said for it, you may see in the fore-named Writer. From the whole there is some reason to believe that *Noah*, the Father of those three Sons, among whom the World was divided, was one Person at least that was represented by the Heathen God *Saturn*.

In the next place, it is not difficult to prove that the *Egyptian* God *Apis*, or *Serapis*, was no other than *Joseph*, the Renowned Ruler in *Egypt* under King *Pharaoh*. This Person had abundantly merited of all *Egypt*, and infinitely obliged the whole Country, by laying up Corn in store, and thereby providing for them against the time of Scarcity and Famine. For this singular Benefit to them, they erected an *Ox* or *Cow* to preserve his Memory, for in that Figure *Apis* or *Serapis* appear'd, and was Worshipp'd by the *Egyptians*. And under what Symbol more fitly than that of an *Ox* could *Joseph* be represented? For not to mention the Fame he got by his Wonderful Interpreting *Pharaoh's* Dream of the *Fat and Lean Kine*, whence perhaps that sort of Animals was afterwards

(a) *Hor. lib. 1. Ode 3.*

afterwards in great reverence and esteem on this account, as carrying with them some thing Mystical and Hieroglyphical, which made them the more acceptable to this People, who were then inclining to hearken to such things. Not to mention this, I say, *Joseph* might most appositely be signified by that Animal which is made use of in Ploughing, in order to the *Sowing and coming up of the Corn*, that Creature which is serviceable to the treading out the *Corn* (for that was another great employment of the *Ox* in those days.) Therefore the Holy Spirit in Scripture seems to refer to this in *Gen. 49. 6.* which Text (speaking of *Joseph's* Brethrens wicked Design to kill him) calls him an (a) *Ox*, or *Bull*, according to the 70 Interpreters; and so according to the Hebrew, if you read it *Sbor*, and not *Sbur*. And, in *Deut. 33. 17.* *Joseph* is compared by *Moses* to an *Ox*, or *Bullock*. Which manner of expression denotes him to be a Great and Eminent Person, as well as it hath reference to the particular thing I am now speaking of. *Sbor* (which is the Word here, and is Synonymous with *Alaph Bos*) signifies a Prince, a Great Man, a Potentate, as knowing (b) Criticks have observed. Because an *Ox* is reputed the Prince and Head of Animals, you'll find that in a Metaphorical way Princes and Captains are so called in (c) Scripture. Whence among Prophane Writers also they are thus named sometimes: for a *Bull* or *Ox* is a Symbol of Superiority, or Government, saith (d) *Diogenes*. On this account the Famous Patriarch *Joseph*, who

P 4

was

(a) ταύρος. (b) Angelus Caninius in *Instit. Ling. Syr.* Joseph Scaliger in *Euseb. Not.* (c) *Gen. 36. 19. Psal. 22. 12. 68. 30.* (d) *Dion. Orat. 2.*

was Constituted by *Pharaoh* the Chief Ruler and Prince of *Egypt*, hath this Name given him. But there is something more particular intended here in this Title, for it hath respect to *Joseph* as he was Grand Proveditor of that Country: for there could not be a better Symbol of Provision of Corn and Bread than this Creature. Hence is that of *Solomon*, (a) *much increase*, (i. e. as the Hebrew imports, plenty of Corn and Grain) is by the strength of the Ox. And it may be to this which I am now insisting upon, viz. that *Joseph* was represented by this sort of Animals, *Jer.* 46. 20. refers, *Egypt is like a fair Heifer*. The *Egyptian Serapis* then in the form of a Cow or Ox, was a true Hieroglyphick of *Joseph*, especially when we add, that a *Bushe* was plac'd on its head, as saith (b) *Ruffinus*, to signifie that *Joseph* was the giver out of Corn, that he caus'd it to be measur'd and proportioned according to the needs of those to whom he dispens'd it. By this Wife as well as Liberal Act his Fame grew great among the *Egyptians*, and other adjoining Nations, and at length they Worshipp'd him as a God by the Symbol of an Ox, which they stiled *Serapis*, as not only *Ruffinus*, *Augustin*, *Suidas*, *Julius Firmicus* of old, but *Vossius*, *Bonfrerius*, *Pierius*, and *Kircher* of late have maintain'd. And I am enclin'd to think that the word *Serapis* was Originally *Sorapis*, a Compound of *Sor* an Ox, and *Apis* an *Egyptian* word perhaps of the same signification. And this is the more credible, because the word *Apis* alone is sometimes us'd for *Serapis*. Some have thought that *Mercury* was a Name given by the Pagans to this *Joseph*, he being Her-

mes,

(a) Prov. 14. 4. (b) Hist. Eccles. I. 2. c. 23.

was an Interpreter, for it is particularly recorded that he Interpreted Dreams, Gen. 41. & 42, and was a Dreamer, Gen. 44. 5. whence he was called *Zophnath Paneah*, i. e. a Revealer or Interpreter of Secrets, Gen. 41. 45. But I rather think these words are better rendred by St. Jerom (who tells us he learnt the meaning of them from some that well understood the *Egyptian Tongue*) *Salvator Mundi*, and so they refer to *Joseph's* timely Saving that part of the World from perishing by Famine. In this sense he was a *Saviour*, and he was for this made a *God*. Thus the Ancient *Patriarchs* were the *Poets Gods*; the first Fathers whom the Bible speaks of were the Pagan Deities.

To proceed, *Moses* also was the Person intended by *Mercury*, as is excellently well proved from a numerous company of Circumstances, and very naturally, and without any forcing, by a late (a) Learned *French-Man*, to whom I refer you. It hath no less ingeniously been proved by (b) *Vossius*, and some others, that *Moses* was represented in *Liber* or *Bacchus*, for they shew out of *Pausanias*, how it was a Tradition, that as soon as *Bacchus* was Born he was shut up in an Ark, and expos'd to the Waters, as *Moses* was. *Liber* was call'd *Buarez*; so *Moses*, besides the Mother that bore him, had *Pharaoh's* Daughter, who took him and nourished him for her own Son, *Exod. 2. 10. Acts 7. 21.* *Liber* was Fair and Beautiful, and excell'd others in Comeliness, as *Diodorus* saith, and as the (c) Poets represent him: semblably *Moses* was noted for his singular Beauty, *Exod. 2. 2.*
Acts

(a) *Huerius*, in *Demonstr. Evang.* (b) *De Theolog. Gent.*
 (c) *Candida formosi venerabimur ora Lyzi. Sen in*
adip.

Acts 7. 20. and the Jewish Historian tells us the King's Daughter Adopted him, because (a) he was of Divine Shape, as well as of a Generous Mind. The very same is Recorded by a (b) Pagan Historian, which let me observe is a great Confirmation of the Sacred History. *Orpheus* stileth *Liber Θεσμοφύρον*, which answers to *Moses's* being *Legislator*: and he attributes to him *Διπλῶς Θεοῦ*, because of the Two Tables of the Law. Moreover, *Liber* is called by the said Poet ταυροπόλιν, and ταυρόκαρως, and καρσφόρ, and by (c) *Euripides* he is named ταυρόκαρς θεός; which may be occasion'd by a mistaking of those words in *Exod.* 34. 29. *Moses's* Face shone, which is rendred by the Latin, *cornuta erat facies sua*, the Hebrew *Karan*, (whence *κίρας cornu*) being the ground of that mistake, and causing *Moses* to be Pictured with two Horns. Lastly, saith *Vossius*, though *Moses* found not out Wine, as *Bacchus*, yet in regard of This too he may have the Name of *Liber*, for he was the Conductor of the *Israelites* to a Land not only flowing with Milk and Honey, but abounding with Wine: and he it was that encouraged the faint-hearted *Israelites* by the sight of that Bunch of Grapes which was the burthen of two Men, *Numb.* 13. 20, 23. This is the Sum of what *Vossius* saith. This *Moses* was so eminent and signal a Person, and his Actions so well known to the Pagan World, that Monsieur *Huet* thinks and indeavours to prove that he was represented not only by *Mercury*, and *Bacchus*, but by *Apollo*, *Æsculapius*, *Pan*, *Priapus*, *Prometheus*, *Janus*, and by

(a) *Μοϋσῆς ἦν θεὸς καὶ ὁμοεικὸς ἀνθρώπῳ*. *Joseph. Antiq.* l. 4. c. 5. (b) *Quem formæ Pulchritudo commendabat.* *Justin.* l. 36. c. 2. (c) *In Bacchis.*

by those Egyptian Deities especially, *Osiris, Apis, Serapis, Orus, Anubis.*

The Neighbouring People of *Phœnicia* and *Egypt* could not but hear of *Josuah* and his Acts, and thence made their *Hercules* out of him; and from them he was sent down to the *Greeks*, who you may be sure would augment the Stories which they heard. I say *Josua* was the Pagans *Hercules*, for he fought with *Giants*, whose great Stature at first frighted the *Israelites*. In the Land of *Canaan*, which he Conquer'd, were the *Sons of Anak*, Men of a vast size, *Numb.* 13. 33, 34. *Basban* more signally is call'd the Land of *Giants*, *Deut.* 3. 13. Whilst *Josua* was fighting with these *Canaanitish* *Giants* (a) the Lord cast down great Stones from Heaven upon them: The remembrance of which (saith *Vossius*) is kept among the Gentiles, and applied to *Jove* assisting *Hercules* in the very same sort when he grappled with *Giants*, and was put hard to it.

Samson as well as *Josua* was the *Greeks Hercules*, and from the one the History or rather Fable of the other is taken. First, as *Vossius* observes, the times of both agree: *Hercules*, and *Samson* were Contemporary, as appears from comparing the Greek and Jewish accounts of time. When these hit together, there is a presumption at least. Again, *Hercules* slew the *Nemæan Lion*, which answers to what we read of *Samson*, *Judg.* 14. 5, 6. *A young Lion roared against him, and the Spirit of the Lord came mightily upon him, and he rent him as he would have rent a Kid, and he had nothing in his hand.* *Hercules* subdued many *Tyrants*, and *Oppressors*; that is the meaning of *Hydra's*, *Centaurs*, *Stymphalides*, &c. Thus *Samson* was

(a) *Jos.* 10. 11.

was rais'd up on purpose to suppress and vanquish those who had miserably oppress'd and persecuted the *Israelites*. *Hercules* was sent Captive by *Jaxter* to *Eurythicus*, and put to many Labours to redeem his Freedom: so *Samson* served the *Philistines*, and undertook Great and Wonderful things for his and his Countrie's Liberty. *Hercules* was of great strength of Body, and that *Samson* was so, we have several remarkable Instances. *Hercules* was Effeminate, and most vilely served *Omphale*; our *Samson* was enslaved to a Woman, and was undone by *Dalilah*. *Hercules* and *Samson* agree in their Deaths, for they were both of them Spontaneous and Voluntary. From such short hints as these we may gather that the Fable of *Hercules*, one of the Heathen-Gods, or Heroes at least, was meant concerning *Samson* the Famous Judge of *Israel*.

What think you of *Jonas's* being signified in some Circumstances by *Hercules*, who when he returned from *Colchis* with the *Argonautes*, as *Lycophron* in his *Cassandra* tells us, was devoured by a great Fish, which the Scholiast on that place saith was a *Whale*? And *Hercules* lay three Days and three Nights without any considerable harm in the Belly of this *Whale*, whence he is call'd by that Poet *τρίημέριος* of which the Scholiast gives the true reason, because (saith he) all that time it was as it were Evening with *Hercules*, the Belly of the Fish being Dark and Shady. *Phavorinus* gives the like account of the foresaid Epithet, telling us that all the while he was in the Caverns of the *Whale* it was Night. And both *Cyril* and *Theophylact* take notice of the likeness of this Greek Fable of *Hercules*, to the Story

of *Jonah*. I will only alledge this one thing more, that those *Argonautes* before mention'd, are said to have Sail'd in the *Euxine-Sea*, which was the very Sea according to (a) *Josephus*, on whose Shoar *Jonas* was vomited up. This must be granted, that the Fame of what befell the Prophet *Jonah*, namely, how he was swallowed by a Whale, and preserv'd three Days and three Nights in its Belly, and how he was after that cast upon the Land whole and sound, might easily be conveyed to the *Grecians* by the *Phenicians* their Neighbours: thence they went to work after their old rate, and fix'd it upon some body among themselves: and whom could they more fitly apply this History to than to *Hercules*, the great Adventurer by Sea as well as by Land, and who was made the Author of all Great and Wonderful things? The Fabulous *Greek* Poets catch'd up every Prodigious Occurrence and attributed it to him, but first they represented it with strange and uncouth Circumstances, and moulded it as they pleas'd. Thus the *Gentiles* framed new *Gods* and *Heroes* out of the Names and Persons they met with, or heard of out of the Scriptures. So it is, the *Gods* of the *Pagans* were made out of *Men* in Holy Writ. The *Gentiles* Worshipp'd these *Famous Hebrews* under other Names and Titles, which they were pleas'd to fasten on them. Behold! the Servants and Favourites of the true God were Deified by these Idolaters: Holy Men were Canoniz'd and Worshipp'd by the very Heathen World.

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(a) Antiq. l. 9, c. 11.

There are some other Particulars which might be named under this Head, (though they are not so plain and evident as these already mentioned) as that the *Ancientest Apollo* was *Moses's* *Jubel* (a) who invented *Musick*, that the Poets *Ganymer* snatch'd up into Heaven by *Jupiter*, and turn'd into that Sign which is called *Aquarius*, refers to *Elijah* who was taken up to Heaven, and before that had command over the *Waters* of Heaven, keeping back the Rain for three years, and afterwards by Prayer causing those Waters to descend: That the Story of *Phaeton* was grounded on this Prophecy of *Fiery Chariots*, that *Lucifer's* fatal Defection is meant by *Phaeton's* proud Attempt, and Fall; that the Dissoluteness of the Pagan Gods, of which the Poets often speak, refers to the Degeneracy and Corruption of the *Sons of God*, complain'd of in *Gen. 6. 2.* And particularly that their Leud and Wanton Gods might be from a misinterpreting the 4th v. the *Sons of God* came in unto the *Daughters of Men*. Sometimes out of Things as well as Persons they coined Gods. The Poets observing the *Rain-Bow* to be a Sign of the change of the Air and Weather, (either to be fair or foul) might make it the *Messenger of the Gods*, who was sent out by them when there was any Change of the present Affairs nigh at hand. But when I remember that observable Passage concerning the *Rain-Bow*, in *Gen. 9. 9.* that it should be a *Token of the Covenant between God and Man*, I am inclined to think that this was not unknown to some of the inquisitive *Heathens*, who pried into the Sacred Writings of *Moses*, and thence look'd upon that Remarkable Meteor as some Sacred and Divine thing, and according

(a) *Gen. 4. 21.*

to their fanciful way advanced it to the Office of *Internuntia Deorum*, as they expressly call'd it, and *ἄγγελος*, as *Homer* styles it, a Messenger between God and Men; particularly a Messenger of Peace and Reconciliation with the new World, an *Angel of that Covenant*. This is their *Iris*, which is from *ἴρις*, i. e. *ἄγγελος*; or it is perhaps from the Chaldee *Ir* an *Angel*. Again, there are strange *Fiery Apparitions* mention'd in the Old Testament, as the *Burning-Bush*, and the *Flaming-Chariots* before spoken of; and we read that God appointed *Holy-Fire* to be kept always on the Altar. Hence perhaps it was that *Fire* was made a God, and Worshipp'd by the *Chaldeans* and *Persians*, and was in such request among the Old *Romans*, that (as you have heard) they ordered the *Vestal Virgins* to keep it unextinguish'd. Thus the *Heathens* had their *Gods* and *Goddeses* from the Holy Book; which it may be that Sagacious Author of the Book of *Maccabees* meant, when he said, (a) *From the Book of the Law the Heathens sought to Paint the likeness of their Images*. We have found in this Discourse, that their *Images* or *Gods* have been made like to those things which they meet with in the Sacred Writings. I have shewed you the Resemblance and Agreement between them in many Considerable Circumstances.

(a) 1 Mac. 3. 48.

From the Names of the True God the Gentiles had the Names of their False ones; as Jao and Iao, from Jehovah and Jah; Adon from Adonai, Baal Berith and Sabazius from Epithets given to the True God. Also, the Pagans giving the Title of Gods to their Kings, is deriv'd from the Sacred Writings. Anchialum in Martial, hath reference to the form of Swearing in the Old Testament. The Authors particular resolution of that mistaken word. The use of the word Horns in Pagan Authors, is borrow'd from the Sacred Stile. Several other Words, Phrases, and Forms of Speech, among the Pagans, are taken thence. There are some footsteps and reliicks of the Sacred History in the most remote Countries of the World. Objections against the foregoing Discourse answer'd.

Nimble. **T**HE Heathens had the Names of their Gods, and the pronounciation of them sometimes, from the Names and Titles of the True God. They seem to have derived something from what the Jews practis'd, concerning the Great Tetragrammaton, which was call'd by them *Haschem*, the Name emphatically, the Name appropriate to God, the unexpressible Name; for the Jews tell us, that this Name which we read *Jehovah*, was pronounc'd by the High Priest only, and that but once a year, in the Temple, at the Feast

of Propitiation, so that it was not known by the People how it was pronounced. When they met with it in their Bibles, instead of it they read *Adonai*, or *Elohim*. Hence a great many Conjectures have been about the right pronounciation of this Name. It was read *Jave* or *Jahave* by the Samaritans, but this is laid aside, and *Mercer* and *Drusius* read it *Jebeve*. Some think that *Jebejeb Erit* was the word used at first by the Jews, and that afterwards it was corruptly changed into *Jebeveh*, the *Jod* being turned into *Vau*. The true Punctation of the Proper Name יהוה was anciently *Jahavoh*, saith the (b) Learned Prefacer to the First Volume of Dr. *Lightfoot's* Works, but he is not pleased to give any Reason for it. Whether *Galatmus* was the first that read and pronounced it *Jehovah* I will not here inquire; but this is certain he had it from the *Masorites*, according to whose Points it is יהוה, and without question those Hebrew Criticks had it from the best and ancientest Copies. This was the first and truest reading, and some Mens varying from it hath proceeded from their Belief of the Jewish Conceit and Tradition, that their Fore-Fathers knew not how to read or pronounce the *Tetragrammaton*. But though it is true they seldom or never spake it, yet this did not proceed from their ignorance of the right pronounciation of it, but from a Superstitious Reverence and Fear of Prophaning that word, by taking it into their Mouths. But the Holy Scripture it self warrants the Pronouncing of this Name, for in *Gen. 22. 14.* *Abraham* calls the place where he would have Sacrificed *Isaac*, *Jehovah-jireh*; now a Place can't be call'd by its

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(a) Dr. Bright.

its Name, unless the Name be pronounced. So Gideon built an Altar, and call'd it *Jebozabab-shalom*, *Judg.* 6. 24. Besides, the Jews themselves, as precise and nice as they are in this matter, compound many Proper Names of it, though with some abbreviating of it, as *Jebochanan*, *Jebozabab*: whence it is evident that they knew how to pronounce this Name of God, but from the reverend esteem which they had of it they refus'd to do it. The Rabbies foolishly pretend Scripture for this, *Isa.* 45. 15. *Verily thou art a God that hidest thyself*, applying these words to the concealing of his Name. And they corrupt another Text to maintain this their Superstitious Fancy and Practice, *Exod.* 3. 15. *This is my Name, le gnolam, for ever*: they read it *legnaletem*, to be concealed. Now, I say, to this Practice of the Jews, viz. their obscure and uncertain Pronouncing, or rather their not knowing how to pronounce the Name of the true God, the Heathens seem to refer, when they call him the *Unknown*, and the (a) *Uncertain God*, and (b) *the God that is not to be named*. Socrates exhorted the Athenians, saith *Justin Martyr*, to the knowledge of the (c) *Unknown God*, that is, the God of the Jews. The Inscription on the Altar erected at Athens, *To the Unknown God*, shews that they gave the True God that Name, for the Apostle interprets it of Him, *Acts* 17. 23. Thence that in *Lucian*, (d) *By the Unknown God in Athens*. And *Hesychius* tells us that

(a) *Incerri Judæa Dei. Lucan. Pharsal. lib. 2. Incertum Numen, Trebel. Pol. in vitâ Claudiani. (b) Innominaus deus. In vitâ Caligula. (c) ἄγνωστος θεός. Apolog. 1. (d) Νὰ τὸν ἄγνωστον ἐν Ἀθήναις. In Philopar,*

that there were a sort of Gods called *Ævixoi*, Worshipp'd by these *Athenians*, and the Feasts kept in Honour of these *strange* Deities were call'd *Ævixia*; especially the *Hebrew God* was number'd by them among the *strange* ones; therefore when the *Gentiles* were speaking of this God of the *Jews*, they added, (a) *whosoever he be*: as much as to say, he and his Name are not known. And in imitation of this, perhaps some of the Pagans would have their Gods to be *Unknown*. (b) *Macrobius* acquaints us particularly concerning the People of *Rome*, that they would have their God, under whose protection the City was, conceal'd; and he pretends this reason for it, because if the Name of their Tutelar God were known, the Enemy would make use of it, and call him out by their Magick Art. But the true reason might be their fond imitating of the *Jews* (whom in many other things they were wont to follow:) hence they were not to know the Name of the Tutelar God of *Rome*; he was (c) *Unknown*, and *Unutterable*, as *Plutarch* testifies.

But as the *Jews* pretended, out of a superstitious humour, that the Name יהוה was not unknown to them, when they knew well enough the right pronounciation of it; so the *Gentiles*, though they called the God of the *Jews* the *Unknown God*; and seem'd to be ignorant of his Names, yet it appears that they had some knowledge of them, and that they Intituled their Gods by the Names of the God of the *Jews*. Which I prove thus; the *Tetragrammaton* was not unknown to the *Chaldeans*, as is clear from *Isa.* 36. 15, 18, 20. where

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(a) *ὅστις ποτὶς ἐστὶν*. *Dion. Hist.* 1. 36. (b) *Satur.* 1. 3. c. 9. (c) *ἄγνωστος* & *ἀπρόκλητος*. *Roman. Quest.*

228 *The Truth and Authority*

we read that the Idolatrous *Rahabek* (who at that time spake in the *Jews* Language, *v.* 13.) knew it, and often pronounc'd it. And this Name of God is found among the *Grecians* also, though altered and corrupted. From (a) *Macrobius* we learn that *Jao* was the Chief God of all among the *Gentiles*, for which he quoteth the Oracle of *Apollo Clarius*.

Φράζεις τὸν πάντων ὑπατοῦ θεῶν
ἔμμεν Ἰαώ.

Know this, that the Supream God of all is *Jao*.

A most Illustrious Attestation to the Holy Writ, and the *Great Name* of God contain'd therein. *Jehovab* was corruptly pronounced *Jao*, and *Io* was a contract of *Jao*, as in the Songs and Hymns wherein they Sung *Io Pæan*. This latter word (as (b) one conjectures) is from *Panab* to look, or behold: and so *Io Pæan* is as much as *Jehovab Penoth*, Lord look upon us. For it is probable that *Io*, *Jao*, and *Iad* and *Iaua* (for all these were in ule) were abbreviatures of *Jehovab*, as *Jab* among the *Jews* was an Abridgment of this. Several of the (c) Ancient Fathers are positive that *Jehovab* was written by the *Greeks*, who were not well acquainted with the pronounciation of it, *Iad*. Accordingly, saith *Porphyrus* the Philosopher, cited by (d) *Eusebius*, *Sanconiathon* receiv'd the account he gives of the *Jews* from a Priest of the God *Iaua*. And it is testified by (e) *Diodorus*, that

(a) *Saturnal. l. 1. c. 18.* (b) *Rous's Archæolog. Attic. l. 2. c. 2.*
(c) *Irenæus, Clem. Alexandr. Eusebius, &c.* (d) *Piezp. Evang. l. 1. c. 5.* (e) *l. 5. c. 5.*

that *Moses* receiv'd his Laws from the God that is called *Iaē*. The Mistake arose from the ignorance of the Name *Jehovah*. Whence it appears that *Iaē* is the same with *Jab* and *Jehovah*, and that the former is but a mistaken pronunciation of these latter.

I will add that *Plato's* τὸ ὄν, came from *Moses's* *וְהוּא*, *Exod.* 3. 14. according to the Septuagint, and *אֲנִי* *I am*, according to the Original. And the same Philosopher's τὸ πρῶτον ὄν, ὅντας ὄν, *Autodū*, answer to *Jehovah*, which is a Name of Existence.

Nay, that is more remarkable which we meet with in (a) *Plutarch*, who affirms that the Inscription on the Temple of *Minerva* in *Egypt* was thus, *I am all that is, and was, and shall be*. Which is a plain reference to God's Name in *Exodus*. And he speaks of another Inscription of *Εἰ* in the Temple at *Delpbos*, which he thus applies to the peculiar *Essence* and *Existence* of God, *Εἰ* is the compleat Appellation of God: in our answering and speaking to God, we say, *Thou art*, attributing to him this true, certain, and only Appellation, which agrees to him alone, which is called *Being* or *Existing*. And afterwards he expatiates concerning the uncertain, labile and *Nature* of Man, and all things in Comparison of God, who is most properly said to be, *Eternally Existing*. This is *Ebejeh*, *וְהוּא*, *I am*, of which Name of the True God these *Gentiles* had some notice, and that from the *Hebrews*, and imitated in the Names that they gave to their false Deities.

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Jovis,

(b) Ἐγὼ εἰμι πᾶς τὸ γινώσκω, καὶ ἢ καὶ σοφώμεν. .De
Osiu.

Jovis, the old Nominative Case for *Jupiter*, (as *Priscian* saith, and so it is used by *Ennius* and *Varro*) is borrowed from this Name *Jehovah*. *Jupiter* is no other than *Jovis-piter*, or *Jovis-Pater*, Father *Jove*, or *Jehove*, and so answers to *Jehovah*, who hath the Name of Father given him often in Scripture. And it is likely that heretofore some contracted the word *Jehovah*, and read or pronounced it *Jovab*, as the Jews pronounced *Judab* for *Jebudab*. Nay, *Jove* or *Jova*, the Abbreviature of *Jehovah* was perhaps used by *Moses* himself; which I gather from what *Josephus* saith of the Name Written on the High-Priest's Mitre, viz. That it had four Vowels, and consisted of four Vowels alone: This seems to have been *Jova*, which consists of just so many Vowels, though two of them are used as Consonants, unless you will say they pronounced I and U. as Vowels, thus, *jova*. We may then reasonably believe that the Name of the Heathens God *Jovis* came from the corrupt pronouncing or contracting the word *Jehovah*, or (which comes nearer to it) *Jehovih*, for so you will find it Written in *Deut.* 3. 24. 9. 26. And that *Jovis* is of Hebrew Original, and derived from the *Tetragrammaton*, is confess'd by *Varro*, who thought that *Jovis* was first of all the God of the Jews, as (a) *St. Augustin* quotes him. And though the *Pagans* alter'd the Name, and made it sometimes exceed, and at other times come short of four Letters, yet this did not extinguish the sense and notion among some of them, that the Original Name was a *Tetragrammaton*. For it is likely that the *Pythagoreans* Τετταρτος, the Number

(a) Deum Iudaeorum Jovem putavit. De Consens. Evang. lib. 4.

Number Four, by which they used to Swear, (especially they confirmed the most serious Truths with this Oath) was taken from the Jews Tetragrammaton. The Excellent (a) Commentator on Pythagoras's Golden Verses, and particularly on this passage in them, talks at large why God is called Τετρακτύς Quaternarius, so that it seems the Pythagoreans applied it to God. Whence a (b) Learned Antiquary of our own concludes, that Τετρακτύς was Jehovah, and he conceives that Pythagoras (who speaks of it in his Verses) had this Mystery of Quaternity from the Hebrews, who had in great veneration the Tetragrammaton, the Name of God of Four Letters. It was easie for this Philosopher, who convers'd in his Travels (as is acknowledg'd) with Hebrews and Chaldees, to arrive to the knowledge of this Name.

Let me suggest this in the next place, that since the Name Jehovah was commonly pronounced Adonai by the superstitious Jews, it might hence come to pass that this Adonai, with a very small change, gave the Name to one of the Poetick Gods among the Heathens, viz. Adonis. To confirm which, add what Hesychius saith, that (c) Adonis is as much Lord among the Phœnicians. He mistakes the Phœnicians for the Hebrews here, as is very usual. Whence then can we with greater probability think that Name was given to a Pagan God, than from its being of so near affinity with Adonai, the Name of the True God among the Jews? Again, Baal-Berith, i. e. the Lord of the Covenant, was the Name of a God or Idol of the Phœnicians, Judg. 8. 33. Which seems to be an

Q 4 ——— imitation

(a) Hierocl. (b) Selden de Dis. Syr. (c) Ἀδωνίς, Διωνύσιος ὑπὸ Φοινίκων, i. e. κύριος.

imitation of the Title of the *True God*, who as soon as the Deluge was past (a) made a *Covenant* with Mankind, and after that we find him (c) *Covenanting* with *Abraham*, and afterward (e) with the whole People of the *Jews*: and frequently in Scripture we see he is making a *Covenant* with his Servants, so that he is the true *Baal-Berith*, the *Lord of the Covenant*. The *Phœnicians* borrowed this out of the Jewish and Sacred Writings, and applied it to one of their Gods: whence it was propagated to other Nations, and *Ὁρκιστὴς Fœderator*, the *Covenanter*, was the Title of *Jupiter*.

Among the Names which the Gentiles give to their Gods, I may reckon *Σαβαζιεύς*, or *Sabazius*, (for it is sometimes Latinised) to be one. That this was the Name of *Jupiter* especially, you read in *Strabo*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Apuleius*. That it was a Title also given to *Bacchus* is witnessed by (d) others. In allusion to this, the word *Sabos* is often heard in the *Orgia*, i. e. the Sacred Rites of *Liber*, as (e) *Plutarch* acquaints us. And from (f) *Aristophanes* we learn that *οἰβοί*, and *οἰσαλεύς* were words of Acclamation and Rejoycing among the Pagans, at their Great Solemnities, and Festivals. Now this Name seems to be of Hebrew Original, and refers to the *Judaick Sabbath*, that Sacred Festival in which God was most solemnly Worshipp'd by that Nation: And this *Plutarch* was sensible of, viz. That there was an affinity between *οἶβος* (before mention'd, the word used in the Gentile Festivities, especially by those that kept the *Bacchanalia*) and the *Jewish Sabbath*; only in

(a) Gen. 9. 9. (b) Gen. 17. 9. (c) Ex. 34. 27. (d) *Aristophan.* in *Avib. Diodor. Sic.* lib. 36. *Lucian.* *Concil. Deor.* (e) *Sympos.* 4. (f) In *Vesp.*

in this he err'd, not knowing the derivation of the Hebrew word, that he thought this was taken from that, *ουββατορ* from *ουββ*; as he expressly saith. Or perhaps this Name *Σαβαζι*, which was given to their false Gods, was taken from that of the true one; and *Jupiter Sabazius* is as much as *Jehovah Zabaoth*, which both (a) *Isaiab* and (b) *Jeremiah* frequently repeat as the proper Name of God: *Jehovah Zabaoth, the Lord of Hosts is his Name*. Some have thought the word *Tzebaoth* is placed here by way of *Apposition*, as if it should be rendred *Dominus Sabaoth*, and thence (c) *Jerom* reckons *Sabaoth* among the Names of God. But questionless this word is in the Plural Number, & in *regimine*, and so the true rendering is *Lord of Sabaoth, i. e. of Hosts*. Yea, you will find the Hebrew word retain'd even (d) in the Greek, as if there were something more than ordinarily remarkable in the Hebrew. The Pagans, who got the sound of this word (as very famous among the Hebrews) took it by it self for God's Name, and thence (it is likely) framed the word *Σαβαζι*. This shall suffice in brief for a proof of what I undertook, that the Names of the God of Israel are applied by the Heathens to their *Idol-Gods*. The Pagans call their Deities by Titles which are given to the True God *Jehovah*. This makes good what I aim'd at, that the Heathens had these as well as other things from the *Sacred Scriptures*: and it is certain they could have them from these only; which is a proof of the verity and antiquity of those Holy Writings.

Speaking

(a) Ch. 48. v. 2. 51. 13. 54. 5. (b) Chap. 10. 16. 31. 35. 34. (c) Epist. 136. ad Marcellam. (d) *Lord of Sabaoth*, *Isa. 9. 29. Jam. 5. 4.*

Speaking here of the *Heathen-Gods*, and their *Names* as borrowed from Scripture, it may be impertinent to observe, that even the *Title of Gods* given by the Pagans to their *Kings* and *Princes*, was derived from the same inspired Writings. I grant that it partly proceeded from their foolish Opinion that they were *Gods* indeed: But it is as true, that it might be derived to *Prophane Writers*, from the stile of the Holy Ghost in the *Old Testament*, where *Magistrates* are called *Gods*. Thus in *Exod. 22. 8.* the *Gods* and the *Rulers of the People* are *Synonymous*. *Moses* was to *Aaron* instead of a *God*, *Ex. 4. 16.* i. e. according to the *Chaldee* and *Arabick*, a *Judge* or *Prince*. *God* himself honours the *Rulers of the Sanhedrim* with the *Title of Gods*, *Pf. 82. 6.* I have said ye are *Gods*. So in *Psalms 138.* *Gods* in the 1st verse are *Kings of the Earth* in the 4th. It might be observ'd that *Elohim* and *Adonai*, the usual Names of *God* himself, are attributed to *Great Men* in the *Sacred Writings*. In short, as *God* is often called *King* in Scripture, so *Kings* are called *Gods*, and thence the expression is convey'd to the *Pagans*, and frequently used by them. Among the *Eastern People* *Melech*, *Moloch*, and *Malcham*, (for these words are indifferently used) signify both *God* and *King*. And perhaps it was in conformity or relation to this Notion, that they commonly inserted the Names of their *Gods* into those of their *Princes*, though it might be also as a good Omen, or for Honour's sake. From their *Gods*, I say, *Princes* compound their Names, as *Belshazar*, from *Bel*: *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Nebucad-radan*, and *Nebo-nasser*, from *Nebo* an *Assyrian God*: *Evilmerodach*, from *Merodach* a *Babylonian God*, and many others. Among the *Persians* we read the

The Name of God was bestow'd on their Empe-
rours: Thus *Xerxes* was stiled the(*)*Persian Jupiter*.
One of the *Antiochus's* had the Sirname of *Θεός*.
We shall find likewise that other Nations complied
with this Notion. What if I should say that the
ἑρμῆς, ἡλίου, δαίμονες, mention'd by *Pythagoras* in his
Golden Verses, are these *Terrestrial Gods* I am
speaking of; viz. Great Princes, Celebrated He-
roes, Wise Rulers, Divine Men, or Earthly Dei-
ties? *Plato* tells us in his *Politicks* that a Good
King is (a) like some God chosen out from amongst
Men. Princes and Commanders are stiled by *Homer*
θεοειδής and *δωραιοῦς*, born and bred of the Gods.
But especially among the *Romans* this sort of
Language was common. *Rome* was no less than
Heaven, and the *Emperour* was God. *Ὁ θεός Κεῖσας*
is apply'd to the first *Cæsar* by (b) *Strabo*. The next
(viz. *Augustus*) is called *Deus Cæsar* by *Propertius*.
Editum Domini Dei; nostri, is *Martial's* Lan-
guage. At *Rome* the Royal Palace was reputed
a Temple: the *Mount Palatine* was Sacred and
Venerable, because the *Emperour's* Seat was there.
(c) The Sovereignty of Magistrates approaches
next to the Majesty of Heaven, saith the Grave
and Renowned Oratour. And with him agrees
the Pithy Moralist, who tells us that (d) the Peo-
ple are to look upon their Governours under no
other Character, than as if the Gods were come
down to visit them. We may say here, as the
Philosopher in another Case, *ὅτι hic Di sunt*,
there is a kind of Divinity in Rulers, they are
Earthly

(*) *Ὁ γὰρ Περσῶν Ζεὺς. Dionys. Long. πρὶ Ἰλίου.*
(a) *Ὁσὶν θεοὶ ἵε' ἀρχαῖοντα. (b) Lib 4. (c) Magistra-*
tum potestas proximè ad Deorum Immortalium numen accedit
pro Rabirio. (d) Non alio nomine populus Rectorem suum
habetur quàm si Di Immortales potestatem visendi sui fa-
ciunt. Senec. de Clement. l. 1.

Earthly *Numen's*, they are Created and visible Deities: And being so stil'd first of all in Scripture, the Title hath come down to the Pagan World, but hath been infinitely abused.

Having taken notice of several References in Prophane Authors, to express Passages and Usages Recorded in the Old Testament, I will here super-add one which I meet with in *Martial's Epigrams*: And I will the rather insist upon it, because the place is obscure, and hath yielded matter of great Controversie among the Learned. The Epigrammatist writes to a *Jew*, and tells him he will not credit what he saith, though he Swears by the Temple of *Jupiter*, or of any other Deity: Wherefore he puts him upon Swearing by *Anchialus*.

(a) *Ecce negas, jurasque mihi per templa
Tonantis:*

Non credo; jura, Verpe, per Anchialum.

There have been great disputes about this *Anchialus*, some thinking it to be *Sardanapalus's* Statue erected in *Anchiala*, a City of *Cilicia*, and there Worshipp'd: Of this Opinion is *Dom. Calderinus*: Some taking it for a Man or a Boy, some for a City or Town, and others for a Beast, as *Vossius* the Elder conceits it refers to the *Jews* Worshipping an *Ass*, because ἀνιάς is *Asinus*. But he might as well have understood by this word a *Horse*, or a *Man that carries Burthens*, for that is the import of ἀνιάς, or rather ἀνιάς. Besides, *Angarius* and *Anchialus* are too different in sound to be thought to be the same: Wherefore I dismiss this. The rest of the Modern Criticks agree in this, that the

Poet

(a) In *Verpum*. lib. 11. Epigr. 94.

Poet directing this Epigram to a *Jew*, refers to something in use among that People, and particularly something mention'd in their Bible (for that would make the Jest the more biting, as he imagined) viz. The Form of Swearing by the True God which is used there. But these Authors differ about the Form. (a) *Joseph Scaliger* derives it from the Hebrew Fountain אֱלֹהֵי חַיִּים i. e. *fi vivit Deus*, which was a form of Swearing with the *Hebrews*: hence, saith he, *Martial* was mistaken, and thought they swore by *Anchialus*, whereas the Oath was *Am chi alah*, i. e. *If God liveth*. Our Learned *Farnaby* likes this Criticism very well, and hath inserted it into his Notes on this place. But by the leave of so Great a Critick, there is I conceive something faulty in it: For though I am most willing to grant, that there is in this place a reference to the Form of Swearing which was used by the *Jews* in the Old Testament; yet I am not forward to assent to this interpretation of the word *Anchialum*, which this Noble Philologist presents us with, and that for these Reasons; first it is not *Am* but *An* that must answer to the beginning of the word *Anchialum*. However, this may be born with, being an easie change of a Letter. Secondly, there is no such Hebrew Word as *am*. There is *im si*, but then it should be *Imchialum*, not *Anchialum*. Thirdly, *Ala* is not an usual word for *God* among the *Jews*, because it is an Arabick, not an Hebrew word, and 'twas never made use of in that Nation, and 'tis not once mention'd in the Holy Bible, wherefore I can't believe they solemnly Swore by it.

For

(a) De Emendat. Temp. in Prolegom.

For the same Reason I am apt to reject the other solution of this place in *Martial*, which very (a) Excellent and Choice Writer hath offered. *Anchialum* or *Anchialon*, saith he, is composed of these three words [An] *non*, [Chi] *vivis* (and without the Vowel under it *Chi*, and perhaps they might vulgarly pronounce it so) and [Alon] *deus*: For this (saith he) is an Oath of a Jew who denies the Crime which he is accus'd of, he Swears thus, *An chi alon, i. e. Non: vivit deus*. But I cannot on due Consideration, think that this is a true account of this Passage; for first *Alon* was not a Name in use (nay perhaps not known) among the Jews. This Author indeed saith it may be gathered out of *Plautus*, that God's Name was pronounced *Alon*, but we are not to consider what pronunciation the Name had among other People, i. e. Foreigners, but what was in constant use among the Jewish People: for the Poet refers here to that. Wherefore there being no such Name among them, it could not be used by them in an Oath, and consequently it is not here meant, when *Martial* is jesting with the Circumcised Poet. And as for the word *Eljon*, which 'tis true is often used in Scripture, and of which this *Alon* seems to be a corruption, it is an Epithet rather than a Name of God, and therefore was not (it is likely) put into a Formal Oath. Again, the word *an*, which this Author makes one of the ingredients of this word which the Poet useth, hath no such signification as he pretends it hath. Indeed *an* and the contraction of it is *non*, but *an* hath no other signification but *ubi*, or *quorsum*, or *quousque*.

(a) Petir. Var. Lesson. 1. 1.

as any Man may satisfie himself, by consulting the places where it occurs.

But another (a) Person of infinite Literature (who is of Opinion that it is an Oath, and a Jewish Oath, that is here meant) tells us, that *per Anobialum* is a corruption of *אני עדי חיי*, i. e. *ulciscatur qui vivit in aeternum*: For we read, saith he, that *Cbi olam* is one of Gods Great Names, *Dan.* 4. 31. and we read also of Swearing by this Name, *Ex.* 12. 17. wherefore *Martial's* Verse should have been written thus,

Non credo : jura, verpe, iperan Cbi olam.

i. e. Let him who lives for ever (*viz.* God) take vengeance on me; *viz.* if I forswear my self. This is Criticism worthy of so Learned an Antiquary. But I have something considerable to object against it, as first this *iperan* which he here brings in is altogether redundant, for we read not that they used this word in Swearing, therefore there was no reason to insert it here, and to make it part of the form of a Jewish Oath. Moreover, *Cbi olam* is mistaken for *Cbi gnomia* in *Dan.* 4. 31. which will not come into the Verse. But chiefly I make bold to dissent from this Worthy Person's Opinion, because I think I have an easier and clearer to propound.

That which I offer is this, that this word *Anobialum* contains in it these three words, *an*, *chi*, and *olabim*. The word *an* is an abbreviature of *amen*, which is an usual Interjection, sometimes translated *now*, *Psal.* 118. 25. and sometimes *ob*, (exclamatory Syllable,) *Ex.* 32. 31. *yea*, in all
or

(a) *Selden de Jur. Hæred. Hebr.*

240 *The Truth and Authority*

or most of the places where we find it, it bears this last signification, or borders very near upon it. It is a particule used among the *Hebrews* to express the *Affections* and *Emotions* of the Mind (as *Mercer* hath well observ'd) which are frequently accompanied with *Exclamations*. And by enquiring into the Texts where 'tis used, it will appear, that it is also an Interjection of *Asseseration* and is as much as *sanè, profectò, certè*. To this purpose it is rightly rendred *truly*, *Pf. 116.* wherefore it is no wonder that it is used in *Swearing*. I find that this Passionate Expletive of the same signification in the beginning of a Word or Sentence with [*na*] in the end of them whence perhaps the Greek word *ναι* and Latin *na* (both used in *Oaths*) are derived. This I have said to shew the fitness of this first word in the place. The two others are *Chi* and *Elohim*, which being joined together are the same that [*God liveth,*] which you will find to be the very expressive words which are used in the Old Testament when they Swore, as in *1 Sam. 2. 27. 1 Kings 17. 12. 18. 10. Chai Elohim, God liveth:* but we render it [*as God liveth*] and perhaps very significantly because an Oath is generally express'd by a defective Speech: some word is left out, and our Translators supply it. This we are certain of, that it is usual in the Old Testament to Swear by *God's Life*, and in these very terms, *The Lord liveth, God liveth.* Yea, God himself Swears by his *Life*. *Am. 6. 8. As I live, saith the Lord.* Thence God in the Old Testament is called the *Living God*. Which Epithet is so commonly given him, and was without doubt so frequently used by the *Jews*, that it came by that means to be well known to the *Gentiles*, which I should guess gave rise to

the Greek Name of *Jupiter*. The Heathens Named him *Zūva*, the *Living God*, ἀνὸ τῆς ζῆν. And I am apt to think that from the Nominative *Zūds* (which is of the same Original) the Name *Deus* comes, for 'tis probable that heretofore it was pronounced as one Syllable, and so was as much as *Zūds*, which is the same with *Zūds*, for you see the *z* is turn'd into *s* in the three next Cases, as *as*, *is*, *us*. Therefore even *Deus* the *Living God*. But to proceed, God's *Life* is himself, and therefore 'tis no wonder that God's People the *Jews* Swore by it. *Chi Elohim* was the constant form of words which they used, and it was taken (as you have heard) out of the Holy Scriptures. So then *An chi elohim* is no other than *Verily, truly the Lord liveth*: the word *an* being prefix'd by the *Jews* to express their affection and concern about the thing which they asserted or denied with a Solemn Oath. Now, when the *Jews* pronounced this Oath in these words, those that were ignorant of the Tongue thought it was all but one word or Name. Our Witty Poet who was not skill'd in the Hebrew, was guilty of the same mistake, and put the *Jew* upon Swearing by *Anchialum*, which was a misunderstanding of *An chi Elohim*: which words when they were pronounced fast and indistinctly, seem'd unto those who were not skill'd in the Hebrew Tongue to sound like *Anchialum*. Therefore *Martial* saith, *Jura, verpe, per Anchialum, is, per an chi Eloim*, or with an usual Synalæpha, *An ch' Eloim*, which likewise is an instance of what I asserted before, that Transpositions, Abbreviations, and Corruptions of words are very usual, and that their right Terminations are laid aside very often. Or, perhaps the Name *AN El* which is also the usual Name of God in the

Old Testament,) is here intended: For that also was used in Oaths, as appears from *Job 27. 2. Chi El, As God liveth.* And without doubt it was used by the Jews, as well as *Eloah* and *Elohim*, in Swearing: yea, some Hebrutians have thought that these words are derived from the Verb *Chi juravit*, because they are used in Swearing. *An chi El, Verily God liveth*, was a common form of an Oath, no less than *An chi Elohim*, and thence the ignorant Hearers among the Pagans thought that the Name of the Jews God was *Anchiel*, or *Anchial*: And *Martial* here having occasion to use it in the Accusative Case, adds the usual termination to it, and makes it *Anchialus*. Sworn to me, saith he to his Brother Poet, who was a Jew, by a Jewish Oath, Swear by the most solemn and Sacred Oath that you have in use among you, and that is, (as I have heard) *Anchial* or *Anchiel*, which is no other then *An chi El, Verily God liveth*. With great deference and respect to the judgments of the foresaid Learned Criticks, I propound either of these to be the fairest and easiest solution of that controverted place of *Martial*. It is not *Ebi Aab*, nor *Ebi Alon*, nor *Chi gnolam*, but *Ebi Elohim*, or *Ebi El* (take which you please) that is referr'd to here by the Poet: for these are the very words used in Scripture, and we read that one of them especially is the express form of Swearing among the *Hebrews*. Which is the thing I alledged this passage for, viz. To let you see how Pagan Writers have frequent references to the Book of God, and particularly the Name of the True God, and to the Customs and Usages there spoken of, and thereby do in some measure give testimony to the Truth and Reality of those Writings.

I would

I would offer to the Learned another Notion in prosecution of the Subject I have been so long upon. I am of the Opinion that from the frequent mention of *Horns* in the Old Testament, the Heathens borrow'd the like expression, and apply'd it in that very sense in which 'tis used in those Holy Writings. The Hebrew *Keren* (whence the Greek *κίρας*, the Latin *Cornu*, and the German and English *Horn*;) signifies *Might, Strength, Fortitude*, as also *Joy, Safety, Prosperity*; whence you read of the *Horn of Salvation*, 2 Sam. 22. 3. Psal. 18. 2. and the *exalting, lifting up, and setting up the Horn*, 1 Sam. 2. 1. Ps. 75. 4, 10. Ps. 89. 17. Ps. 112. 9. Lam. 2. 17. Zach. 1. 21. On the contrary, *cutting off the Horn*, signifies debasing, degrading, a mournful, unsafe, afflicted Condition, as is clear from Ps. 75. 10. Jer. 48. 25. Lam. 2. 3. And *defiling the Horn*, is of the same import, Job 16. 5. From the signification of the Verb *Karan*, we may be partly confirmed in this sense of the Noun *Keren*, for 'tis said of *Moses's Face* that it *shone*, Ex. 34. 29. it was very Bright and Glorious. The vulgar Latin renders it, *it was horn'd*, and thence (was said before) *Moses* is usually Pictured with Horns. But we must understand it spoken Metaphorically, viz. of those *rays or Beams of Light* which darted from his face, and which were as 'twere Horns of Light. So in *Hab. 3. 4.* by *Horns* is meant *Brightness or Light*, and it is so expressly interpreted in that verse. The Radiency, the Splendour of *Moses's Face* was very great, and is rightly called by the Apostle, *the Glory of his Countenance*, 2 Cor. 3. 7. So that hence we may gather that the word imports *Outward Glory*. And as this word *Keren* signifies more generally *Power, Grandeur, Outward*

ward Glory, and Prosperity, so it more particularly denotes Kingly Power, Sovereign Dominion and Empire, the Greatness and Splendor of Crowned Heads. (Whence, by the way, I propound it as probable, that from the Eastern words *Karan* and *Keren* are derived the Greek *κυβερνῆς*, *Dominus*, *Imperator*, and the Latin *Corona*.) Thus *Horn* is applied in 1 Sam. 2. 10. *He shall give strength unto his King, and exalt the Horn of his Anointed.* And in the *Psalms* you will find that this word hath particular reference to *David* as King, Ps. 89. 24. 91. 10. So in Ps. 132. 17. 'tis spoken of him as the *Lord's Anointed*, and 'tis joyn'd with a *Crown* in the next verse. In the Book of *Daniel* this Language is very common, in the 7th and 8th Chapters a *Horn* and *Horns* signifie Princely Dominion, and the Persons that exercis'd it: and in the latter of these Chapters those two *Horn'd Beasts*, a *Ram*, and a *Goat*, are Representatives of *Kings*, and *Kingdoms*. It is in exprefs words said in two places, *Horns are Kings*, Dan. 7. 24. 8. 7. Now, from this particular stile and idiom of the Ancient Holy Book of the Scriptures, the Heathen Writers learnt to speak after the same manner. Not only in a general way was the word *Horn* used by some of their Authours, to (a) expresse Vigour, Spirit, Strength, and Power, but more especially and signally they make use of it to signifie Supream Power and Dignity, such as that of their *Gods*, and of their *Kings*. Thus (b) *Corniger* was the Epithet of *Jupiter Hammon*, and we may inform our selves from several Writers that

(a) Tunc pauper cornua sumit. *Horat.* (b) Corniger illu Jupiter. — *Lucan.* l. 9.

that he was commonly pictured with Horns: which had its rise, I conceive, from the like representation of *Great Ones* in the Old Testament, as you have heard. I know other Reasons are alledg'd, as that of *Servius*, who thinks this *Jupiter* had that Title, and was represented *Horned*, because of his Winding Oracles, because his Answers had as many crooked Turnings as a Ram's Horn. *Macrobius*, and some others tell us, that this *Hammon*, was no other than the *Sun*, whose Beams are Cornute, whose Rays are in the fashion of *Horns*. If the *Moon* had been meant, then I confess, the Epithet of *Horned* had been very Natural: But I don't think, that the Metaphorical *Horns* of the *Sun* (which are its Rays) were thought of here by the Antients. Wherefore, I look upon these as mean and trifling Reasons. But the true occasion, if I mistake not, of their describing *Jupiter Hammon* with *Horns*, and of representing other Gods, as *Pan* and *Bacchus*, after the same manner, was this, that they complied with the Style of the Sacred Writings, (as was an usual thing with them) which set forth Great Power, Magnificence and Glory, especially *Kingly Power* and Greatness, by the expression of *Horns*. This suited well with their *Gods*, who were Great Folks, and generally *Deified Kings*. We read, that a *Ram* and a *Goat* are Symbols of Regal Strength, in the Prophetick Writings; in imitation of which, it is probable, *Jupiter Hammon* was worshipp'd in *Africk*, in the shape of an Image which had partly the proportions of a *Ram*, and partly of a *Goat*. And from the same Original, (*viz.* the Holy Scriptures) it was, that Antiently the *Pagan Kings* and Monarchs were represented and stiled *Horned*, as we may satisfie our selves from several Authors.

It is well known that *Alexander* the Great was called *Δικεαύς*, *bicornis*: of which some give this Reason, because (say they) of the amplitude of his Empire, which was extended to both the extream Horns of the World, East and West. Others say, he would have been thought to be the Son of *Jupiter Hammon*, who was *Cornute*, and accordingly they drew *Alexander* so. And there are other Reasons assign'd by (4) Authors, why this Great Conquerour had the denomination of *Δικεαύς*, but they seem to be far fetch'd, and not to give us the true and genuine account of it, which I take to be this, *viz.* That this Title was derived to the Gentiles from the frequent Language and Phraseology of the Old Testament, which expresses *Kingly Power* by *Horns*, and more especially from the Prophecy of *Daniel*, where the *Grecian Monarchy* is described by a *He Goat*, an *Horn'd Animal*, and the first King of that third Monarchy, *viz.* *Alexander the Great*, is signified by *Keren Chazuth*, a *Notable Horn*, *Dan.* 8. 5. a *Great and Visible Horn*, as the Hebrew word properly signifies: And again, he is call'd in the same Chapter *the Great Horn*, *v.* 21. All Interpreters agree in this, that *Alexander the Great* is meant here, although they differ in expounding other parts of the Chapter. Hence this Mighty Monarch would in his Pictures and Coins be *κερατώδης*, represented as *Horn'd*, yea, his choice Horse, which he most prized, is known by this Character. And from this Great Man his Successors learnt to stamp their Coin with Horned Images and Impressions. Hence

Alexander

(4) *Scaliger de emendat. Temp. Hottinger, L'Empereur.*

Alexander is called *Dulcarnain*, in the Alcoran by Mahomet, which is equivalent to *Dulcarnain*, for that I suppose to be the meaning of that Eastern word: And 'till some others give a better Interpretation of Chaucer's [at *Dulcarnoon*] I presume to say it signifies as much as to be in a maze, to be at ones wits end, to be dilemma'd, to be push'd at on one side and the other, as were with a double Horn. So much for that Name given to that Great Monarch, of which many Writers have disputed, and I have made bold to put in among the rest, and to offer my apprehensions concerning that Epithet. I refer it to the Old Testament, which was not unknown to some of the wisest of the Gentiles, who thence borrow'd many Words and Phrases, and more Customs and Practices. Hence *Horns* came to be significative of Kingly Greatness and Power. Hence it was a Custom among the Persians to wear a (a) *Rams Head* of Gold for a Diadem. Hence *Attila*, King of *Huns*, was portray'd with Horns, as is to be seen in Ancient Medals. And that *Horns* were a Badge of Regality and Dominion, is clear from what we read in (b) *Valerius Maximus*, viz. That when on a sudden *Horns* were seen to appear on the head of *Genitius Cippus*, as he was going out at the door, the Response was, that he should be King, if he return'd into the City.

I have now almost finish'd my Task, I mean, so far as it respects the Old Testament. Let me only add this after all, That many things in *Homer*, *Euripides*, *Sophocles*, *Theognis*, &c. may

R 4

not

(a) *Ammian. Marcellin.* l. 19. (b) *Lib.* 5.

not only be reduced to, but seem to be borrow'd from *David's Psalms*, *Solomon's Proverbs*, the *Book of Wisdom*, and *Ecclesiasticus*, (which are but an imitation of these) and other parts, both of the Canonical and Apocriphal Writings. This hath been partly shew'd by (a) some of late, but might be carried on much further. I do not think every Saying that is like another in Scripture, was taken thence. That of the Apostle, 1 Cor. 2. 9. (which he takes from *Isai.* 64. 4.) *Eye hath not seen, nor Ear heard, neither hath it enter'd into the Heart of Man*, is very like that passage in *Empedocles*,

ἽΟὐτ' ἐμπίδρακται τὰ δι' ἀνδράσιν, ἔτ' ἐπακουσά,
ἽΟὐτε νόῳ περιλήπτα. —————

but no Man can think there was any reference to it. I do not say, that *Lucretius's*

*Cedit item retro, de terrâ quod fuit ante,
In terras: Et quod missum est Ætheris oris, &c.*

was copied out of *Solomon*, *Eccles.* 12. 7. *Toen shall the dust return to the Earth as it was; and the Spirit shall return unto God who gave it.* I know many Sentences may happen to be alike, yea the same in Sacred and Prophane Writers: The Moral Subject they Treat upon might afford the like matter and words sometimes; but in comparing the *Hagiographa*, and those Writings, you will find, that that there is more than this; the Genius of

(a) Mr. Gataker in *Antovin.* Dr. Dupont in *Homer.*

of the Stile is the same, the manner of Expression, the forms of Speech, the particular Phrases and proverbial Sayings, which had their first rise among the *Hebrews*, are the very same. This is excellently shewed by the Learned *Hugh Grotius* in his *Annotations*, and it plainly discovers whence the Pagan Writers had those things. Some of the Prophane Poets, borrow'd their strain of Love-Songs and Epithalamiums, from *Solomon's Canticle*: Especially *Theocritus*, (as (a) *Sanctius* hath observed), from whom the rest learnt that way of Verse, hath not a few passages in his *Idyllia*, expressly taken out of that Sacred Song. And in that Dialogue of *Plato*, which he entitles *Symposium* or his *Eroticks*, there are several things, which you would guess are allusions to *Solomon's Love-Dialogue*, or *Epithalamium*. And to heap up several particulars together, it was said by *Solon* in his Discourse with *Cræsus*, (as both *Herodotus*, and *Diogenes Laertius* report) that the (b) *Term of Mans Life*, is three-score years and ten, as if he had had it from the Pen of the Holy Psalmist, *Psal.* 90. 10. The Acclamation or Shout which was used among the Heathens in War, when there was an occasion of Joy and Thanksgiving, was (c) *ΕΛΕΛΟΥ*; which you may easily conceive was a corruption of *Allelujah*. Some (d) Chapters and (e) Psalms of the Old Testament, are disposed in an *Alphabetical Order*; which gave rise to that sort of Verses, call'd *Acrosticks*: Such are the *Arguments* of *Plautus's Comedies*, and the *Elogium*,

(a) In *Cantic. Solom.* (b) *Ὁλον ἀνθρώπου βίη πέντε καὶ ἑξήκοντα.* *Herodot.* l. 1. c. 32. *Laert.* in *Solone.* (c) *Æschil.* in *Prometh.* (d) *Prov.* 31. and the four first Chapters of the *Lamentation.* (e) *Psalms* 25. 34. 37. 111. 112. 119. 145.

Elogium of Christ, in one of the *Sibylls*, which you will find also in *Tully*. This piece of Wit and Fancy, was borrowed from the Holy Writings, which were Endicted by the Sacred Spirit. And here, when I am speaking of the *Pagans* borrowing from the *Hebrews*, I might even observe to you, that the very *Greek Alphabet* is taken from them; which the *Grecians* themselves in part confess, for they say they had their Letters from the *Phœnicians*, who were near Neighbours to the *Hebrews*, and who indeed are usually mistaken for these.

I will add in the last place, that the *Old Testament*, hath left some remains of it, in most remote Countries of the World, as *China*, *India*, *America*, as our Modern Travellers will inform us. In all these parts, there are evident and apparent footsteps of the History of the Bible. *Mastinius* in his History of *China* acquaints us, that the *Chineses* have Records concerning the *Universal Flood*, and that there are among that People several Memorials of the *Old Patriarchs*; and accordingly (a) one hath given us a brief account out of him of *Cain*, *Enoch*, and *Noah*. That in *India*, the footsteps of *Mosaick Doctrine* remain among the *Brachmans*, is proved by (b) *Huetius*. The highest Mountain of *Zeilan*, an Isle in the *East-Indies*, is call'd by the Inhabitants (c) *Adam's Top*, and there is *Adam's Cave*, where he lamented himself after his Fall. The Ceremony of putting their Hands under one another's Thighs, when they solemnly Swear to one another, of which we read in

(a) Horn. Arca Noz. (b) *Demonst. Evang. Prop. 4.*
 (c) *Ursin. Analect. lib. 4.*

Gen. 24. 2. 47. 29. is (a) observ'd among some of the *Indians* at this day. The *Americans*, faith *Agosta*, have Traditions of the *Deluge*, and make mention of it in their Discourses: And *Huetius* sheweth, that several Rites and Laws of *Moses* are observ'd by them. The Antient *Patriarchs* left behind them, remembrances of their Actions, even in these places; their Memory is still preserv'd and retained in many Names, Customs, and Practices, that are among them. The Name *Joseph* is often found there, and *Hallelujah* is used in their Songs, as (b) *Hornius* observes. The People of *Peru* report, (c) that all their Earth was overwhelm'd with waters, and lay cover'd with them a long time, that Men and Women perished, excepting only a few, that betook themselves to some Vessels of wood, and so preserv'd themselves. Those of *Mexico* tell (d) that there were five Suns heretofore, that gave light to the World, and that the first and oldest of them perished in the waters, and at the same time, the Men that were upon the Earth were drowned, and all things were destroyed. And several other such passages, the Inhabitants of the *New-found-Land*, received from their Forefathers, some of whom perhaps were *Jews*, for (e) *Manasseh Ben Israel* thinks the *Ten Tribes* who were carried Captive, came into the *West-Indies*, (as well as into some parts of *China* and *Tartary*) and there have left footsteps of old *Judaism*. But whether these were Relicks, or only Apeings of it, I will not stand to dispute.

Thus

(a) Avenarius in verbo Jarek. (b) De Orig. Americ.
(c) Aug. Car. (d) Ling. Gama. (e) Spes. Brasilia.

Thus I have abundantly made good, that the Heathens borrowed from Scripture and Inspired Men. Their Priests took their Religious Ceremonies, yea their very Gods: their Poets took their Fables; their Historians, their more serious Narratives; their Philosophers, their Notions and Opinions; their Common People, their Words and Phrases, their Usages and Customs, from the Writings of the *Old Testament*, and the Doctrine, Rites, and Practices of the *Jews* therein Recorded. So that it is evident, that *Pagans* bear Testimony to the Contents of the *Old Testament*, and that Prophane Writers attest the Truth and Authority of those Sacred Writings.

If any *Object*, that I have shewed my self arbitrary and lavish, in some of the *Derivations* of Words, which I have offered, and that there is not sufficient ground for the Etymological part of my Discourse; I briefly Answer, I have purposely and industriously all along, taken care to avoid this imputation. For I have sometimes taken notice of, and been ashamed of the great Extravagancy of some Writers in this very point. Thus *Calepine* derives *Canis* à *Canendo*, as if Barking and Singing were the same thing. (a) One derives *Scribo* from *ꝛꝛꝑꝛ*, and labours to make it out. Such an Extravagant Etymologizer is *Avenarius* in his *Hebrew Lexicon*, who fetches *Banadur* from *Masbal dominatus est*, and *ꝛꝛꝑꝛ* from *Tsaniph*, and *Scorpio* from *Gnacrab*, which is the *Hebrew* Name of that Animal. Yea, he deduces *Turk* from *Kedar*, by a Metathesis. And *Monſieur Bochart* is not far behind him, for he is oftentimes

very

(a) *Herm. Hugo de Scribendi Origine.*

very bold and presuming in his Etymologies, he making it his business to fetch all from the *Phœnician* Tongue; which to accomplish, he makes any thing out of any thing. I have not ventured to Etymologize after the rate of these Men (though they are all of them very Learned Heads), but I have with singular care, throughout my whole undertaking, endeavour'd to preserve the Honour of Grammar and Criticism, which so many have violated; and not to put off the Reader with far fetch'd Derivations of Words and Names, without observing the due Laws of deducing and forming them. I have never presumed to derive one word from another, where there was not a fair Grammatical Analogy between them, and some agreement in their sound, and some considerable probability of their being nearly allied to one another.

In the next place, if any *Object*, that I have gathered many things from the mere sound and likeness of words, which is an uncertain and Arbitrary thing, and there is no conclusion to be made thence; I *Answer*, it is true, the sole Affinity of words is no firm and undeniable Argument of their Origination. The significations of words in different Languages, may sometimes be coincident, yet we are not certain thence of their Derivation. This I am most ready to grant; nay further, that it is folly to derive one word from another, meerly because of the likeness of them; as if, because the *Pentateuch* is divided into *Parashas*, therefore we must derive *Parishes* from thence, they being such a part of a City or Town set out, as divided and separated from the rest: You may as well derive *Montgomery* from *Gomer*, and say it is the *Montanous* Country where *Gomer* lived. Who thinks, that the *English* word *Evil*,
comes

comes from the *Hebrew*, *Evil*, a Fool? It would be ridiculously quibbling, to fetch the Proverbial Saying, *As lean as a Rake*, from the *Hebrew*, *Rake tenuis*, *macer*, *gracilis fuit*; or to make a *bad one* in *English*, to have affinity with *Abaddon*. It would be yet more intolerably ridiculous, and might be look'd upon as a School-Boy's pun, to derive a *Highb-Man*, from one of the three Giants call'd *Abiman*. Wherefore, I do not contend, that all accidental likenesses in words, are a foundation to ground Etymologies and Derivations upon. I know some are very foolish and trifling here; they find such and such words in different Tongues, agreeing in sound, and thence they infer they are akin, if they can but make out any kind of resemblance in their signification. If the *Hebrew* word *bad*, (which hath many significations) had one like the *English* (*bad*), they would presently say, that this came from that. If *Siccus* had been of the same signification with *Aegrotus*, we should have said the *English* word *Sick* was thence. If *calum* had signified any thing like *Calum*, or *Aether*, we should have derived *Skie* thence. If *παύειν* had been as much as *imperare*, *gubernare*, some would conclude *regnum* to be derived from it. And several other words I could instance in, which you shall find in another place. I grant then, that there is a great deal of uncertainty in *Etymologies*, and we are not to lay any huge stress upon them. But though this be true, yet where we find there is a great probability that words are related to one another, where there is good ground for it, we are to take notice of it. Though there be in *Geopropius Boetius* and some others before mention'd, many frivolous *Etymologies*, and fanciful Derivations, yet this hath not made Wise Men disregard the Alliance and
 Cognation

Coincidence which are between words, especially between the *Hebrew* and other words. Thus it is most probable, that the following *Greek*, *Latin*, *English*, and *French* ones, are derived from the *Hebrew*.

Greek,	Μυστήριον, Mysterium.		Mister, <i>idem</i> .
Lat.	{ Uro.	FROM	Ur, <i>ignis</i> .
	{ Mensura.		Mesurah, <i>idem</i> .
	{ Gibbosus.		Gibben, <i>idem</i> .
Engl.	{ Fig.		Fag, <i>ficus</i> .
	{ Dumb.		Dum, siluit, obmutuit.
	{ Cable.		Chebel, <i>funis</i> .
French,	Harasser, and		Haras, diruit,
English,	Harasse.		destruxit.

I cannot peremptorily aver, that these are of *Hebrew* Original, but no Man alive is able positively to assert the contrary. Yea, there are many words in the Derivation, of which all generally agree; few or none deny, or so much as doubt, that the *Latin* *Gubernare*, and the *English* *Govern*, are from the *Greek* κυβερνᾶν, and all of them from the *Hebrew* *Gabar*, *Gubernavit*, *vicit*: *Tower*, from *Turnis*, and both from *Tur* (*Syriak*) the same: *Camel*, and *Camelus*, and כמל from *Camal*, the same: *Tornace*, to *Turn*, from תורן, and that from *Tor*, *ordo*, *cursus*: *Vinum*, *Wine*, from *Fajin*, the same. And it is granted by all that סכך, *Saccus*, a *Sack*, come from the *Hebrew* (*Sak*) of the same signification. And סכך signifies the same in all Languages, and therefore

256 *The Truth and Authority*

therefore it can't be denied that the *Modern ones* had it from the *Learned ones*, and that the *Ancientest* among these, which is the *Hebrew*, communicated it to the rest. Who questions whether these English and Latin words come from the Greek? *Viz.*

<i>Strangulare</i> , to Strangle,	}	σφαγγαλῶν.
<i>Comere</i> , to Comb,		κομᾶν.
<i>Discus</i> , a Dish,		δισκῶ.
<i>Pix</i> , Pitch.		πίσα.
<i>Anchora</i> , Anchour,		ἀγκύρα.
<i>Linum</i> , a Line, Linnen,	} from <	λίνον.
<i>Chorda</i> , Chord,		χορδή.
<i>Pena</i> , Pain,		ποινή.
<i>Tumba</i> , a Tomb,		τύμβῶ.
<i>Hora</i> , an Hour,		ῥα.
<i>Lampas</i> , a Lamp.	} }	λάμπας.

And many other words there are whose derivation is plain and easie, and therefore is most readily acknowledged. There is reason then why we should enquire into the Original of words, and track them to their fountain head. And this is that which I have done in the fore-going Enterprize: where there was a great likelihood that the Greek or Latin were derived from the Hebrew, I took notice of it, and improved it to my purpose. I have not offer'd any thing that

is strain'd and forc'd: The Derivation of those words which I had occasion to look into in this Discourse is very plain and obvious, and such as any unprejudic'd Man will not boggle at, as

<i>Thob and Bau,</i>	<i>Tohu and Bohu.</i>
<i>Erebus,</i>	<i>Ereb.</i>
<i>Phor, Python,</i>	<i>Parhan.</i>
<i>lapetus,</i>	<i>Japhet,</i>
<i>Anax,</i>	<i>Anakim.</i>
<i>Bethulæ,</i>	<i>Bethel.</i>
<i>Iphigenia,</i>	<i>Iphthigenia, or Septhi-</i>
<i>Belus,</i>	<i>Bel, or Baal.</i>
<i>Jerombaal,</i>	<i>Jerubbaal.</i>
<i>Jobatas,</i>	<i>Joab.</i>
<i>Hamon,</i>	<i>Ham.</i>
<i>Isa, & Isua,</i>	<i>Jah, and Jehovab.</i>
<i>Jovis,</i>	<i>Jehovab.</i>
<i>Adonis,</i>	<i>Adonai.</i>
<i>Anchialum,</i>	<i>An chi Elobim.</i>
<i>Alalv,</i>	<i>Allelujab.</i>

I appeal to any Impartial Critick, whether there be not ground for these Derivations. They are Natural, plain, and easie, and the main substantial Radical Letters on both sides are preserv'd: besides, there were always Concurrent Circumstances to determine me to believe this to be the true Origination, as that the Matter spoken of was alike, that the Gentiles had notice of these things or Persons. from the Jews, and particularly that they had made many of their Gods from Famous Men, and that those Hebrew Persons, whom we mention'd, were some of the most Famous in the whole World, and other things occurred to me of the like nature.

And as for *Bacchus* and *Noachus*, or *Bacch* and *Noach*, though I am not very earnest in pressing the affinity between them, yet those who consider what a number of words is changed and corrupted by time, will not wonder that some Learned Writers have thought those words to be the same Originally. There are many Greek and Latin words which might be produced, wherein one or more Letters are put for others, and such alterations are made, that the words have lost their native sound, and seem to be quite other words. I could render this the more credible, by instancing in many words in our own and other Modern Languages, which are corrupted in common Discourse, and are much unlike the words from whence they are derived: And yet we readily acknowledge

ledge that they are Corruptions of such and such words. And if there be these alterations in the same Tongue, you may imagine how much more it is in the transferring of words into other Tongues: You may conceive what a change of Letters and Syllables, what Transpositions, or Contractions, besides the altering of the Terminations, there must be to make an Oriental word become an *European* one.

That *Iphigenia* should be as much as *Jephthage*, that *Jova* should be put for *Jehovah*, that *Vulcan* should be from *Tubal-Cain*, and *Ameliani* from *An cbi Elohim*, is no marvel at all, if you consider how common an *Apheresis* and *Syncope*, i. e. the taking away a Letter or Syllable from the beginning or middle of a word, are.

In my reading, and observation, I have met with these in the *Eastern Tongues*.

<i>Ammon,</i>	Ben-ammi, Gen. 19. 38.
<i>Hoshea,</i>	Jehoshua, Numb. 13. 16.
<i>Job,</i>	Jashub. Gen. 46. 13. Num. 26. 24.
<i>Jezer,</i>	Abiezer, Num. 26. 30. Jos. 17. 2.
<i>Jemini,</i>	Benjemini, 2 Sam. 20. 1.
<i>Ram,</i>	Aram, 1 Chron. 2. 9. Mat. 1. 3.
<i>Dumab,</i>	Edumah, or Edom. Isai. 21. 11.
<i>Coniah,</i>	Jeconiah, Jer. 22. 24.
<i>Siris,</i>	Osiris.
<i>Apis,</i>	Serapis.
<i>Belinus,</i>	Abelion. Selden de Dif. Syris.
<i>Hamet,</i>	Muhamet.
<i>Mummy</i>	Amomum. This being the Herb which they mingle with other Spices for Embalming.

So in the Greek, *νάννια* is put for *ἀνάννια* indolentia : *νόνυμ* for *ἀνόνυμ* nomine carens : *σταλαβότης* and *χαλαβώτης* for *ἀσταλαβώτης* stellio ; *ἀμαθ*,

אֵרֶנָּה, for אֵרֶנָּה *arena*. In the Latin likewise, *Amarum* comes from the Hebrew *Márah*, or *Marah*, *amarus* fuit. *Nomen* comes from the Greek *ὄνομα*; *Tego* from *טִג*, *fallo* from *פָּלַח*, *Syria*, from *Assyria*, (so call'd from *Assur* the Son of *Shem*,) *Natolia*, from *Anatolia*, (from *Ανατολή*, the *East*) the Name which Geographers gave to *Asia* the Less. In *Plautus* you read of *Conia*, for *Ciconia*, *Rabo*, for *arrhabo*. And in the Latin Italianized, *Puglia*, from *Apulia*, a Country in *Italy*; *Rimini*, from *Ariminum*, a City in the same place. And in the *French*, perhaps *Galliard*, a Dance, is derived from *αἰδύλλιον* *exultare*, and *Gallant*, from *αἰδύλλειν*, *ornare*, the first Letter being cut off. In our own Tongue also I have observed many words, of which I have given you an account in the end of this Work; because I will not stay to interrupt you* ^{Page 427.} now. And all this I have done for the sake of the *Objectors*, to let them see there is good reason for the foregoing attempt, and that it was not unworthy of our Task to regard the sound of words, and to take notice of their likeness to one another, and to observe what Alterations and Corruptions they have undergone, and thereby to arrive at the first and Ancient signification of them (though it be something difficult to do so, because when words are abbreviated, or otherwise alter'd, 'tis not easie to tell what they are, and whence they came;) which thing I hope we have attained in part, in our indeavours to prove that the Heathens borrow'd the Names of their Gods from the Holy Scripture, and that other Pagan words are of the same Original.

262 *The Truth and Authority*

Another *Objection* or *Cavil* is, that as I have shew'd a great deal of Arbitrariness in words, and in the derivation of them, so I have shew'd no less in the *Things* and *Matters* which I have been treating of. Many of them are founded on meer imagination, and are altogether precarious. In answer to this, I must needs say, there are some who in this Theme shew themselves too Curious, and Fanciful, they stretch things too far, and what they assert hath no other bottom than their own bold imagination. The *Fathers* are not altogether to be excus'd in this matter. Those that have impartially perus'd *Clement of Alexandria's Stromata*, *Justin Martyr's* Exhortatory Orations to the Gentiles, *Eusebius's* Evangelical Preparation, and some other Writings of the Ancients, cannot but observe that they are something extravagant in the kind; and they have a conceit that several Verses in the Poets, and other Passages in the rest of the Heathen Authors, are taken out of the Bible, where there is little or no ground to believe any such thing. Some Persons fancy every thing to be borrowed from Scripture, these Men would vouch that the Story of *Romulus* and *Remus's* being cast into *Tiber* in a Basket of Osiers, and *Faustulus's* finding them, and bringing them to his Wife, who nourish'd them, refers to *Moses's* being expos'd in an Ark of Bull-rushes, and taken up and Educated by *Pharaoh's* Daughter. Had *Orpheus's* going to Hell been after *Christ's* time, they would have said it referr'd to *Christ's* Descending into Hell. I am as forward to blame such Men as the Objectors are, and it never entred into my thoughts, that every thing

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which hath a Resemblance to what we meet with in Scripture is therefore taken from it. But this must not prejudice sober enquiry, and true Improvement of this Notion which I offer. Because some foolishly think that all or most of the passages among the Poets relate to the Bible, shall we say therefore none were taken thence? Because some things are made out by meer invention and wit, shall we affirm that every thing is so? This is fond and ridiculous. Wherefore, I have been very Cautious in this Subject, and have kept myself within bounds. I have not promiscuously propounded things, but have used Choice, and pitched on those particulars only which carry some probability and likelyhood with them. Some observing that the (a) Hebrew word used by Moses in Gen. 1. 2. signifies to hatch, as a Bird doth her Eggs by sitting upon them, have thought that the Pagans had thence the notion of the *World's being an Egg*; and to this purpose some things are offer'd to shew that they had such an apprehension. And to pass by the Ancients, we are told by (b) Late Writers, that some of the People in the Southern parts of the *East-Indies* have the same Notion of the Origine of the World. The (c) *Chinoise* say all things were from an *Egg*: yea, their (d) first Man had the same rise. But why might it not pass for an *Egg* in a plain Philosophical way,

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(a) *החיות*, Incubare. (b) *Abraham. Roger. Janus, &c.*
 (c) *M. Mart. Hist. Sincens.* (d) *Nieuhof. Leg. Bar.*

as at this day there are some Philosophers who tell us that all things are from an *Egg*; all Living Creatures at least are propagated by Eggs, yea Man himself? Thus the World may be thought to be a Great Egg. But I rather think it was from the Oval or Round Figure of the World that they represented it by an Egg: and you must know it was believ'd that this sort of Figure had some perfection in it, and so on that account they took the more notice of it, and this Spherical shape of the Universe was much admired and Celebrated by them: yea, it was thought to be Sacred and Divine: so that by this means the World came to be a very Worshipful *Egg*. But I cannot satisfy my self that it was said to be so from the fore-cited place of Scripture, where 'tis said *the Spirit of God moved on* (or hovered over) *the face of the Waters*. I do not think that a single word used in a Metaphorical way is foundation enough for this Notion. Therefore I have not made use of it in the foregoing part of my Discourse, but I rather reckon it to be something akin to the fancy of that (a) Ingenuous Writer, who tells us, that the Generation of *Castor* and *Pollux* out of an Egg, was founded on this, that they were Born and brought up in an *Upper-Room*, according to the import of the word *ἄνω*, which sometimes hath this signification. But, did not this Learned Man mistake *ἄνω*, for *ὑπερώς*, which indeed carries that sense with it?

Some

(a) Dr. Brown. Vulg. Errors.

Some have thought that the Story of *Darius Hystaspis* being chosen King of *Persia*, by the neighing of his Horse, was grounded in the History of *Mordecai*, and the King's Horse which he rode upon, for this *Darius* they take to be *Abasuerus*. But I have omitted this (as well as several others) because it hath little or no foundation. Besides, that they greatly disparage *Mordecai* by such an application as this, for *Darius* got the Kingdom of *Persia* by his trusty Groom *Oebares*, rather than by his Horse, for he Communicated the Design to him over Night, who took effectual Care to have his Master chosen Emperour the next Day. And chosen he was; a Jockey made him a Monarch. I have not had the confidence to say that (a) *Homer's* θενοιδόαι Βυπλῆγι, refers to the History of (b) *Shamgar's* Smiting the *Philistines* with an Ox-Goad, (which is in Greek Βυπλῆξι,) and doing such wonderful Execution with that Weapon: though 'tis the conjecture of no meaner a Man than (c) *Bochart*, that that Fable was borrow'd from this real Truth. I have not pretended to affirm that the Story of *Arion*, (which *Pliny* and *Ovid* relate) viz. That he being cast into the Deep by the Seamen of the Ship wherein he was, struck up with his Harp, and the Dolphins presently came about him, and he mounted upon one of their backs, and so escaped; that this Story, I say, was taken from the History of *Jonas*,

(a) *Iliad*. ζ. (b) *Judg.* 3. 31. (c) *De Sacr. Animal.* pars prior. l. 2. c. 39.

Jonas; though there is a very (a) considerable Writer, who makes no question of it, and to advance the belief of it, would have us observe, that *נביא* signifies both a *Minstrel* and a *Prophet*. If I had inserted into the Parallel of *Samson* and *Hercules*, that *Hercules's Pillars*, spoken of by Geographers, refer to the two Pillars of the House, which *Samson* took hold of and pull'd down, it might justly have been objected, that I stretch'd the Parallel too far; and yet I must tell you, that there are no contemptible Authors, (among whom *Vossius* is one) who have made one, a Reference to the other. I have purposely avoided such far-fetch'd Conceits, and have all along declin'd the suggestions of those Writers, who have let their imaginations run too high. This I consider'd, that among the Poets especially, there are many things which are the pure product of their Luxuriant Fancy, and have no ground at all in the things themselves. It is their way (as I have said before) to insert their own whimsies, to lard True Story with their own wild Conceits and Capricio's, which we must never mind; for they are only Poetick Flourishes, and therefore must not be thought to refer to any real thing. The fixing this on my mind, kept me from running into those Extravagancies, which some have been guilty of, whilst they imagined, that the Poets in all or most of the particulars, with which their Fables are stuffed, allude to so many express passages

(a) *Huet. Prepar. Evang.*

passages in True History. I attended to the main thing in their Writings, which I saw came so near to Scripture ; the rest I pass'd by, as meer Poetick Flash and Foolery, and not to be taken notice of. In short, I have always trod where there is some tolerable ground and footing ; and I have omitted several particulars which others insist upon, meerly because they have so sandy a bottom. So little Reason have any to blame me for indulging of Fancy, in this present undertaking, where I have endeavour'd in abundant instances to make it probable, that the *Pagans* borrowed from the Sacred Writings.

C H A P. VIII.

The Antiquity of the Writings of the Old Testament asserted. The way of communicating Scriptural Truths and Histories to the Pagans, viz. by the Commerce which the Jews had with other Nations; by their being dispers'd over all the World; by the Translation of the Bible into Greek; by the Travels of Philosophers and other Studious Men among the Heathens. How the Sacred Truths, but especially the Historical part of the Old Testament, came to be misunderstood and corrupted, viz. by the confusion of Tongues; by being Transmitted to Barbarous People; by length of time; by passing through many hands; by the Superstition and Idolatry of the Receivers; by the affectation of Mysteries and Abstrusities; by the Grecian Humour of Inventing and Romancing; by Mens being Timorous; by Ignorance of the Jewish Religion and Affairs; by an Averseness and Hatred to the Jews. It was thought by some dangerous, to insert the Holy Text into their Writings. What designs the Devil had in corrupting the Scripture, and mixing it with Falsities in the Books of the Pagans.

BUT notwithstanding all I have said, there are some who will by no means entertain this Discourse, but with great earnestness and violence

violence oppose it. I am obliged therefore in the next place, to fortifie it by Reason. I will discover to you the Foundations on which my Opinion is built, and give you a Rational Account, how it comes to pass, that the *Heathens* bear witness to the Old Testament. This I will do, first, by shewing you how they came by these Traditions and Truths: Secondly, whence, and how they disguis'd and corrupted them.

For the First, It is not likely the *Gentiles* could light on these things by Natural Reason, for those discoveries concerning the Creation, and the Paradisiacal State of Man, and the particular manner of his Fall, and several other things which I mention'd, are beyond Nature's Ken, they are not such things as fall within the cognizance of Men, as they are Rational Creatures; therefore they must be particularly Revealed to Mankind: And the Authentick Body of Divine Revealed Truth being the Bible, we cannot but infer, that those things were borrowed from that Sacred Volume. And as for Matters of Fact, relating to the Old Patriarchs, and other Eminent Men in former days, on which I have asserted, that many of the *Pagan* Stories and Fables depend, these were Recorded in those Sacred Books first of all, and therefore these Books are the Fountains from which the Heathens took these Relations. This Argument, I take to be unanswerable, namely, that the Old Testament is the First and Antientest Book that ever was extant, and therefore, when the *Pagan* Writers mention things in this Book, they took them thence, or from those Persons who had them out of these Writings. Here then it is necessary, to insist a little on the

Antiquity

Antiquity of this Holy Volume. That *Moses's* Writings were long before all others, is proved by several of the (a) Fathers of the Christian Church. You may reckon the Date of his Books to be about *A. M.* 2460, which was above 400 Years before the *Trojan War*, before which we do not hear of any Writers whatsoever: Yea, it was above a Thousand Years after it, that the Antientest Historian (unless you will reckon those Fabulous ones, *Dares Phrygius* and *Dios Cretensis*) appeared. Without controversie, *Moses* was the Oldest Historian either Natural or Ecclesiastical. The Antiquity of his Works is beyond all other Books; they all begin long after him. And as for some other Books of the Old Testament, they were before the Writings of any Heathens. To begin first with the Antientest Egyptian Writers, some tell us, that in *Moses's* time flourish'd those Excellent Philosophers, *Zoroastres*, and *Mercurius Trismegistus*; but when you come to Examine this, you find no less than four *Zoroastres's*, and to which of these the Writings are to be attributed, and what date they bear, is uncertain, so that we can conclude nothing there. There are also great Disputes about *Hermes or Trismegistus*, namely who he was, and when he lived, and at what time the Writings that go under his Name were written, and whether they be genuine. *Kircher* holds them to be such, but *Casaubon* attempts the contrary. His *Paradoxa* is quoted by *Justin Martyr*,

(a) *Tatianus*, *Tertullian*, *Clem. Alexandr.* *Just. Martyr.* *Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. 8. & 10.* *Cyril Alexandr. contra Julianum*, *Jul. Africanus.*

Martyr, Lactantius, and Augustin, and therefore Ancient: but his Antiquity cannot be proved to be equal with that of the Holy Writers. Manetho, or Manethos, who writ the *Egyptian History*, lived but in *Ptolomæus Philadelphus's* time. Then, for the *Phœnician Antiquities*, which *Sanchoniathon* writ in the *Phœnician Tongue*, and which *Philo Biblius* (who lived in *Adrian's* time) turn'd into *Greek*, (of which Version *Eusebius* hath preserv'd us a Famous Fragment) though *Scaliger* hath labour'd to prove them Supposititious, yet some others reckon them not as such, and particularly the Learned *Bochart* hath Commented upon them, as true and Genuine Writings. But as for the Antiquity of this *Phœnician Historian and Theologer*, though it may be acknowledged to be great, yet without question he was *Moses's* junior by many hundred years. And so was the Author of the *Babylonian or Chaldean Annals*; for *Berosus*, who is said to compile them, lived at the same time that *Manetho* did. And though perhaps *Frier Annius* hath imposed on the World by the Name of this Author, as (a) some think, and accordingly bring several Arguments to prove this new *Berosus* a Cheat, yet it doth not follow that the old one, of whom both *Josephus*, and *Eusebius* have preserv'd the fragments, was such. Some *Greek Writers* plead great Antiquity next; *Orpheus*, and *Musæus*, the Ancientest of them all, are said to have (b) Lived in *Gideon's* days, which was about 200 years

(a) *Ludovicus Vives, Melchior Canis, Raphael Volateranus.*
 (b) *Euseb. Chronic.*

years after *Moses*. And 200 years after this lived *Dares Phrygius*, and *Dictys Cretensis*, who wrote the *Trojan War*. And 100 years after this, *Homer* wrote his Poem, who Flourish'd not 'till at least 150 years after *David* the Divine Poet. This is observable, that the *Greeks*, as soon as they had gain'd any knowledge of Letters, and Arts, fell to inventing of incredible Stories, and writing of meer Fictions. Whence (a) *Eusebius* complains, that there were nothing but meer Fables in the *Greek Histories* (if they may be call'd Histories) before the beginning of the *Olympiads*, that Famous Greek Epoche, or Computation, which began from the Instauration of the *Olympick Games* by *Iphitus*; but when this was, is not very clear, for some say it was in the time of *Azariab* King of *Judah*, above two hundred years after the Death of *Solomon*, others say in the Reign of *Uzziah* King of *Judah*, *A. M.* 3173. Others fix it *A. M.* 3189, eight years before the Birth of *Romulus* and *Remus*, four hundred and seven years after the Destruction of *Troy*. Others place the *Olympiads* lower, about *A. M.* 3228, others *A. M.* 3256, about seven hundred and fifty years before Christ. *Varro's* Division of Times into *Unknown*, *Fabulous*, and *Historical*, the last of which he begins not 'till the *Greek Olympiads*, proves this very thing. The most Ancient *Greek Historians* were *Archiloeus*, *Aristeus*, *Proconnesius*, *Hecataeus Milesius*, *Charon Lampfacenus*, &c. but nothing of their Writings is preserved. *Herodotus* is the Ancientest *Greek Historian*.

(a) *Præp. Evang.* l. 10.

Historian we have extant, and therefore is called the Father of History: but he begins his Historical Relations but a little before the Prophetick Histories of *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, and *Daniel* make an end.

You will find this Argument prosecuted by (a) *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who shews that the Learning and Knowledge of the *Hebrews* was before that of the *Greeks*, as much as the *Jewish* Nation was before the Seven Wise Men, and the Sacred History before the *Argolick*. He shews that *Thales*, and *Solon*, two of their Wise Men, lived about the forty sixth, and the fiftieth *Olympiad*, and *Pythagoras* about the sixty second, than which the *Jews* were much older by the confession of *Philo Pythagoreus*, *Aristotulus Peripateticus*, and *Megasthenes*. He compares the Age of *Moses* with *Bacchus*, the Seven Wise Men, and some of the *Grecian* Gods, and proves that he was above six hundred years before any of these. He demonstrates from Chronological Computations, that *Haggai* and *Zachary* were Elder than *Pythagoras*, and that *Solomon* was much Seniouser to the Wise Men. And all this is in order to this, that the *Greeks*, (as well as the *Chaldeans* and *Egyptians*) had their Knowledge from the *Hebrews*, and not these from them. Seeing then that the Ancientest Pagan Writers are short of the Holy Scriptures, seeing all Authors and Writers are after *Moses* (for he indeed was before all the Great things that are in Pagan History, 400 years

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(a) *Strom.* lib. 1.

years before the *Trojan War*, which is the first starting of History with the *Greek* and *Roman* Authors. His *Laws* had the precedence of all others whatsoever; yea, the very name of *Law* was scarce extant at that time: in all *Homer* you can't find the word νόμος, they had no written Rules to direct their Manners by, the will of their Princes was the only Law,) since these things are thus, the Transcendant Antiquity of the Writings of the Old Testament is hence undeniably proved. These are the ancientest Memorials in the World, these are the oldest Monuments of Truth, and consequently the *Jews* were the first People that had these things set before them, and, as a consequent of that, all others took from them. From this comparing the Antiquity of Writers, it is clear that *Moses's* Laws and the Customs of the Patriarchs were not borrowed from the Pagans (as some have imagin'd,) but that the *Chaldeans*, *Phœnicians*, and *Egyptians*, yea, that the *Arabians* and *Persians* (as might have been shewn, and as the Learned Dr. *Stillingfleet*, now a worthy Prelate of our Church, hath proved in his Admirable Discourse on this Subject) and that the *Greeks* and *Latins* have derived their Mysteries from the *Hebrews*, and that all the Gentile Theologers borrowed their Great Truths from the Books of the Old Testament: for these being the ancientest and first Records, it is most reasonable to believe that those that came after them took from them, and that these Sacred Writings yielded matter to those others. This is the first Reason to prove that the

the Pagan Historians, Philosophers, and Poets were beholding to the Scriptures.

Secondly, I will prove it from the way of Communicating those Scriptural Truths and Histories to them. 1. This happen'd by reason of the Commerce which the Jews had with the Neighbouring Nations, Chaldeans, Phœnicians, Egyptians, and others. Especially in King Solomon's time there was a great Commerce between the Hebrews, and these latter: and then it is probable the Egyptians learnt many things of the Jews. As Solomon Married a Wife thence, so it is likely they affected some of the Rites and Manners of his People, and espoused their Customs and Usages, together with their Notions and Opinions. It must be remembred also, that the Chaldeans, Phœnicians, and Egyptians were the Nations which Greece Traded with, and so this Country had an opportunity of receiving the Jewish Traditions and Customs at the second hand: and hence it is that you have the footsteps of them so frequently in the Greek Authors, as well Poets as others. Nay, to speak more generally, Judea was very well situated for the propagating of Laws and Usages to all other Nations, for it was placed in that Climate of the World which was fit for this purpose, viz. in the middle of the then inhabited Earth: To which convenient situation perhaps the Psalmist refers, in Psal. 74. 12. *God worketh salvation in the midst of the Earth.* And so that of Ezekiel concerning Jerusalem; *I have set it in the midst of the Nations,* Ch. 5. v. 5.

276 *The Truth and Authority*

Secondly, A great part of the Hebrews being dispersed over all the World by Divine Providence, had an opportunity of Communicating these things to the *Gentiles*. The main Body of them were sent into *Assyria*, and *Babylon* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, where they had converse with those Strangers seventy years: and a part of them were carried at the same time into *Egypt* with *Jeremiah*. It is not to be doubted that they carried with them the Holy Writings which were then extant, and out of them they daily imparted the passages of the History of the *Creation of the World*, and *Noah's Flood*, and the *Propagation of Mankind*, and other the like particulars contained in those Books. Afterwards, when they were beaten by *Pompey*, and made Slaves, they were carried Captive into *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Greece*, *Rome*. Besides that, in the times of the *Maccabees* some had freely left their Country, and went into *Egypt* to make Proselytes there. When they were thus scattered into these Foreign Countries, it is no wonder that the People in these parts attain'd to some knowledge of the Sacred Books, and of the Traditions of the *Jews*. They must needs hear and learn something of those Matters, Conversing familiarly with the *Jews*.

3. The *Jewish* Notions and Customs might easily be Communicated to the *Gentiles*, seeing *Moses's* Writings were Translated into *Greek* in the time of the *Persian* Monarchy, if not before it (as (a) *Eusebius* reports from *Megasthenes*)

(a) *Præp. Evang. lib. 9. c. 3.*

thenes a Man well Skill'd in History, and who lived with *Seleucus*, as *Eusebius* in the same place affirms:) seeing there was a Greek Translation of a considerable part of the Old Testament before *Alexander* the Great's time, as (a) *Clemens* of *Alexandria* Testifieth. And accordingly *Demetrius Phalereus*, Library-Keeper to King *Ptolomeo*, Sirnamed *Philadelphus*, in an Epistle to him, which (b) *Eusebius* citeth, saith, that before the Septuagint Version many things were Translated out of the Bible. But this is most certain, and agreed to by all, that upon *Alexander* the Great his Conquests, the *Jews* and *Greeks* had converse with one another, and were no longer Strangers, being now United under the same Empire. And, as an effect of this, soon after *Alexander* the Great, all the Old Testament was entirely Translated into Greek by Seventy two *Jews*, whom the fore-said King of *Egypt* appointed for that purpose. Hence the knowledge of those things contained in the Sacred Writings could not but be communicated to the *Gentiles*.

4. This Communication was made by the Travels of Philosophers, and inquisitive Men among the *Pagans*. Of *Pythagoras* we are told by (c) *Laertius*, that "when he was young, and being very desirous to Learn, he left his Country, and was initiated into all the

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(a) *Strom.* lib. 1. (b) *Præp. Evang.* lib. 8. c. 3.
 (c) *In vit. Pythag.*

"Mysteries not only of the Greeks, but Barbarians. And particularly he testifies that he Travell'd into Egypt, and Chaldea. Of the same Philosopher it is asserted by Origen, Clemens the Alexandrian, Porphyry, and others, that he went into Chaldea in the time of the Captivity, where he had the opportunity of conversing with the Jews. Ludovicus Vives thinks that he Travel'd also into Egypt, and was acquainted with Jeremiah there. Mr. Selden likewise holds that he went and visited Judea, and there Convers'd with Ezekiel, with whom he was Contemporary, and learnt the Tetragrammaton, and other Mysteries of him. Concerning Plato, it was believ'd by many, saith (a) St. Augustin, that he took a journey into Egypt, and was there the Prophet Jeremiah's Auditor, and read the Prophetick Writings; and though this Father himself was not inclin'd (as he declares) to believe this, because he thinks that Philosopher was born after that time, yet he most readily assents to this, that he had many things from the Books of the Old Testament; and to prove this, (b) he citeth several passages out of that Heathen Writer. It is most evident to all that have convers'd with this Author's Writings, that there are sundry things in them above the strain of common Philosophy, as concerning the Creation of the World, the Formation of the First Man out of the Earth, the Innocent and Happy

(a) De Civ. Dei. l. 8. c. 11.

(b) De Doctrin. Christ. l. 2. c. 28.

Happy State of Mankind, the loss of that Primitive State, and the vile degeneracy of the Sons of Men, with many other Particulars which are fetch'd from the Sacred Writings. I might mention likewise how loftily he speaks of God, and his Nature, how admirably he Discourses of the Soul, how clearly he asserts a Future Life, and the Rewards and Punishments of another World, how feelingly he treats of Vertue and Goodness, how Divinely he writes concerning Religion, which he represents as Pure and Spiritual, and Purged from the Heathen Superstitions. This Sublime and Extraordinary Knowledge the Ancients think he gained by Travelling into Syria, Judea, and Egypt, and holding converse with those that understood the inspired Writings. And it is their Opinion, that though he Convers'd with some of the Jewish Nation, and imbibed their Sentiments, yet he carefully avoids mentioning their Name, because they were odious to other Nations, and consequently those structures of true Theology which are in his Works would have fared the worse for it. But though he would not speak this out plainly, yet he seems to utter it in a disguised manner: Perhaps he hinteth that he receiv'd those Notions from the Jews, when he mentions *Εβραίοι* and *Φοινίκιοι*, for the Syrians and Phœnicians, who were the Neighbouring People to Judea generally pass'd for Jews. That other Great Philosophers, as Solon, Democritus, Heraclitus, &c. Travel'd into Egypt, and Babylon, is testified by Diogenes Laertius in their Lives.

280 *The Truth and Authority*

The same is attested by (a) *Diodorus* concerning *Orpheus*, *Musæus*, *Homer*, *Lycurgus*, and other Wise *Grecians*, viz. That they went and visited those Foreign Parts, and thence came furnish'd with the Knowledge of those things which they had learnt in those Countries. The like is confirmed by the testimony of some (b) *Christian* Fathers, who also add that those Chief Philosophers of *Greece*, when they sojourn'd among the *Egyptians*, learn'd many things of their Priests, which they had from the Tradition of the *Jews* who had been among them: And there they perused the *Mosaick* Writings, which were of great account among some of them. Hence the Religion, Rites, and Practices Recorded in those Books were divulg'd and spread abroad in the World. Indeed it is very probable in the Nature of the thing it self that this would happen: for the *Jews* being a People so Renowned for Religion, and their Fame and Glory being every where Celebrated, it could not be but that foreign People, especially the most Philosophical and Inquisitive among them, should be desirous to confer with the Bible, or *Jewish* Authors, and to know their Laws, Ways, and Customs, and that whole Nations should be forward to imitate and make use of them. This is more than Prophetically intimated, in *Deut.* 4. 6. where 'tis said, that when the Nations shall hear all those Excellent Statutes given to the *Jews*, they

(a) *Lib. 2. Cap. ult.* (b) *Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 10. Cyril. Alexand. contra Julianum. l. 1.*

of the Holy Scriptures. 281

They shall say, surely this great Nation is a wise and understanding People. If the Pagans should so admire and value the Jewish Customs and Ceremonies, they would (as the consequent of that) imitate and practise them. Thus you have a Rational Account of the Consonancy of Pagan Writings and Customs to the Sacred Scriptures, you see how they were derived from these fountains.

In the next place, I am to enquire, *how the Scriptural Stories and Truths came to be corrupted; whence it is, that they are mixed with Obscurity and Falsity in the Writings of the Pagans, how it comes to pass, that one thing is put for another, and that it is so hard oftentimes to understand what they deliver. I will give you an Account of this, in these following particulars,*

1. The confusion of Languages did not a little contribute to these Mistakes, Corruptions and Falsities. When the World was of one Tongue, the notices of things which were imparted by Speech, were very clear and intelligible; when they all joyn'd in one Language, they could easily apprehend one another, and there could arise no mistakes, by Ambiguity in the variety of words. But upon confounding the first Language, and dividing it into many, there follow'd a great disorder among Mankind, for then it became difficult to understand one another. The Words being confused, the Conceptions and Things which were convey'd to Men by those words, were also confused, obscure, and uncertain. The variety and multiplicity of Words, begot mistakes

stakes and confusions ; among so many millions of words, it was impossible, but that there should be a great many ambiguous and equivocal, and thence the Phrases, Sentences, and Speeches, must needs be so too. This is one Reason, why the Sacred Truths of Scripture were corrupted, when they came into the Hands of the Heathens. The *Eastern* words and forms of speaking, were misunderstood by the *Grecians* ; the *Hebrew* Dialect and Idiom were mistaken by the People of another Language and Country : The Oriental Expressions were misinterpreted by the *Europeans*, who were Strangers to the literal and proper Sense of them. Hence arose Fables, Fancies, and groundless Conceits, which they mixed with the Spiritual Verities, and almost defaced and extinguished them.

2. The Sacred History of Scripture, and the Traditions of the First Ages of the World, were easily corrupted, because they were Transmitted to Ignorant and Barbarous People. God was pleas'd not to vouchsafe that Light and Knowledge to the *Gentiles*, which he bestowed on his own People, but he thought fit to leave them in that darkness and blindness, which their gross Sins had brought them to, and which were now become the just Punishment of them. Many of them were so besotted, that when they heard of those Holy and Mysterious Truths, they were not able to bear them, they could not apprehend the true meaning and import of them. But because some of them, who were the most Contemplative, would be exercising themselves about

about them, they resolved to make something of them, or out of them : And accordingly, when they committed them to Writing, they applied them to some Person or Thing, which was known and famous among them; and thus an Historical passage in Holy Scripture, became a Story of their own, or a Divine Truth was turn'd into a Fable. By this means, the things which they borrowed from the Word of God, came to be Depraved and Disguised.

3. The long tract of Time and diversity of years, have partly introduced this corruption and alteration. For length of time blotted out some of the former Accounts, and defaced the Memoirs of things. The Antient Names of several Persons and Places are worn out, and others (quite different from them) are used in their stead. The true Original, Occasion, and Meaning of many things were forgotten, and in place of them, New, but False Relations, crept in. Then came to pass at last, (when the right Notions of things were worn out) that Men of Poetry and Invention, thrust upon silly People their own Fancies and Conceits, and persuaded them to accept of the most unlikely Stories for Truth.

4. The Historical passages of Scripture, and the strange Events which hapned among the Jews, being spread abroad, and passing through many Hands, or rather Mouths, could not but for that Reason be corrupted. By the great diversity of Relators they were changed, some adding to them, and others diminishing them,

so that at the last, they were quite different from what they were at first.

5. As Superstition and Idolatry increased, the greater Corruptions there were of True History, Men making that to Administer to their Idolatrous Worship. So that in those Countries, especially where there were the fiercest Bigots for the Pagan Devotion, there was alwaies a more plentiful coyning of these Fables, under which were hid very useful Truths, taken out of the Old Testament.

6. This must be added, that it was the Custom of the Antient Pagans, to wrap up their Notions in *obscure* and *dark Terms*, and to represent them in an *Ænigmatical* way. (a) *Origen* thinks *Plato* in one of his pieces, hath something of that *Paradise*, which *Moses* in the beginning of his Writings speaks of, and he gives this Reason why he thinks so, *viz.* because it is *Plato's* usual way to describe things obscurely, and to disguise the greatest and most excellent Verities, under the vail of Mysteries and Fables. And this was the guise of others, besides *Plato*, especially of the Pagan Poets; they affected obscurity and difficulty of Stile; whence sprang several of the Fabulous Histories of the Gods, and other odd passages in their Writings. And so, when they took some things of moment from Scripture, or from those who were acquainted with those
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(a) *Contr. Cels.* lib. 4.

Sacred Records, they cloath'd them with their dark and Mystical Expressions, in so much, that it was hard to know whence they had them.

7. The *Grecian* Humour, was to *Invent* and *Romance*; their Poets especially (who were their first Writers) were famous for this. They abused, mangled, jumbled, and confounded the Stories in Holy Writ, they turn'd those Sacred Things, into Magical Pranks sometimes, and from the Names of Holy Persons spoken of in the Old Testament, they took occasion to invent new Deities, and shape new Gods. Their frequent practice was to piece out Scripture with their own Fancies, and to add something of their own heads. This is owing to the *Greek* Vanity, it is to be ascribed to the Levity and Capriciousness of these Fabulous Men, whose very Genius led them to affect Banter and Fictions. The Poets dealt with Sacred History, as the Legendaries do with the Lives of Saints; they have some general ground for what they say, but they make plentiful additions to it; there is perhaps something of Truth at bottom, but then you have their own Inventions besides. Thus the *Grecian* Writers counterfeited all along the shape of Real Truths, in most of their Fables, there was a medly of Falshood and Truth together.

8. This is also certain, that the Pagan Philosophers, did out of fear sometimes disguise the Notions of Truth, which they received from Scripture. *Plato*, saith *Justin the Martyr*, had learnt in *Egypt* the True Doctrine concerning God,

286 *The Truth and Authority*

God, One only God, with several other Sacred Truths, but, lest some *Melitus* or *Anytus* should Accuse him, he would not divulge them to the People: For fear of incurring *Socrates*' Misfortune, he either conceal'd or disguis'd all. He dreaded the Poysonous Cup, and so would not discover those Sacred Things, but rather chose to lap them up in Poetick Conceits and Fables, in Mysteries and Riddles, which his Writings are full of. And this it is likely was the Case of other Philosophers and Writers among the *Gentiles*, they were Timorous, and dared not Transgress the Publick Laws, and incur the punishment due to Innovators in Religion; and therefore they spoke ambiguously and obscurely, and corrupted those Truths which they had received from the Holy Fountains.

9. Some out of meer Ignorance of the Jewish Religion and Affairs, misrepresent and corrupt those things. This is seen plainly in *Strabo*, and *Diodorus* the *Sicilian*, who (as was hinted afore) make the *Jews* to be *Egyptians*, and (a) *Strabo* particularly saith of *Moses*, that he was an *Egyptian* Priest. So *Herodotus*, because the *Hobrews* had lived among the *Egyptians*, saith those things of the former, which belong to the latter, and so perhaps, *vice versa*. I remember he particularly saith, that (b) Circumcision was first of all used among the *Ethyopians* and *Egyptians*, and from them went to the *Phanicians* and

(a) *Lib. 16.* (b) *Lib. 2. cap. 36. & 104.*

and Syrians, and thence some thought *Abraham* receiv'd this Rite, and commended it to his Posterity. It is as easie to observe, how grossly the *Latin* Writers were mistaken; it was a common thing with them to confound *Jews* and *Christians*, and to make no distinction between them, as I have shew'd on another occasion. (c) *Tacitus's* description of the Nation and Religion of the *Jews*, together with the Original of them, shews that that Excellent Historian, was extremely ignorant of the Affairs of that People. They were at first call'd *Idæi*, saith he, from the Mount *Ida*, and afterward by an addition of a Letter, they had the Name of *Judæi*. Their Sabbath was Consecrated to *Saturn*, he saith; and many such false and fabulous passages are to be found in the Account which he gives of them. So *Justin* shamefully errs in several things belonging to the *Jewish* History; he makes *Abraham* the third King of the *Jews*, *Israel* the Fourth, *Joseph* the Fifth, and *Moses* (whom he reckons to be *Joseph's* Son) the Sixth. In his whole Thirty Sixth Book, where he describes the Original and Increase of the *Jewish* Nation, he hath almost as many mistakes, as words. The rest of the Pagan Historians exceedingly mistake, when they Treat of that People, because they did not rightly inform themselves, and endeavour to have a perfect Account of the *Jewish* Matters. Thus *Josephus* himself excuses in part the Heathen Writers, when they

(c) *Hist. lib. 5.*

288 *The Truth and Authority*

they speak of things done in *Judea*, imputing their Errors to want of Knowledge and Information. Yea, he wonders not that the *Jewish* Nation was not known to some of them, and that they write not a word of it; for the most diligent Historians, (a) saith he, were ignorant of *France* and *Spain*; and he instances in *Ephorus*, who he observes had so little knowledge of *Spain*, that he took it for one single City, and no more. We might observe likewise, that little or nothing is mention'd of this our Isle of *Britain*, either by *Greek* or *Roman* Historians, before *Cæsar's* Commentaries. And in the same place he takes notice, that neither *Herodotus* nor *Thucydides*, nor any that were of that Age make mention of *Rome*, although it had been in great power a long time, and had waged so many Wars. He adds, that *all Things of the Greeks are new, and of yesterday*, giving this as one Reason, why the *Greek* Historians make no mention of the *Jewish* Affairs. They were themselves but upstarts in respect of the *Jews*. But though they knew but little of them, yet they feigned many things, and represented them as they pleas'd. Especially their Poets, who were very ignorant of the *Jewish* Institution, and of the true meaning of the most things which they had from those of that Nation, or from their Books, yet took the liberty to invent and add, and to mingle their own Conceits and Fancies, with that

(a) *Contr. Apionem. l. i.*

that little which they had heard or knew of them.

10. Some, if not most of the *Heathens*, out of *Averseness* and *Hatred* to the *Jews*, perverted those things which had any Relation to that People. This was a Nation that was separated from all others, and was different from, not to say contrary to, the rest of the World in many things; wherefore they grew odious and detestable, and the Pagans wilfully Misrepresented and Traduced them, and delighted to load them with all sorts of Calumnies. All Writers bandied against the *Jews* and *Christians*, they were all in League against these, however they disagreed among themselves. Hence it is, that when-ever they present their Readers with any thing concerning them, they generally shew that Ill-Will which they bore to them. Thus *Manethon* the *Egyptian* Historian, though he hath many things that agree with what the Scripture saith of the *Jews*, yet he mis-represents several particulars, and adds others in disgrace of *Moses* and the *Israelites*. And indeed from *Egypt* was the rise of those Malicious Calumnies against them, for the People of that Nation were sensible of, and retain'd in their Minds the many *Plagues* that were inflicted on them for their sakes, and the last Mortal Farewel in the *Red-Sea*, and they expressed their implacable prejudice against them, by reproaching them, and they taught others to do so too. Thus (a) *Justin*

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(a) *Hist. lib. 36.*

(or rather *Trogus Pompeius*, whom he Epitomizes) tells us, that the *Jews* were expell'd *Egypt*, because God had Reveal'd to the *Egyptians*, that the Plague which then raged among them, could by no other way be allay'd, than by that Nation's being turn'd out. *Diodorus the Sicilian*, and (a) *Tacitus* write, that the *Jews* were thrust out of *Egypt* by the Inhabitants, because they were Scabby and Leprous. *Apion*, with a detestable Impudence, rails against this People, and, out of meer malice, invents and forges Lies to disgrace them. He not only repeats the foresaid Calumny, viz. That they were expell'd out of that Country, because their Bodies were over-run with Leprosie, but he adds several others, and miserably perverts the History of *Moses*. (b) *Pliny* avoucheth, that *Moses* was a Magician; and (c) *Strabo* reckons him among Astrologers and Diviners. So *Joseph* is said to have been skill'd in (d) Magick Arts. Though perhaps it might proceed from Ignorance only, that some of the Pagan Historians reckon these in the number of *Magicians*, for they had heard of what wonderful things these Great Men had done in *Egypt*; the one, when he grappled with the *Egyptian* Sorcerers, the other, in Interpreting of Dreams, and they concluded they were effected by *Magick*; accordingly, they represented them as Persons of that Character. But even

(a) *Hist. lib. 5.* (b) *Nat. Hist. l. 30, c. 1.* (c) *Lib. 16.*
 (d) *Justin. Hist. l. 38, c. 2.*

even the mistakes of these *Gentile* Writers, concerning them and others, shew, that they had heard of such Men, and the things they did; and they are a Testimony of the reality of the History in general. Then, as for the Pagan *Poets*, the same prejudice and Hatred reigned in them, and discover'd themselves in Lies and fictions about the *Jews*, and what is related concerning them in the Old Testament. When they refer to any passage in the Sacred Story, they maliciously defile it with their own Inventions; they distort and falsly deliver the circumstances, and they blend it so with their own ridiculous Fancies, that they turn it into a fable.

Again, if we may give credit to (a) *Demetrius Phalereus*, (Library-Keeper to King *Ptolemy*, and who was the Man that first excited him to promote that notable work, of Translating the Old Testament into *Greek*) there was this Notion among the Pagan Writers, that this Holy Book was not to be prophanelly handled, nor the Matters of it made common by every one that undertook to write; yea, that the inserting of them into their Writings, was a gross Prophaning of them, and had met with a suitable punishment. Thus, one *Theopompus*, who had inserted some passages of the Bible into his Writings, was struck with Madness; and

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(a) *Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. 12. c. 2.*

292 *The Truth and Authority*

another named *Theodectes*, who made use of some place of Scripture, in a Tragedy of his, was almost deprived of his sight for it; but the former, when he was made sensible of his fault, was restor'd to a right Mind again, and the latter, upon acknowledging the like Offence, recover'd his Eye-sight. This was related, *saith Josephus*, to King *Ptolomee* by the foresaid *Demetrius*, a very serious Man, and it was assigned as a Reason, why the Contents of these Sacred Writings, which were so Divine and Admirable, were but rarely mention'd by the Historians and Poets. These Examples had struck a terrour into some of them; having heard how some Prophaners of these Holy Things, were Animadverted upon, by a Divine Hand, they were afraid to Record any passages in the Old Testament. Therefore, some of them chose rather, to disguise the Sacred Stories, and to stuff them with Fabulous Narrations, that they might scarcely be known, to have been borrowed from that Holy Book.

Lastly, the Devil hath a design in all this. *Tertulian's* (a) Words are remarkable; when he had said that *the Things which are contrary to Truth*, (i.e. the Heathen Fables, Rites and Usages) *are made out of the Truth* (i. e. the Holy Scriptures) *be fur-*
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(a) *Omnia adversus veritatem de ipsa veritate constructa sunt, operantibus simulationem istam spiritibus Erroris. Apology cap. 47.*

her adds, that this Imitating of the Truth, is wrought by the Spirits of Error, that is, the Devils, who affect sometimes to Ape God and what he doth. This is most apparent, that they are a Mimical sort of Creatures, and shew themselves sometimes diligent Emulators of the most Holy Persons and Things. Their great Subtilty and Craft, are to be discern'd here, for when they brought the Hebrew Rites and Ceremonies of Gods own appointment, into the Heathen Worship and Service, they did this to Prophane them, and to make them contemptible and ridiculous. They did it, that those Divine and Sacred Things might be despised, and that they might be turn'd into Superstition and Idolatry. So likewise, they cunningly mixed something of Sacred Truth with Fables, that thereby they might make the things that are True to be suspected. Satan is desirous to pervert and even erase the whole Sacred Scripture and Antient Truth, but because he sees he cannot effect this, he therefore contrives how he may disguise the Scripture-Stories, he sets the Poets to work to make them into Fables, and thinks by that means to take off our Esteem of those Inspired Writings, and to diminish that Credit which we ought to give to those Sacred Truths. He pushed on those Grecian Wits, to obscure and deface the Old Names in Scripture, that the Original of them might not be known. He out of direct Malice, moved those fanciful Men to invent Fables, to defame the Primitive Stories, to blemish the Sacred History, to obscure and pervert the Truth. The Poets turning the

Scriptures into Fabulous Narrations, was the way to invalidate the Testimony of them, and to make them seem a meer Poetick Fiction, a Dream, a Fancie, that hath no real bottom. It is no wonder then, that the Devil impudently Fancies, and assisted their Inventions, and help'd them to change the Truth into a Lie, that thereby he might rob God and the Scripture of their Honour. This, I say, might be a device of that Evil Spirit, (as he hath Devices and Wiles of all sorts) to elude the Authority of Sacred History, and to take away the Credit of Divine Truth.

Again, as that Crafty Spirit designs by this means to disparage, yea, to null the Truth, so he thinks hereby to gain assent to Falshood, and to promote the greatest Impiety imaginable; for when Truth is mixed with Falshood, he hopes that this latter will be entertain'd for the sake of the former. And when Lewd and Vicious Practices, are founded in those that are Innocent and Religious, he expects, that these should justifie those. Perhaps, when he added the Sacred Ceremonies of the *Jews*, to the profane Worship of the *Gentiles*, he thought thereby, to take away the difference between them, and to render them alike; so that Men should not be able to distinguish, between a True and False way of Worship.

Thirdly, the Devil's Design in introducing several Sacred Rites and Customs, into the practice of the *Heathens*, was to conciliate

to himself a greater Authority and Esteem, a greater Glory and Repute among them. He commends those things to the Pagans which were Religiously used, and even by God's own People, and prescrib'd by God himself; this he doth to inveigle the Pagan World, and to bring them to Admire and Worship him.

Wherefore, an Answer may easily be return'd to that *Objection*, of a late Learned Writer, (u) "What advantage can the Devil have by his imitating the Divine Worship? He ever Acts for some end that may be profitable to himself; but how can this prove so, seeing it "would be more advantageous to him, to institute a Worship and Ceremonies, that are "Diametrically contrary to those in the Divine "Law, that by those, as by so many proper "and peculiar Characters, his Herd might be "distinguished from the Flock of the Shepherd "of Israel. The Answer, I say, to this, is very easie and obvious, for there can be nothing more *Advantageous* to that Evil Spirit, than his *emulating* of Divine Worship, and appointing Ceremonies suitable to it, for by this means, his Kingdom is most sensibly advanced, and that with the greatest Artifice and Craft imaginable, because this Vile Fiend is Adored, even whilst the

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(u) Dr. Spencer, de Legib. Hebræorum lib. 3. cap. 12. Dissert. 1.

Divine Worship of the True God seems to be carried on. It was the Subtilty of this Great Mimick, to approach as near to God and True Religion, as he could, to make use of those things, which by God's own expresse Command were used in his Worship. This is a cunning way of gaining Profelytes, and increasing the number of his Worshippers. Thus he Acts for some *End*, and that a very *Profitable* one too; certainly much more Profitable to him, than if he had Instituted *Proper* and *Peculiar Ceremonies* of Worship, for these would too palpably have *distinguish'd his Herd*, from the *True Flock*; whereas, those bring them into a kind of Rivalty with it. Besides, this fond Emulation in the Devil, is a gratifying of his first Proud Inclination, and aspiring to be like God. He is still Ambitious of Divine Honour, otherwise certainly, he would not have desired to be Worship'd by the Son of God himself. And he would be Worshipp'd in the *same way*, that God is, with the same Signs and Badges of Adoration. Hence most of those Sacred Rites enjoyned by God himself, and made use of, in his Worship by the *Jewish Church*, were transferred by Sathan to his Idolatrous and Impious Worship. This is the effect of his Haughty Spirit, which thirsteth after Divine Honour, even such as is given to the only True God.

Thus I have amply shew'd you, how it came to pass, that the Rites and Practices, and the greatest Truths contained in the Holy Scripture, were corrupted, disguised, misapplied, and

of the Holy Scriptures. 297

and abused by the Pagans. I have given you the Reasons and Arguments which may convince you of this, and render you an account of the manner of it.

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CHAP. IX.

The Author's Assertions Confirmed by the ample Suffrage of the Ancients and Moderns. Conjectaries drawn from the whole, viz. That we cannot with any shew of Reason admit of the Opinion of those who hold that the Jews borrow'd all or most of their Religious Rites from the Gentiles: That from what hath been premised, we may take notice of, and admire the singular Providence of Heaven: That we are ascertain'd of the Antiquity, Reasonableness, and Certainty of our Religion: That we are reconcil'd to the Writings of Prophane Authors: That we are assured of the Truth and Authority of the Scriptures of the Old Testament.

I Will now add unto Reason and Evidence the Suffrage of the Learned and Wise, whether Ancients or Moderns. It was averr'd long since by Demetrius Phalereus, that Great Historian and Philosopher, in an Epistle of his to King Ptolomey, that the Gentile Philosophers took many things from the Holy Scriptures, as you will find him cited by Eusebius in his Evangelical Preparation. This is an early Testimony to the truth of what I have asserted: By this it appears, that the Notion which I have

have offered, is above two thousand years Old. (a) *Josephus*, the Learned Jew, who lived about half a thousand years after, attests the same, and professedly proves that both *Philosophers and Poets borrowed from the Sacred Fountains of Scripture*. This is abundantly testified by the Christian Fathers, as *Tatianus*, who hath a set (b) Oration on this Subject, that what Learning the *Greeks* gloried in, was received all of it from the *Barbarians*, (as they call'd the *Jews*) (c) *Teophylus* Bishop of *Antioch* (who lived likewise in the Second Century) asserts this in defence of Christianity, proving that whatever the Pagan Poets writ of Hell, and the pains of it, and several other Subjects in Divinity, was stolen from the Writings of the inspired Prophets; and that the Christian Doctrine, which is in a great part taken from them, is the Ancientest Religion. (d) *Justin* the Christian Philosopher and Martyr speaks to the like purpose, and proves that all the true Notions in Theology among the Pagans, sprang from *Moses*, and the Holy Writings, and he instanceth in, and enlargeth on many Particulars, shewing that *Orpheus*, *Homer*, and *Plato*, had several of their Words, Phrases, Opinions, Traditions, Descriptions from the Prophetick Writings. He maintains, that the Fables of *Bacchus*, *Hercules*, *Æsculapius*, &c. were made out of the

depraved

(a) *Contra Apionem*. (b) *Ad Gentiles*. (c) *Ad Autoly.*
lib. 2. (d) *Paranef. ad Græcos*. Apolog. 2. pro. Chri-
stianis.

depraved sense and meaning of the Holy Writ. At another time he pursueth the same Argument, and attempts to demonstrate, that all the Great and Brave things in the Philosophers and Poets Writings are from the Holy Book. *Clement of Alexandria* is very copious on this Theme: The Scope of the first Book of his *Stromata*, is to shew, that the Philosophy of the *Hebrews* was many Generations older than that of the *Gentiles*; and in prosecution of this, he endeavours to evince (a) that the Opinions of the Greek Philosophers and others, were taken from Moses, and other Hebrews. And in the Second Book of his *Stromata*, he farther insisteth on this Subject, and proves, that the *Greeks* were Notorious (b) Plagiaries, and stole their Philosophy from the Barbarians: And so he goes on in the following Books to prove, that all the good Notions among the *Greeks* came from the *Hebrews*, that whatever Excellent Truths the former taught, they had from the latter, they Sacrilegiously took them from the Holy Patriarchs and *Jews*. This is the sense of the forty seventh Chapter of *Tertullian's Apologetick*, he there maintains that (c) both Poets and Philosophers were beholding to the Prophets, and derived all their best things

(a) πᾶρ Ἑβραίων τὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐσκευωρήθη διγμῶτα.

(b) κλέπτει τῆς βαρβάρου φιλοσοφίας.

(c) Quis Poetarum, quis Sophistarum qui non omnino de Prophetarum fonte potaverit?

things from them. Yea, (a) those very Arguments which the *Pagans* bring against the Christian Truth, are fetch'd from it, as I observ'd from him before. I have mention'd *Origen* already, but if you consult his Fourth Book against *Celsus*, you will find this more largely asserted, viz. That the Pagan Rites and Stories were taken from the Scriptures. *Eusebius* likewise hath been quoted before, but if the Reader think good to peruse the Author, he will see this Argument insisted on in (b) four or five Books together, where he proves that the *Greeks* had some understanding of *Moses's* Theology, and follow'd the *Jewish* Writers in several things, which he makes good by alledging several passages out of *Theophrastus*, *Hecataeus*, *Porphyrus*, *Numenius*, *Megasthenes*, &c. And afterwards he goes on, and more designedly clears this Proposition, that what is good in the Writings of the Gentile Philosophers, is all stoln from the *Hebrews*, and that the Wisdom of the *Greeks* especially came from the *Jews*. I might add the Testimony of (c) *St. Augustin*, who shews that the *Platonists* borrowed from the Scripture: And of (d) *Theodoret* who agrees with him in this, and farther proves that other Philosophers had their Theologick Notions from *Moses*,

(a) Omnia adversus veritatem de ipsa veritate constructa sunt. (b) *Præp. Evang. lib. 9, 10, 11, 12, & 13. partim.* (c) *De Doctr. Christian. lib. 2.* (d) *De Cur. Græc. affect. Serm. 2. de Principiis.*

Moses, and the Prophets. Thus we see this is an Old and Received Truth.

Nor doth it want the Suffrage of the most learned Modern Writers, some of whom, without any order of time, I will briefly mention. *Stuckius* is very plain and peremptory, and speaks the Sum of what we have delivered in the preceeding Discourse, (a) "The whole Religion of the Old Pagans (saith he) proceeded from a depraved, perverse, and preposterous kind of imitating that Ancient and truly Divine Religion which the Patriarchs and their posterity the Jews had such a reverence for, as being prescribed them by God himself.

Vallapandus on the *Pentateuch* professedly declares, that the Sacrifices and other Usages among the *Gentiles*, came from the *Jews*. "Who can deny, saith (b) another, that the Laws which were given to those Holy Men the *Hebrews*, came first to the *Egyptians*, and then out of *Egypt* went to *Greece*? The (c) Elder *Vossius* hath in almost innumerable places asserted this, that the *Gentiles* made a great number of their Fables out of the Histories which are in the Sacred Writings; (d) *Bochart* hath with great Wit and Learning traced and discovered the footsteps of Scripture-History among the Heathens in their Mytho-

(a) *Tota gentium antiquarum religio profecta fuit ex* *Hebraeis, &c.* De Sacrif. Gent. (b) *Natal. Comes,* Mytholog. lib. ult. (c) *De Theolog. Gentili.* (d) *Geograph. Sacra, & De Animal S. Scriptura.*

304 *The Truth and Authority*

Mythology. It is the Opinion of “(a) *Marcus*
 “*Marinus*, that the Theological Sentiments
 “concerning Divine Things, were the same a-
 “mong all the Ancient *Hebrews* and Patriarchs,
 “but afterwards they were depraved by the
 “*Greeks*, and Converted into Fables. (b) *Lewis*
 “*Capell* hath these exprefs words, In the Old
 “Fables of the *Greeks* you may perceive some
 “shadow and Image, some dark and flying
 “footsteps as ’twere of several of the Hi-
 “stories in the Bible: Which might be de-
 “monstrated by a manifold induction of par-
 “ticulars. It is the declar’d judgment of
 “(c) another, that the *Gentiles* were wont to
 “transferr the more remarkable Histories of
 “the Old Testament, and the Divine Mira-
 “cles related therein, to their false Gods:
 “And he instances in several. And because I
 have asserted in the foregoing Discourse, that
 the Sacred Mysteries and Rites of God’s own
 appointment have been prophaned and abused
 even to *Magical* purposes, I will adjoyn here
 the Testimony of (d) *Petrus Crinitus*, who
 “expresly tells us, that the *Egyptians* and o-
 “thers, made and invented Magical Ceremo-
 “nies out of the Sacred Rites and Observan-
 “ces of the *Jews*, and that they were wholly
 “indebted to these for them.

Kircher,

(a) *Arca Noz.* (b) *Diatribos de Voto Jephth.*
 (c) *Jacob. Tirinus* in *Vet. & N. Test.* (d) *De honesta*
disciplina. 9. 5.

Kircher, and Isaac Vossius have done their part in this Subject, but Huetius in his *Evangelical Demonstration* hath out-done them, and most that have writ on it. Among our own Countrymen, these deservedly are to be numbered, viz. Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who among several other passages hath these Remarkable words; (a) "The Heathens did greatly enrich their Inventions, by venting the stolen Treasures of Divine Letters, alter'd by Prophanè Additions, and disguis'd by Poetical Conversions, as if they had been conceived out of their own Speculations. Next to this Worthy Knight the Famous (b) Mr. *Selden* may be mention'd, who avers, that the most impious Customs among the Gentiles had their Original from Scripture-History, which he confirms by several Examples. You will find the Reverend (c) Bishop *Montague* (though his Author's Adversary in another point) agreeing with him in this. "The Heathens saith he, of Old, made use of many things which were taken from the Divine Polity in the Old Testament, but were afterwards cloak'd and disguis'd by the Malice and Fraud of the Devil. The Judicious Dr. *Jackson* hath two distinct Chapters of the Gentile Stories and Fictions being borrowed from the Bible. I will mention a passage or

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two

(a) History of the World, Chap. 3. Sect. 3.
 (b) De Div. Syr. Proleg. (c) Diatrib. Anti-Bellarmin.
 li.

two out of some other places of his Works,
 “ (a) If *Moses* (saith he) was forty days in
 “ the Mount to receive Laws from Gods own
 “ mouth, *Minos* will be *Jupiter’s* Auditor in
 “ his Den or Cave for the same purpose. In
 “ emulation of *Shiloh*, or *Kirjath-jearim*, whilst
 “ the Ark of God remained there, the Hea-
 “ thens had *Dodona* : And for *Jerusalem*
 “ they had *Delphi*, garnish’d with rich Dona-
 “ tives, as if it had been the intended paral-
 “ lel of the Holy City.

And he hath these remarkable words in the
 same place, “ Any Judicious Man, from the
 “ continual and serious observation of this
 “ great Register of Truth (he means the Scrip-
 “ tures) may find out the Original of all the
 “ principal Heads, or Common places of Poeti-
 “ cal Fictions, or Ancient Traditions, which
 “ cannot be imagin’d should ever have come
 “ into Man’s fancy, unless from the imitation
 “ of the Historical Truth. A Worthy Pre-
 late, whom I have already Named hath given
 us his suffrage most freely in this cause, and
 hath undertaken to defend it in the close of
 his *Origines Sacrae*. I could produce half a
 hundred more Authors of good Note and
 Learning, but I forbear, because I have done
 sufficiently. From these I have quoted, you
 may see that what I have maintained in this
 Discourse is no idle fancy, no notion taken
 up by shallow Heads, but that the deepest Judg-
 ments

ments, the most Judicious and Impartial Pens have adopted it for a Truth. We have it upon the Authority of all these Excellent Persons, and many more in former, in later, and even in our present times, as well as upon the plain Evidences, Reasons, and Arguments before alledged, that the Ancient Philosophers and Poets borrowed from the Bible, that many of the Gentile Fables are founded on the most Sacred Verities, that the Scripture is the Source and fountain from whence many of their Opinions, Customs, and Practices sprang, that most of the Gentile Theology arose from the mistaken and depraved sense of the Holy Writings of the Old Testament.

From the whole let me offer these three or four Confectaries. 1: We cannot with any shew of Reason admit of that Opinion which holds that the *Jews* borrowed all or most of their Religious Rites and Ceremonies from the Gentiles. This, though it bids defiance to that *Reason* and *Testimony* which I have produced, hath had some Abbettors and Patrons. Thus (a) *Origen* acquaints us that *Celsus* stily maintain'd that the *Mosaick* History was borrowed from the Fables of Heathens. And with him other Heathens at

X 2

that

(a) *Con. Cels.* l. 4.

308 *The Truth and Authority*

that time concurred; and, to defend their Idolatrous Traditions and Usages, asserted that Scripture History was a corruption of some of their Fables. The Story of the Flood they said was taken from *Deucalion*, and *Paradise* from *Alcinous's Gardens*, and the *Burning of Sodom and Gomorrah* from *Phaeton's* setting the World on fire, &c. But *Origen* shews the absurdity of these allegations, from the Antiquity of those Relations in Sacred Scripture, and thence proves that the *Greeks* had these from the *Jews*, and not on the contrary. He makes it evident that the *Jewish* Nation had the Original Traditions, and that others were corrupted and changed from these by the Heathens. This Pagan Conceit, which was taken up on purpose as an evasion against Christianity, is revived by some Writers of late, but by none more designedly and industriously carried on and improved than by a late Learned Man of our own, who hath delivered such admirable and choicest things on occasion of pursuing this subject, and hath shewed himself so Great a Master of all kinds of Literature, that we can scarcely be displeas'd with his Notion that he is at the head of all. I will not pretend to enter the Lists with this Great Champion, being conscious to my own inabilities, but this I will do, I will set some Great Man upon him (though I have partly done it already) and leave him to grapple with them. *Josephus* the Learned Jew, was a Competent Judge in this matter, *viz.* Whether the *Jews* borrow'd

their borrow'd their Sacred and Religious Rites from the Gentiles, or whether (on the contrary) these borrow'd from them. Let us hear what he saith, (a) "There hath been a long time, saith he, among most Nations a great Zeal and Emulation towards our way of Religion and Worship. There is not a City among the *Greeks*, or *Barbarians*, yea, not any Nation which hath not received from us the Custom of Resting on the Seventh day, and of Fasting, and of Lighting up of Candles. And several things which relate to Meats forbidden us by our Law, are also observed by Foreign Nations. Here this Knowing Person acquaints us that the *Gentiles* were followers of the *Jews*, not the other way; and particularly mentions some Rites which they receiv'd from them. With this agrees what two considerable (b) *Rabbies* have said, viz. "Our Law is the Law of Truth, and all Nations glory in it, and every one of them hath taken a Branch from our Law, and in it they glory: For the Laws that are among the *Gentiles*, are as it were Branches cut off from our Law. Whence it undeniably follows, that the *Jewish* Laws and Ceremonies were not taken from those of the Pagans.

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Christians

(a) ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΝ ἡδὲ νομὰς ζῆλον, &c. *Coar. Apian*, l. 2.
 (b) *R. Himmam*, and *R. Solomon*.

Christians agree in this with the Jews. Thus *Justin Martyr*, in his *Dialogue* with a Jew, expressly declares, that as Circumcision had its Original from *Abraham*, so the Sabbath, and Sacrifices, and Offerings, and Feasts had theirs from *Moses*, and not from the Gentiles. And *Tertullian*, speaking of the Devil's seducing and perverting of *Hereticks*, tells us, that he doth the like also among the Pagans, for (a) he apes the most Sacred and Divine things even in the Idolatrous and Mystrious Worship of the Gentiles, and makes use of them therein to prophane and impious purposes. This hath been the general sense of the Christian Church, whether Papists, or Protestants. Upon those words in *Deut.* 12. 30. *Estius* concludes (and all Understanding Men may do so too) that (b) from thence it is manifest that the Jewish Ceremonies were not taken from *Gentilism*, but Instituted by God himself. Among the Reformists you will see this more plainly attested (c) "All that consent, saith one, which is between the Jewish and Gentile Rites, ariseth from the Devil's study to deprave many things which are in the Jewish Worship

(a) — qui ipsas quoq; res Sacramentorum divinorum in Idolorum mysteriis æmulatur. *De Prescript.*

(b) Ex eo textu manifestum est ceremonias Judaicas non esse petitas ex Gentilitate, sed ab ipso Deo institutas.

(c) Consensus omnis inter Judæorum & Gentilium ritus ortus est ex Diaboli studio, qui pleraq; depravavit, & in suam venerationem transtulit. *P. Fag.* in Num. 7. 89.

ship of God, and to transfer them to his own. And another thus, (a) It is a wicked and detestable thing to imagine that the Rites commanded in the *Mosaick* Law were as it were Play-games and Sports only in imitation of the Pagans. Therefore, that those Rites may have that honour and dignity which is due to them, we must hold this as an infallible Truth, that all the things in the *Jewish* Worship were according to the Spiritual Pattern which was shew'd to *Moses* in the Mount. To which I add *Cocceius*'s notable words, (b) I admit not that the *Jewish* Law is an imitation of the Gentile Ceremonies: For on the contrary, it is certain that it was made to draw off the *Israelites* from many of the Pagan Rites, by those several Laws which were in it, contrary to those Rites. So it became a Hedge or Partition Wall between the *Jews* and *Gentiles*, that they might not come near one another as to their Ceremonies, for from a likeness in these, there would have followed a mutual Converse and Communion, and consequently a Depravation. As to *Particular Rites* among the *Gentiles*, as that of Sacrifices, and using of Salt in them, *Spanhemius* refers the Original of them to the *Jewish* Law, and the practice

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of

(a) Calvin in Ex. 25. 8. (b) In John 9. 30.

of God's People, adding that (a) "This *Yemph*
 " Custom was by a fond imitation in the De-
 " vil, who sometimes is Gods Ape, made use
 " of in the impious and idolatrous services of
 " the Pagans. So as to *the Ark of the Testimo-*
 " *ny*, which the Learned Dean saith was in
 " imitation of the Heathens; the contrary is
 " expressly vouched by (b) another worthy
 " Writer in such plain terms as these, " Having
 " thought of the whole matter (*viz.* the *Arks*
 " or *Chests*, which he had said before were used
 " in the Religious Mysteries of the Pagans,) my
 " Opinion concerning them is this, that the
 " Devil, as he was ever an Ape, and a Lu-
 " dicrous imitator of God's Works and Insti-
 " tutions, so here particularly he had a mind
 " to set up these his *Arks* against the Ark of
 " the Covenant made by God. And hear what
 " a late Learned Author, often commended by
 " the Worthy Dean himself, saith (c) "*Chests*
 " or *Arks* used at the Greek and Egyptian
 " Feasts, especially in the *Eleusinian* Solem-
 " nities, with the Toys shut up in them (of
 " which *Clement of Alexandria* speaks) these
 " were Images or Imitations of the Ark of
 " the Covenant among the *Jews*. All these
 " Allegations and Testimonies (together with
 " those

(a) *Per εἰδωλολατρίαν, à Dæmone Dei simiâ, id ipsum
 ad impios & idololatrias cultus traductum videtur.*
Dub. Evang. Pars 3. Dub. 91.

(b) *Riterhm. in Oppian. ΚΥΡΗΑΤ. c. 4.*

(c) *Buet. Demonst. Evang.*

those before) are absolutely repugnant to the Learned Doctor's assertion, which he so often repeateth, that many of the *Mosaical* Laws about Religious Rites and Ceremonies were taken from the Rites and Usages among the Pagan Idolaters.

But this Author is so Considerable and Worthy a Writer, that it may be thought his single Authority is able to counterpoize (if not out-weigh) the joint Suffrage of the Persons before named: wherefore I will make bold to Combat his Notion with a plain Text of Scripture, which carries irresistible Authority with it. The express words of it are these (in *Deut.* 12. 30, 31, 32. *Take heed to thy self, that thou be not snared by following them (i. e.) the Heathens, and that thou enquire not after their Gods, saying, How did these Nations serve their Gods? even so will I do likewise. Thou shalt not do so unto the Lord thy God: for every abomination to the Lord which he hateth, have they done unto their Gods. What thing soever I command you, observe to do it; thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it.* Observe here, the Jews were forbid to follow the Customs and Rites of the Gentiles, and (in order to that) to enquire after their Idolatrous Service, and the manner of it. They must by no means serve the true God, as the Nations served their false Gods and Idols. The Reason of this is rendred, because every abomination to the Lord which he hateth, was done by them to their Gods.

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The Rites and Ceremonies which they used in Worshipping their Gods, were abominable to the God of *Israel*: Wherefore it is absurd to think that he would appoint his People such Religious Rites and Services as were *abominable* and *hateful* to him: unless you will say, that which was abominable in the Heathens, was not so in God's own People. But this increases the absurdity rather than takes it away. No Man of sober thoughts can talk after this rate; for if God disliked those things in the Idolatrous Worshippers, it is certain that he did much more so in the true ones. Wherefore he instituted such a Service as was most opposite to the Heathen way of Worship, and had not the least affinity with it. Hence it is added, *what thing soever I command you, observe to do it*; as much as to say, you must not follow the directions or example of those Pagans in your Worshipping of me, you must do nothing in my Service but what I expressly Command you, neither *adding thereto*, nor *diminishing from it*. How then can any Man with Reason assert, that the *Jews* borrowed their Rites in Religious Worship from the *Gentiles*? A Person of so bright an intellect, as our Learned Author is, cannot but see the force of this Text, and be convinc'd that it ruins his Hypothesis, which he was pleas'd to take up it may be only to give proof of his own Skill to the Learned World, and to try that
of

of his Opponents. So much for the first Corollary from the preceeding Discourse.

2. From the Premises we may learn the Excellency of our Religion, viz. 1. That it is the *Ancientest* Religion in the World. We may plainly see the Footsteps of it in the oldest Times that were. The memory of it is among the most Celebrated Monuments of Antiquity. The Truths of it are to be read in the Histories of the First Ages, yea, in the Fables of the Old Poets, in the rusty and antique fragments of the Primitive Times of the World. 2. See the *Reasonableness* (which is another Excellency) of our Religion. Many of the Scripture-Truths were receiv'd by the Philosophers and Sages among the *Gentiles*, who had no other Conduct than that of their Rational Faculties. These Masters of Reason entertain'd some of the Grand Principles of our Religion, and approved of them, and acknowledg'd them as Rational. 3. See the *Certainty* of our Holy Religion. It is attested not only by Friends, but Enemies. It hath even the Approbation of *Heathen* Writers, who have Recorded, and thereby confirmed some of the most remarkable things reported in the Sacred Writings, as the Creation of the World, our first Parents Happiness, and afterwards their Fall, *Noah's* Flood, the long Lives of the first Persons, the Building of the Tower of *Babel*, the Confusion of Languages, the Renowned Acts of several of the Patriarchs and first Worthies,

316 *The Truth and Authority*

thies, &c. It is a great establishing of our Faith, that those Pagans derived so many things from Scripture. The *Gentile* Writers vouch a great part of our Religion. Wherefore we must needs imbrace it when it is attested by such Disinterested Persons.

3. We ought to take notice of the *Wonderful Providence of God* in this matter. Behold, the Scripture is attested by those who never owned its Authority, yea, the very Enemies of these Holy Writings ratifie the Truth and Certainty of them. The Heathen Poets, whilst they Corrupt Divine Truth, assert it. Their very Lies and Fictions bear witness to the Sacred Verities: their Fables confirm the Infallibility of the Bible. *This is the Lord's doing*; here the Great and Over-ruling Wisdom of God is seen. Here his Almighty Power in baffling Satan's Contrivances and Designs may be discern'd. He (as was said before) intended the Corruption of the Scriptures, the silencing of the Truth, the Exalting of himself, and the Advancing of his Kingdom. But the All-Wise and Powerful Moderator of the World disappointed his Designs, and made this thing we are speaking of serviceable and beneficial to Religion; he made it become an Argument of its *Antiquity, Reasonableness, and Certainty*, against the Cavils of Atheists, and Infidels.

4. Henceforth we are reconciled to the Writings of Prophane Authors. We have this considerable

considerable advantage by reading the Works of the Ancient Heathens, and by perusing their Stories and Fables, that we shall find some Greater Thing couched in them than the bare Narrative. For these Writers borrow'd many things from the Holy Book; their broken Stories are often-times an imperfect account of Scripture Relations. Sundry things in their Writings are gather'd out of the Divine Volume, but are strangely wrested, perverted, and obfuscated, by having new Names, and feigned Circumstances affix'd to them. Almost all the *Gentile* Fables, and Theology, flowed from a depraved sense of the Sacred Writings. The Poets disguise true Stories with many Fictions, and some Reliques of Divine Truth are buried under their ingenuous Fancies, and Fabulous Narrations. *Ovid* Transcribed the Greek Theology from *Orpheus*, *Homer*, *Hesiod*, and other Ancient Poets, and these had it from the Bible. The very Poetick Fictions refer unto real Story, and are drawn from the Divine Source of Truth. So that we are reading the Holy Scripture in a manner whilst we are turning over Pagan Writers. In these we meet with Truths Transplanted from the Sacred Book, we find many passages stolen from the *Hebrew* Fountains. It is not to be denied then that Scholars, and Students, yea, the very Candidates of Sacred Theology, may with great profit prie into these Writings of the Pagans, for here are the footsteps of Divine Verities. Prophane and Sacred Learning are to be joyn'd. The *Gentile* Monuments illustrate the inspired ones.

318 *The Truth and Authority*

ones. We may, notwithstanding the disguise which Poets have put upon the Stories, see the foundation of them, and perceive that those vain Figments are grounded on some Solid Truth, and that a Sacred Treasure lies hid under those confused Fables. For this is not to be denied, that *Palestine* afforded *Greece* matter of fancy, and invention; the *Pagan Poets* were befriended by the *Jews*, *Athens* was indebted to *Jerusalem*, *Parnassus* was beholding to *Sinai*, and *Helicon* to *Jordan*. You see then the advantage we may reap by being acquainted with Prophane Writers, whilst we look further than the outward shape which they have given to many things, and search into that Truth which lies hid under it, even the Sacred and undoubted History of the Old Testament. Thus we may make them serviceable to far higher and better ends than they are intended. This is the best improvement that can be made of them, to see the true Source of what is written by them, to understand whence they borrowed their matter, and to confirm our selves in the belief of the Truth of the Sacred Writings, by perusing these which are Prophane.

5thly, and lastly then, See the Authority, Truth, and Certainty of the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament, which is the main thing I have been aiming at. I had proved this before by several Arguments, and those perhaps on some accounts more Forcing and Convictive than this: but I thought good to add this to them, as no contemptible way of proving the Antiquity

Antiquity and Authority of the Sacred Book. The Truth of the Historical part of the Old Testament is evidenced from Heathen Writers, not only Historians, but Philosophers, and Poets. A Man may, by comparing these with the Sacred Volume, find out the Original of the Pagan Traditions, and Fictions, and observe the Lineaments of true and unquestionable History among them. Hence we shall have no reason to doubt that there were such Persons and Things in being, as are spoken of in the Old Testament, and that the Passages and Transactions there mention'd were real, and true. This admirably serves to evince the *Authority* of those Writings, this proves the *Truth* of the Records of Holy Writ, and that they ought to be received as the Oracles of God, *i. e.* as Infallible.

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172

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C H A P. X.

The Authority of the Books of the New-Testament, confirmed by Pagan and Jewish Writers, who speak of a King or Lord that should come out of the East, and particularly out of Judæa. An Enumeration of the Opinions of the Learned concerning the Sibylls, with the particular Sentiment of the Author, viz. That the Contents of their Verses were borrow'd from the Old-Testament, and that those Women were not Prophetesses, but only related what they found in the Inspired Writings, or heard of thence. A full Answer to the Objections of those who hold the Sibylline Writings to be Spurious.

NEXT I am to shew how the Scriptures of the New-Testament are vouched and confirmed by an External Testimony, i.e. how professed Pagans and Jews, Enemies to Christianity, have related and asserted the very same things that are set down in those Evangelical Writings. First, I will begin with that which is of a middle nature, between what I have been discoursing of before, and what I am now to ingage in, (which therefore may aptly serve as a *Transision* from one to the other,) I mean the belief and report recorded in Pagan Writers, that a King or Lord should come from the East, and do great and mighty things. This was derived from the Scriptures of the Old-Testament, and belongs to the former Discourse: but because

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it

it is mentioned by Historians that were *after Christ's time*, and the Application is with all reason to be made to Him, (I rightly bring it in here.) It was, I say, a constant Report that prevail'd about the time of our Saviour's Birth, and afterwards, that some eminent Person or Persons should rise out of those Eastern Nations, and be Lords of the World. We find * *Tacitus* asserting this, and that great Politician and Statesman would needs have it fulfilled in *Vespasian* and *Titus*, because they were called out of *Judea* unto the Empire of *Rome*. *Suetonius* agrees with this Author, and tells us, that † it was an ancient and constant Opinion among the Eastern People, that some should come out of *Judea* about that time, and have the universal Sway, and Reign over the World. *Josephus* the Jewish Historian relates the same, and acquaints us, that it was the common rumour and vogue among the *Jews* that one of their own Country should be an Universal Emperor; which he, as well as the fore-cited Authors, applieth to *Vespasian*, because he conquer'd the *Jews*, and with *Titus* came from *Judea* in Triumph to *Rome*. Other *Jews* thought this common Fame was meant of *Herod*, asserting him to be the Person fore-told by the Prophets, and to be the expected *Messias*: These were the *Herodians* mentioned in *Mat. 22. 16*. Thus, though through Ignorance, they

* *Pluribus persuasio inerat, antiquis Sacerdotum literis contineri, eo ipso tempore fore ut valesceret Oriens, profecti Judææ rerum potirentur: quæ ambages Vespasianum & Titum prædixerant.* Hist. l. 5.

† *Percrebuerat oriente toto vetus & constans opinio, esse in facis, ut eo tempore Judææ profecti rerum potirentur.* *Vespas. c. 4.*

|| *ὡς κατὰ τὸ κρείττον ἐκείνων ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς ἀντι-
ἀρξίας τοῦ οἰκουμένης.* De bello Jud. l. 7. c. 12.

they knew not how to fix this Rumour aright, yet out of Flattery, they could apply it to their Princes. But it is most evident that this Fame of an Universal Monarch arose from the Scriptures of the Old Testament, which frequently speak of a great King and Ruler that should come out of the East, and particularly out of Judea. Out of thee (Bethlehem) shall He come forth unto me what is to be the Ruler in Israel, Mic. 5. 2. Which is interpreted of the Messias by the Jewish Sanhedrim, whom Herod gathered together, demanding of them where Christ should be born, Mat. 2. 4, 5. That Prophecy of Micah speaks plainly of a Jew, one that by birth was of Judea, yea of Bethlehem; and therefore it was most falsely applied to those Roman Emperors before-named, who came not out of Judea, but out of Italy; not from Bethlehem, but from Rome. And as for Herod, he was not a Jew, but an Idumean; he was not born in Bethlehem, but in Ascalon. But in our Blessed Saviour this remarkable Prophecy is exactly accomplish'd, he being a Jew by birth, and of the City of David, and constituted by God a matchless King and Governor over his people. Behold, a King shall Reign in Righteousness, Mat. 32. 1. And in several other places of this Prophecy Christ is represented as a King, and his coming is express'd after that manner. There was given him Dominion and Glory, and a Kingdom, that all People, Nations and Languages should serve him. His Dominion is an everlasting Dominion, which shall not pass away, and his Kingdom that which shall not be destroyed, Dan 7. 14. Which is expressly applied to Christ by the Angel from Heaven, Luke 1. 33. And in many other places of Scripture this Divine Person, who was to come to redeem and save Mankind, is set forth as a King, or Great Lord and

324 *The Truth and Authority*

Prince, one that should bear Sway in the World, and wield his Scepter over all Nations. Hence this Rumour was spread among the Eastern People, and especially about the time of Christ's birth, that a Great Lord or King should arise in those parts, and spread his Dominion over the World. Hence those Pagan and Jewish Writers before-mentioned, speak of this Great Ruler and Monarch, who is no other than our Lord Christ, the King of Kings and Lord of Lords. This they had from the Prophecies of the Bible, where 'tis so often fore-told that a King shall arise, and gain an Universal Empire over Mankind. To this we

may refer that which * *Suetonius* reports (and he quotes his Author for it,) that a few Months before *Augustus* was born there was this publick Prodigy,

viz. a Proclaiming of this, That † *Nature* was

bringing forth a King to the Roman People. Whereupon the Senate being allarmed and frightened, made a strange Decree, That no one born that Year should be Educated. This

Prodigy, without doubt, refer'd to *Christ*, whose Birth was in *Augustus's* Reign; this was the King that was to be born to all the World, which was then in a manner subject to the *Roman Empire*, and therefore might be call'd the *Roman People*.

So the *Sibylls Oracles* or *Prophecies* are of a middle nature and Consideration, and therefore are justly to be treated of in this place: As they were borrow'd from the Scriptures of the *Old Testament*, they belong indeed to the former part of this Discourse; but as they attest the Truth of the main things in the *New Testament*, they are reducible to this. I will consider them first as they are taken

taken out of the Scriptures of the *Old-Testament*. This may seem to be strange at first, because the Opinions of Writers have run an other way ; but after I have plainly laid the matter before you, I doubt not but the thing which I offer will easily gain your assent, and then it will rather seem strange that it was not taken notice of and imbrated before. There have been these four Opinions among the Learned concerning the *Sybil's Oracles or Verses*.

1. Some say they are Counterfeit, yea, that some Christians (but *Hereticks*) have imposed upon the World in this matter. This I will account for afterwards, because it will more pertinently be handled under the Second Consideration, *viz.* as they are used as an Attestation of the Truth of the *New-Testament*. Indeed this Opinion rudely takes away the Subject of the Question, and therefore must be consider'd in the last place : in the mean time we suppose the thing spoken of to be real, and not counterfeit.

2ly. Then, some have asserted that the *Sibylls* were divinely Inspired, and consequently that their Verses are Sacred and Divine. *Justin Martyr, Arnobius, Lactantius*, and some other ancient Fathers cry them up as equal to the *boliest Prophets*. As God, say they, spake by the Prophets to the *Jews* concerning *Christ* before he came, so he fore-told him to the *Gentiles* by the *Sibylls*, and the same Prophetick Spirit was in the latter that was in the former. *Baronius, Bellarmine*, and the *Roman Doctors* generally think the same of them, and therefore they use their Testimony as very Sacred, and altogether Irrefragable. By the way, I might observe, that they are sometimes quoted by these and others of the Church of *Rome* to assert and

countenance some of their *Popish* Doctrines: (So that it seems *Popery* was a Religion before there were any thoughts of it in the World, and before it had a Being.) But here Authors are divided again, for some hold these *Gentile* Prophetesses were Good and Holy Persons, others that they were not. The former Opinion is grounded on that Tenor of the *Jewish* Doctors, that never any vicious and unhallowed Persons were honored with the Prophetick Spirit, and that those Irradiations and extraordinary Impressions of the Holy Ghost were made only upon Men of holy Lives and innocent Behaviours. Besides, these Prophetick Women speak of One only True God, and they inveigh against the False Gods and their Altars; which is a sign they were good and religious People. Others have a contrary Opinion of them, and think they were Irreligious and Prophane, for that Opinion of the *Hebrew* Doctors before spoken of is not always true, though it be generally so. We read of *Baalam*, the Sorcerer of *Mesopotamia*, that he prophesied concerning the future State of the *Jews*, and concerning the Coming of *Christ*. *Saul* was a very bad Man, yet was endued with a prophetick Spirit. *Caiphas*, one of *Christ's* Judges, was stirred up by the Holy Ghost to prophecy concerning our Saviour's Death. And why might not God inspire *Heathen Women*, though they were Wicked, with a Spirit of Prophecy? And that they were such seems to appear from their *Verses*, wherein there are some things very Fond and Superstitious, (and so indeed they may be quoted by the *Roman* Catholicks in defence of their Cause.) This shews that they were not possessors of true Virtue and Goodness. But then I ask this, can we think that the choicest Mysteries of Religion

tion were revealed to them, if they were Wicked and Prophane? Would God vouchsafe so great and peculiar a Privilege to the worst of Persons?

3ly. Therefore, some hold that these *Pagan* Prophetesses spake not by a *good*, but *evil Spirit*. The Devil reveal'd these things to them, saith * *St. Ambrose*, and helped them to fore-tell these future Events. And some have turn'd those foresaid Instances this way, telling us that *Baalam*, *Saul* and *Caiphas*, prophesied by the assistance of some *Evil Daemon*. So the *Heathen Oracles* spoke truth oftentimes, though their Answers came from the Infernal Spirits. That these Sibylls received their Skill from Satan may be discern'd (say some) in the Errors and Superstitions which are in their Books, yea the Idolatries of the *Gentiles* are countenanced by them in some passages which occur in their Predictions. But then this may be said to baffle this Opinion, that the fore-telling of such future Contingencies is not in the power of that Evil Spirit. Moreover, it is unlikely that these *Gentiles* (were they informed by a Divine Intelligencer, but especially when they were acted by a Diabolick one) should have as clear, nay a clearer fore-sight and discovery of Christ to come, than the *Jews*, God's own People, and the holiest Men among them had.

4ly. It is the Judgment of † the Learned *Isaac Vossius*, that the *Sibylline Verses* (so call'd) were made and collected by the *Jews*. This he asserts only concerning those Writings of theirs which were extant before Christ's coming: for the *Jews* being dispersed over the World, and knowing that

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Daniel's

* Comment. in 1. Epist. ad Corinth. 11. cap. † De Orao. Sibyl.

328 *The Truth and Authority.*

Daniel's Seventy Weeks were expiring, were stirred up by God to compose these Verses, thereby to signifie to the *Gentiles* the approaching of Christ. But of the other Works of the *Sibylls*, viz. those that were afterwards quoted by some of the *Fathers*, he hath not the same opinion and esteem, but thinks they were made and compiled, or in plain terms forged by some *Christians*, particularly the *Gnosticks*. This is a very odd account of the *Sibylls*, and shews that the Learned Author of it was in a great streight: He was first willing to reject the *Christians* from being the Composers of those Writings (which some had asserted,) and yet it seems afterwards he retracts that Sentiment, and is not unwilling to believe that the *Christians themselves* forged and counterfeited these *Sibylline Oracles*. But if the *Jews* were the Authors of some part of these Writings, then I ask, how came they to insert things favouring of *Heathen Superstition* and *Idolatry*? And if the *Christians* were Compilers of an other part of these Verses, how came they to insist in the steps of the former, and to add some things (as is said) in favor of those *Pagan Corruptions*? But I dismiss this as a divided and distracted Opinion: Besides that I can't see why the *Jews* might not as well have produced the *Bible* to the *Gentiles* (for it had been translated into *Greek*, a Tongue intelligible to the *Pagan World*, a long time before our Saviours Coming:) that had been more Authentick than any other Writings whatsoever of their own Composing.

In the Fifth and Last place, I take leave to propound an other Opinion, which is this, I hold that these ancient Writings or Oracles were not made by *Jews*, but *Pagans*, and particularly by those Women call'd *Sibylls*, who made them in no other

other sense than this, that they took them out of the Holy Scriptures of the *Old-Testament*, and turned them into Verse. This is that which I assert as most consonant to Reason; and it is a farther Proof of what I have been so long insisting upon, *viz.* that the *Pagans* borrowed from the *Bible*. I am not solicitous whether these Women were good or bad, whether they were moved by God or by an Evil Spirit. There are some Inconveniencies in asserting of either side. But there is a plain and easie way different from both, *viz.* that we are not to look upon them as Prophetick Persons, as if they had a Gift of fore-telling all those things they speak of. No, they only extracted what they writ from the Scriptures, from the ancient Prophecies therein contain'd, especially from that of *Isaiab*. And so indeed in some sense their Writings may be said to be Divine and Inspired; for whatever these *Pagans* fore-told was no other than what they took from the Inspired Prophets in holy Writ. They are Instances of the like nature, with those that I have so often produced in the foregoing Discourse, namely, *Gentile Poets*, that made use of several passages in the Sacred Volume, and inserted the main Substance of them into their Verses. And as those *Heathen Poets* mingled prophane Notions and Fables with the Sacred Doctrine and History (which I shew'd before) so here it is as true that these *Pagan* Versifiers mixed some things that were Superstitious with their Prophecies of Christ and his Kingdom, which they derived from the *Old-Testament*. It is well known that there were *Female Poets* among the *Pagans*, as *Sapbo*, &c. and therefore we need not scruple to believe that the *Sibylls* writ in Verse. Indeed the looseness and neglectfulness of the Stile shews that

that it was done by some easie *Poets*. That they were *Pagan Women* is clear from the frequent Allegations of the *Fathers*, who represent them always as such, and produce the Writings of these *Pagans* as a proper Confutation of the *Gentiles* whom they dispute against. And the *Heathens* themselves acknowledged them to be such and no other, as is apparent from what you shall hear afterwards concerning *Erythraea* and the *Cumæan Sibyll*. Now, concerning these *Poetick Pagan Women*, I assert that they were no Prophetesses, no more than *Hesiod* and *Ovid* and other *Pagan Writers* before-mentioned, and that they, like these, took some things out of the *Old-Testament*, (which also were much fam'd and talk'd of) and digested them into Numbers. It is undeniable that in their Verses there are very notable Testimonies concerning our Saviour; there are mentioned many considerable Circumstances of his Birth, Life, Miracles, Passion, Death, Resurrection, Ascension, and his coming to Judgment: but there is no more Reason to think that these were spoken by them from a Prophetick Spirit, than to believe that *Orpheus* and *Homer* were inspired when they refer to some things that are in the Books of *Moses*. If these had been *Prophecies* in a strict sense they would have been communicated by God to his peculiar People (to whom were committed his Oracles) rather than to common *Pagans*. It is certain that these were too Choice Secrets to be reveal'd to them. Wherefore it is reasonable to conclude they were taken out of the Prophecies of the *Old-Testament*, which were spread abroad among the *Gentiles*. The *Sibylls* only recite those Prophecies, but by no means are you to think that they were Prophecies of their own. It is true, the *Pagans* hearing

of these Predictions, and not knowing the rise of them, attributed them to their Prophetesses the *Sibylls*; and so they passed for the *Sibylls Oracles*, as if those Women made and endited them of their own Heads. But they are the Oracles of the *Holy Prophets*, and not of any Persons among the *Pagans*. The *Sibylls* are not the original Authors of them, but they were borrowed from the Sacred Volume of the *Bible*. This is the true Account of the *Sibylls* Writings, and by this we are rid of all the hard Consequences which may be drawn from the fore-going Assertions. We need not trouble our selves to enquire whether they had these things by Divine Afflation, or by the help of some evil *Demon*. We need not dispute whether they could be endued with the Gift of Prophecy, and yet be *Pagans* in their Persuasions and vicious in their Lives; or whether, if they were acted by a Diabolick Spirit, they could foretel things of this sacred nature. For there is no necessity of maintaining either of these, because we can solve the matter before us without supposing any thing of this kind, *viz.* by holding that these *Sibylls*, as many others before them, took these things from the ancient Prophets in Holy Scripture, and dress'd them up after their own fashion. All things agree very well with this Opinion, and we are press'd with no Absurdities, insomuch that I have wondered sometimes that this hath not been thought of by the Inquisitive. This is yet a farther Evidence of what I so largely pursued before, that the *Gentiles* insert into their Writings several particulars of the *Old-Testament*: and at the same time it's a Confirmation of the Truth and Certainty of the *Evangelical Writings*, which is the next thing I offered.

Second-

Secondly then, I will consider the *Sibylls Oracles and Verses*, as they are a signal Attestation and Confirmation of the *Authority* of the *New-Testament*. Behold here the main things relating to our Blessed Saviour, plainly spoken of by these *Pagans*, whose witness in this case is very considerable. They declar'd in these Writings that there should be a great Change in the World, and that a *New Governor or King* should arise, and be very Eminent. *Cicero* frequently takes notice of this passage of the *Sibylls*, and the *Roman Senate* was mightily allarm'd with it, and was affraid their Commonwealth would be turned into a Monarchy. Yea, *Lentulus* began to take heart from this Prophecy, (if you will believe *Tully* and *Salust*) and fancied he was the *King* the *Sibylls* spoke of. And others afterwards imagin'd that *Julius Caesar*, or *Augustus*, or (as some thought) *Vespasian* or *Titus* were intended: whereas the plain truth is, that the *Sibylls* had only divulged in their Verses the ancient Prophecies concerning the *Coming of the Messias*, which were found by them in the Holy Writings of the *Jews*, and began to be known at that time to the World. If we had no more to alledge but this, this were sufficient to prove the Authority of the *Sibylls* Writings. They tell us in their Mystic Verses that a *Little Child* should throw down Idolatry with his hand, and stop the Mouths of the *Delpbick Demons*: this was no other than the Blessed Babe *Jesus*. It were endless to transcribe particular passages in these Writings, as concerning Christ's *Miracles*,

* Πάντα λόγῳ πράσων, πᾶσαν νῦν διερπίων,
Τὴν ἀνέμῳ πᾶσαι τοὶ λόγῳ σρώσει δὲ θάλασσαν.

ΒΑΙ-

* Lactant. Instit. l. 4. c. 15.

Βλέψουσιν δὲ τυφλοὶ, ἀτὰρ βαδίσουσιν ἡ χωλοὶ,
Κωφοὶ τ' εἰσαῖουσιν, λαλήσουσιν ἢ λαλήσουσιν.

Which is only a Paraphrase on that Prophecie concerning our Blessed Lord in *Isai.* 35. 5, 6. and many other Texts in the same Prophet, which speak of the miraculous Acts which he was to exert here upon Earth. So what is said of his *Sufferings*,

* Εἰς ἀνόμων χεῖρας, καὶ ἀπίων ὕδατον ἤξει,
Καὶ δώσουσι διὰ βαπτίσματα χεῖρσιν ἀνάνους

is borrowed from that Prediction in *Isai.* 52. which is no other than a Description of the *Messias's* Sufferings. And that passage relating to the Resurrection, and his coming to Judgment,

† Καὶ ἴσται ἀναστήσει νεκρὸς μοῖραν ἀναλύσας,
Καὶ θανάτου κέντησιν, καὶ ὑστέραν εἰς κείσιν ἤξει

is founded on some peculiar Texts in the *Old Testament* which speak of the *Messias's* last Advent and glorious Reign. Certainly it is of great moment that these Persons attest these things, the very same which were predicted in the *Old Testament*, and which are recorded in the Holy Writings of the Evangelists and Apostles. This may be serviceable to refute the Objections and Cavils of the most professed Adversaries of Christianity. Accordingly the ancient Christians, especially the *Fathers*, made use of these *Heathen* Writings against the *Heathens* themselves, beating them with their own Weapon. Peruse *Athenagoras* and *Theophilus* of *Antioch*, and you will find these Womens Verses

* Idem l. 4. c. 18.

† Idem l. 7. c. 20.

334 *The Truth and Authority*

Verſes highly commended by them. Peruſe * *Juſtin*, and † *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and you will ſee that they frequently quote thoſe Writings, and rely on them in their diſputes againſt the *Pagans* for Chriſtianity. So doth *Tertullian*, ſo doth *Origen*, arguing out of theſe *Pagan Books* for the Religion which they had eſpouſed. In Imitation of theſe Learned *Fathers*, *Conſtantine the Great*, in § one of his Orationſ, ſpeaks very reverently of the *Sibylls* Predictions, and vindicates them as no contemptible Proof of Chriſtianity. || *Lactantius* and *Arnobius* alledge them to prove the ſame. St. *Auguſtin* quotes the *Acroſticks* of *Sibylla Erythraea*, and turns them into Latin. Thus the *Fathers* uſed to convince the *Gentiles* out of the *Sibylline Oracles*, and the Old Chriſtians conſtantly read theſe Writings, and appeal'd to them in their Diſcourſes with the *Heathens*. From which practice of theirs the *Gentiles* (as (a) *Origen* teſtifies) ſtilled the Chriſtians *Sibylliſts*; yea, the ancient Chriſtians were ſo addicted to the reading theſe Books of the *Sibylls*, that they were ſtrictly (b) forbid by the Laws to do it for the future upon pain of Death. And (c) we are told what was the Reaſon why the Emperors prohibited the reading of theſe Books, namely, becauſe they thence fetch'd many things that made for their Cauſe. Theſe Writings of Heathen Women were in thoſe days reckoned to be a notable Teſtimony to the Truth of Chriſtianity. Whence it appears that they were no Forgeries, for the Ancienteſt and Learnedeſt *Fathers*

* Orat. ad Gent. & alibi. † Stromat. l. 6. § Ad Sanct. Cæc. c. 18. || Inſtit. l. 4. c. 15, 18. (a) De Civ. Dei. l. 18. c. 23. Cont. Fauſt. l. 13. (b) Cont. Celſ. l. 5. (c) Juſtin Mart. Orat. ad Gentil.

Fathers (as well as other Christian Brethren) would not have quoted them to confirm the Christian Religion if they had been such. But we see they did frequently alledge them to that end, and especially in their Disputes with the *Gentiles*. As they made use of the *Heathen* Philosophers and Poets for attesting the Scriptures of the *Old Testament*, (as hath been shewed you) so they cited these *Gentile Prophetesses* (for such they suppos'd them to be) to assert the Writings of the *New Testament*. It may be said that it doth not absolutely and necessarily follow, that, because the *Fathers* used the *Sibylls* Verses to confute the *Pagans*, therefore they were true, for they might suppose them to be such, though they did not expressly declare it. In answer to which I return, that it cannot but be granted that there is a great probability of these *Sibylline* Writings being true, because they are quoted by the *Fathers*: For 1. *Many* of these knowing Persons use their Testimony. If one or two only did so, we could make no conclusion from thence; but since it is certain that great numbers of them (not only those before-named, but others) expressly appeal'd to those Books, we cannot with any Reason slight their Allegations. 2. If these Books were quoted by the *Fathers* but seldom and rarely, there would not be so great a Motive to attend to them; but seeing we find them not only once, or twice, but *very often* made use of by them, it argues that they deliberately did it, and it invites us to give the greater attention and credit to them. 3. They quote them not as on *Supposition* only, but as *True* and *Genuine*, and such as may and ought to be depended on. 4. The *Fathers* were Persons that were Competent Judges in this Case. Many of them
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were Men of Sagacity and of a Critical Genius, and were not easily to be imposed upon. They had also time and leisure to examine these Writings, and to enquire whether they were forged or no; and we are sure it was their Concern to do it, for their Religion depended much upon it. Wherefore those who blast the Authority of the *Fathers* in this point, have little reason to do so. They were no credulous Fools, and such who took up any thing on trust; they were able to discern these Writings to be Counterfeit, (if they had been such) as well as any other Persons.

But notwithstanding this, there have been of old, and are of late, several Men that reject the *Sibylls* Writings, as Spurious and Counterfeit. And who should forge them but Christians? Here then I am obliged to answer that Caviel, that the Writings which go under the name of the *Sibylls* were forged by *Christian Hereticks*. This, it seems, was an old Objection, for *Origen* acquaints us that it was made by the Arch Pagan *Celsus*. And *Lactantius* after him, saith that this Objection was renewed against the *Sibylls* Books by some other Pagan Adversaries, viz. that they were forged by some Christians themselves. Behold also the *Moderns* concurring with the *Pagans* to defame the *Sibylls*. *Scaliger* is very warm against them, and holds that the *Fathers* were much deceived about them. * *Isaac Casaubon* against *Baronius*, endeavors to prove the credit of the *Sibylls* to be suspected. *Becman* † is against the authority of these Writings, and saith they are Supposititious. *David Blondel* uses

* Exercitat. 1. ad Apparat. Annal. cap. 10. † Exercit. 14. cont. Photin.

uses all ways to prove them to be Forgeries and
 Impostures: and he holds they were the Fictions
 of some busie Christians, who had the boldness to
 impose upon the World by these Cheats and Ro-
 mances. As many of the ancient Christians and
 Fathers, saith he, received counterfeit *Gospels*, *Acts*
 and *Epistles*; so they were cheated and abused by
 these Ipurious Pieces of the *Sibylls*. The Learned
Dallé is of the same Opinion, and tells us that the
 Predictions concerning our Saviour and his King-
 dom were put out under the names of the *Sibylls*
 by some Christians, who were fallen into Here-
 sie. They had a mind to use a kind of *pious Fraud*,
 to establish some part of Religion, they thought
 to cheat the World for their good, and so they
 publish'd these Writings under the names of those
 Prophetesses. * The Learned Dr. *Carré*, who is
 not wont to doat on these *Moderns*, follows them
 in this Opinion very closely, and leaves the an-
 cient Fathers of the Church for their sake: He pe-
 temptorily tells us that the *Sibylls Verses* were made
 and feign'd on purpose by the Christians to up-
 hold their Religion and Faith; and they are da-
 ted by him from the Year 130, in *Adrian's* Reign:
 this is the first flight of them, he saith. But all
 this is Suspicion and Prejudice, and bold Affirma-
 tives, but no proof; which will evidently appear,
 if you consider (besides what hath been said alrea-
 dy) these following things: 1. Some of the *Si-*
bylls Verses were extant before Christ's coming
 into the World, as is confessed by ancient Christians
 and Pagans, and by all the Learned Antiquaries,
 The *Acrosticks*, which are concerning the Last

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338 *The Truth and Authority*

Judgment and the Consummation of the World, (of which I spoke before) which consist of so many Verses as there are Letters in these words, *Inscrutabile Dei Verbum* &c. the first Verse beginning with *I*, the second with *H*, &c. these, I say, are mentioned by *Tully* in his *Second Book of Divination*, (and are in another place inserted into his Works, as *Eusebius* testifies in the Life of *Constantine*, and saith they are translated into *Latin* Verse by him) where he adds that this is not a Poem of a mad and frenetick Person, for the Composure and Contrivance of the Verse argues the contrary, and shews attention of Mind, Skill, and Diligence. These *Sibylline* Verses, the Initial Letters of which point at our Lord Christ, are mentioned not only by *Tully*, but by * *Varro*, who also lived before our Saviour's time. If then they were extant and famous before Christ's Birth, it is impossible they could be invented by the *Christians*. Whence it is plain, that all the Writings of the *Sibylls* were not obtruded by *Christians*, unless you will say there were any such before Christ. Again, *Virgil's* Fourth *Eclogue* is not denied to be the same now that it was at first; and yet there he Comments on the *Cumæan Sibyll's Oracle*, which is a clear Prediction of Christ. Accordingly, in *Constantine's* Oration, † part of this Poem is applied to Christ, and look'd on as a Prophecie of him, although the Poet makes use of it in a way of *Panegyrick* to the Emperor *Augustus*, and to *Asinius Pollio*,

* De ling. Lat. lib. 5.

† *Ultima Cumæi venit jam carminis ætas :
Magnus ab integro seclorum nascitur ordo :
Jam nova progenies Cælo demittitur alto,
Jam redit & Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna.*

Pollio, his good Patron ; yea, he ridiculously applies it to *Pollio's Son*, who was born that Year. He understands those words borrow'd from the *Sibylls Oracle* [*Jam redit & Virgo*] concerning *Abraë* ; but the sense was much higher, there being a reference in those words to the *Sign* mentioned by the Evangelical Prophet, *A Virgin shall conceive, and bear a Son*, *Isai. 7. 14.* Of that golden Age which was to come, he saith, — *Incipit magni procedere menses.* What *Magnitude* is in Bodies, that *Duration* or *Length* is in Time ; and so here is intimated the duration of *Christ's Reign*, *Whose Kingdom is an everlasting Kingdom, and shall stand for ever*, *Dan. 2. 44. 7. 27.* Or those *Days* and *Months* shall be *Great*, because they are the *Lord's*, to whom whatever appertaineth is *Great* ; whence every thing that is in its kind the *greatest* is called *God's*. Several other things in that *Eclogue* are transcribed out of that *Sibyll's Verses*, and were meant of *Christ's Coming*, and the happy state of the *World* which should accompany it, which are frequently spoken of in the *Old-Testament*, whence the *Sibyll* borrow'd these *Prophecies*. No Man can have the face to say that These, made use of here by the *Roman Poet*, were obtruded on the *World* by *Christians*, seeing *Christianity* it self had its rise afterwards.

I might go on still and shew that the *Sibylls Oracles* (or some of them at least) were mentioned by Authors before our Saviour's time, as by *Plato* in his *Phædrus* ; by * *Aristotle*, who particularly names the *Cuman Sibyll* ; by † *Chrysippus*, who

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makes

* Or the Author of the Book De Mirabilib. Auscultationib.

† Lib. de Divinatione.

340 *The Truth and Authority*

makes mention of her of *Delpbos*, by * *Diodorus* the *Sicilian* Historian, and † *Pausanias*, who speak of the same. *Dionysius Halicarnass.* takes notice of another, and *Eratoſthenes* hath written of the *Samian Sibyll*; and *Euripides* quotes her of *Lybia*. Thus we are assured from the Testimony of these Writers, who lived before Christ's Nativity, that there were such Persons among the *Heathens*, noted for their Enthusiastick and Prophetick Genius, as they suppos'd. Now, what Man, in his Wits, dare say that the *Christians* forg'd the Verses of these *Sibylls*, when there were no *Christians* at that time?

2. Let it be considered how signally it was ordered by God's Providence that some of these Books of the *Sibylls* should be evidenced to be true and genuine. Before Christ's Coming the Verses of these Poetick Women were enquir'd into by the *Gentiles*; they were searched and compared with other Copies, and the Spurious ones were rejected, and the rest kept and safely laid up, so that the *Christians* might alledge them (as they did) without suspicion of Imposture. These Books were first offer'd to *Tarquin* King of the *Romans* at that time, who bought some of them and deposited them in the Capitol, and appointed Officers on purpose to take care of them, as is related by several credible § Writers. In that place the Books continued till the Capitol was burnt, which was about fourscore Years before Christ's Birth. And after it was rebuilt, Messengers were dispatched by the Senate into *Asia* and *Greece* to search for these *Sibylls* Verses, and accordingly a thousand of them

* Lib. 4. † In Phocaicis. § *Dionys. Halicarn. Valer. Maximus, A. Gellius, Pliny, Lactantius.*

were brought and laid up in the new Capitol. Others afterwards that were carefully collected were placed in golden Boxes in the Temple of *Apollo*; and when ever there was any great Affair on foot these Oracles were consulted, as appears from several good Historians. Both * *Tacitus*. and † *Suetonius* testifie, that when these Writings had been sought out and fetch'd to *Rome*, they were by *Augustus's* command diligently examined and reviewed by the Senate, and by the *Quindecimviri*, that the true Copies might be known from the False. Wherefore there is not the least colour of Reason to think that these Books which were thus searched into, and examined so strictly, were Counterfeit; much less is there any possibility that these ancient Writings could be Figments of the *Christians*; for they could not feign them before they were in being.

3. Nor is there any ground to think that the Volume of the *Sibylls Verses*, now extant, as to the main, is not the same with that which was before our Saviour's days, or that *Heretical Christians* corrupted it, and added to it. For first, if they did so, why is it not shew'd what Heresie, what false Doctrine they upheld, and maintain'd by these Additions and Supplements of theirs? I see nothing of this made out by our Adversaries. Again, If these Writings had been the forgeries of *Christians*, the *Heathens* would have certainly, at one time or other, laid open this Cheat, and let the World know there were no such Verses. But none of them ever pretended to do any thing of this nature; wherefore no Man of consistent Thoughts can

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* Annal. lib. 5. † In Augusto. c. 31.

imagine that these Writings were the meer Invention of some *Christians*. Nay, I could add from good Authors, that not only *Heathens*, but *Jews*, made frequent use of these Celebrated Books, and several of them were brought to embrace the Christian Faith by reading the Contents of them; and truly when they saw many things fulfill'd which are here spoken of and fore told, it could not but induce them to think well of Christianity. Whence it is plain, that they had no suspicion of these Writings; they had no such apprehension as some since have formed, *viz.* that they were a Cheat, and that some *Christians* were the Authors of it. And then, as for using of *Pious Frauds* to vouch Christianity, there is as little ground for that; for seeing they had such a *Cloud of Witnesses* of all sorts to attest the Truth of the Christian Religion, it was altogether superfluous and unnecessary to counterfeit any. Or, if we should suppose any such thing, and grant that some ill-minded Christians inserted some things of their own into the *Sibylls* Writings, yet it doth not follow thence that all is Spurious and Counterfeit. I know some condemn all, and others allow every thing that goes under the name of the *Sibylls Oracles*. But I know no cause for either, but the usual one, namely, that Writers must run directly counter to one another. This is their practise generally, but it is no good one, and I have no Inclination to follow it. I take an other way, the middle one. I do not think that all the Verses that bear their names are theirs, and genuine; and I am far from thinking that all are Counterfeit. What if we grant that *some things* in the Collection of the *Sibylls* Writings (as in many others) are altered and super-added? Can we conclude from thence that

that every thing in them is changed and corrupted? No surely. There were Counterfeit *Gospels* written, but these do not prejudice the others which are True: So there are many Pieces go under the names of the *Fathers*, which are Spurious, but we do not reject the rest of their Works because of them. Thus perhaps it may be here; some Christians might add a few things, they might insert some Verses that mention those individual Acts, and particular Works of our Saviour, with some Circumstances which are no where mentioned in the Prophecies of the *Old Testament*. This perhaps they might do; I cannot wholly deny it, but this is no Argument that the main of these Books was not composed before Christ's time, and is Genuine and Authentick. Nay, we are certain that the date of them was long before: I hope I have sufficiently demonstrated that; Therefore let us not condemn the whole for the sake of a small part. We are certain that many things quoted out of them by the *Fathers*, and which are the clearest Attestations of the Sacred Truths of the Bible, are not Supposititious and Forged. We are certain that some of their Writings were extant before there were any Christians to corrupt and adulterate them; and many of the particular Passages quoted by the *Fathers* in these Writings are now to be found, and are the very same that they were then, and consequently they are now as good a Testimony of the Truth of Christianity, as they were at that time.

But it is also *Objected*, that the Number of the *Sibylline* Books is unknown, and we can neither tell how many the *Sibylls* or their Writings were; and as for their Quality and Condition of Life, these are uncertainly delivered. Nor do we well know

their Names, as appears from this, that *Cumæa* in *Virgil* is put for *Cumana*, and other Mistakes there are. It is true, the Opinions were various concerning these things; their Names and Verses are often confounded, and it is hard to distinguish them from one another. This is granted, and even by * those who have with great Eagerness maintain'd the Credit and Authority of the *Sibylls*; they acknowledge that it is much controverted, What and how many these Prophetick Persons were, and in what Times they lived, and in what Countries they were bred Some say there was only One; they think it was with the *Sibylls* as with the *Jupiters* and *Hercules's*, and other Gods, who were many, and yet but One. † *Boisardus* is persuaded, that the same *Sibyll* travelled into divers Countries, and took her Name from the different places she left her Verses in. And so a late

Author ‡ tells us there was but one
 ‡ Mr. Petit. *Sibyll*. There were two of these Prophetesses, saith *Martianus Capella*; three, saith § *Pliny*; four, saith *Ælian*; seven, saith || *Salmasius*. *Lactantius* out of *Varro*, (that great Roman Antiquary) concludes them to be Ten, and names them thus, The *Delpbick*, (who was the Eldest) the *Erythraean*, the *Samian*, the *Cumæan*, the *Cumæan* the *Hellepontick* or *Trojan*, the *Lesbick* or *Libyck*, the *Phrygian*, the *Tiburtine*, the *Persian* or *Chaldean*. (a) Others add two more, viz. *Epirotick* and *Egyptian*, and make them a compleat Douzen. Thus the Reckoning is not alike; but this

* Baronius in Apparatu. Possevinus, Montacut. Exercit. 4. in App. rat. Baron. Acts and Monuments, Chap. 3. Isaac Vossius de Sibyll. Orac. † De Divinatione. § Nat. Hist. l. 34. c. 5. || Plinian. Exercit. (a) Isidorus, Suidas, Onuphrius de Sibyll.

this is no Argument against what we have asserted. It is not material how many the *Sibylls* or their Writings were ; it is frivolous to insist upon this. They might all of them been put into one, if Authors pleas'd ; or they might divide them into more, as the way at some Coffee Houses now is to deal out Pamphlets. Wherefore there is no reason to reject them on this account, seeing we have proved that their Books (were they more, or fewer) are owned as to the main by the Fathers and Primitive Christians to be true, and seeing they were frequently made use of by them as sufficient Witnesses to the Truth of a great part of the Christian Religion.

And as for those *Moderns*, who have rejected these Witnesses, we may, with reference to them, take up that Lamentation of a late * Learned Writer, (who himself is partly guilty of the Fault he complains of) *Verily the Christian Religion hath no Enemies more set against it than Christians themselves ; for you may observe, that there is scarcely any Prophecy or Testimony to be found concerning Christ among the Ancients, which many even of the most Learned Men have not endeavoured to weaken, yea utterly to destroy and annul.* This is a very deplorable Thing, but it were easie to prove it most true in several Instances : You will meet with some of them in the following part of this Discourse, and more particularly in the Testimony concerning *Christ* which *Iosephus* gives. But this which is now before us, is as Signal a one as any that can be named ; for the *Sibylls Verses* are very expresse Attestations concerning our Saviour and his Great Undertakings.

Yet

* Vossius de Sibyl. Orac. cap. 11.

346 *The Truth and Authority.*

Yet how strangely do *Christian Men* endeavor to enfeeble, yea, to baffle and subvert these Testimonials concerning our *Lord*? They tell us they are the Forgeries of *Jews*, and the Impostures of *Heretical Christians*, and all manner of Objections they invent against them; yea, a late * Writer pronounces these *Sibylls* to be mad and frentick People, and so there is no heed to be given to what they say. When it hath pleased God to afford us such a remarkable Confirmation of our Religion from the Mouths of *Pagans*, is it not unpardonable Ingratitude thus to vilifie and reject it? Is it not an Argument of a vile and perverse Spirit to use all means, and those very shameful ones too, to disprove that plain Evidence which these *Sibylls* bring, and to shut their Ears to that repeated Testimony which they give to Christianity and the Blessed Author of it? In short, the *Pagans* had their *Temples*, and *Priests*, and *Sacrifices*, and *Oblations*, and *Prayers*; and they had also their *Scriptures*, i. e. the *Sibylls Books*. In these was discovered the *Council of God*; for the *Sibylls*, according to the import of their Name, were *Interpreters of God's will* to the Heathens. In these were expressly fore-told the Birth of the Holy Jesus, and many other remarkable things relating to Him: By these Oracles the *Gentiles* were pre-admonished of Christ's Coming; it seemed good to God to prepare them for the Gospel, by these Fore-runners and Messengers, as he did the *Jews* by their extraordinary Prophets. And they are useful to *Us* as well as to the *Gentiles*; we may be fortified in the Belief of our holy Religion by what they

* *Servatius Gallens.*

they delivered. They give a plain and clear suffrage for Christianity and the Founder of it. The ancient Christians thought their Writings to be Authentick Records, though now some are pleased to slight and vilifie them. They look'd upon them as good Evidences of the Christian Faith, and of the *New-Testament* which containeth it; and there is still the same Reason that we should esteem them as such, especially since the Objections to prove the falsity of these Books are very mean and weak. Therefore (to conclude) till they can produce better Reasons against these Testimonials, I think we may safely and reasonably make use of them.

CHAP.

C H A P. XI.

It is proved from particular unquestionable Testimonies of professed Enemies of Christ, that there was a Person of such a Name, and that all the great and eminent Circumstances of his Birth, Life, and Death, are really true. As to his Birth, they attest the particular time of it, the general Tax or Enrolling, the wonderful Star, the Murthering of the Infants of Bethlehem. Then, as to his Life and Actions, Abgarus's Letter to our Saviour, and our Saviour's Answer to it, are proved to be an Authentick Evidence. What the Emperor Augustus did in relation to Christ, is consider'd. The Defection of the Sun's Light, and the Earth-quake at our Saviour's Passion, are not wholly pass'd over in silence by Heathen Writers.

HAVING thus premised those Particulars which are of a *middle kind*, between the former part of the Discourse and this; I will now wholly insist on such things as are more *Appropriated* to the Subject I am Treating of. This then, I will prove from Witnesses who are professed Enemies of Christ, (*i. e.* *Pagans* and *Jews*,) that there was a Person of such a Name, and that all the great and eminent Circumstances of this Persons Birth Life, and Death, are really true. First, The *Pagan* Historians present us with his Name. Tacitus, telling how the Christians suffered for the firing of Rome, which

which Nero laid to their Charge, faith, the Emperor inflicted the most exquisite Punishments on those Persons, * who being detestable for their Villanies, were commonly called *Christians*, from the Author of that Name *Christ*. Here this Historian expressly sets down the Name that these Persons were known by, and His Name, from whom they took it. This was *Christ*; though, as we learn from † *Lactantius*, this Name was sometimes a little altered, for by changing of a Letter they pronounc'd it *Chrestus*. Thus we read in ‖ *Suetonius*, that *Claudius* banished the *Jews* from Rome, because they were always raising Tumults by the Instigation of one *Chrestus*. The § Learned *Usher* indeed is of Opinion, that here is not meant *Christ* our Lord, but some other whose true and right name was *Chrestus*. But (with Honor first paid to that great and justly admired Antiquary) it is more likely that *Christ* our Saviour is here meant, because *Lactantius* (as you have heard) tells us he was called *Chrestus*, and because it is clear from (a) *Tertullian*, that the *Christians* were called *Chrestiani*; and so (b) *Justin Martyr* informs us that the *Christians* were call'd *Χρηστιανοί*: yea, he seems to say that the *Gentiles* did not give them a wrong Name when they call'd them so, for

* Quos per flagitia inuisos vulgus Christianos appellabat; Auctor nominis ejus Christus. Annal. l. 15. c. 44.

† Sed exponenda hujus nominis ratio est, propter ignorantiam errorum, qui eum immutata litera Chrestum solent dicere. Institut. l. 4. c. 7.

‖ Judeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes, Claudius Roma expulsi. In Claud. c. 25.

§ Annal. ær. Dom. Anno 54. (a) Apolog. 2. ad Senat.

(b) Sed cum perperam Chrestianus pronuntiatur a vobis, Adv. Gent. c. 3.

for they were truly *Xenobrotos*, very Good-natur'd, Sweet, and Benign Persons. But questionless it was a mistake in the *Pagans*, and the Historian above-mentioned was guilty of it. Some think he mistook not only our Lord's Name, but the time of this Fact which he mentions, imagining that *Christ* lived in the Reign of *Claudius*; but this was too gross an oversight for so knowing an Historian, especially he, living so near our Saviour's Time. But to understand this Author aright, we must know, that it was common with the *Pagan* Writers to confound the Names of the *Jews* and the *Christians*, and to say that of one which appertain'd to the other; (nor is it a Wonder that *Christians* for a time were called *Jews*, because the first *Christians* were of the *Jewish* Nation) Accordingly by the *Jews* here (who he saith were expell'd out of *Rome*) are meant *Christians*, who were lookt upon by the *Gentiles* as Seditious and Tumultuous Persons, because their Master and Founder was reckoned such a one. And so when this Writer saith they rais'd Tumults *impulso*re *Christo*, the meaning is, they were set on by His Example; He, though dead, had a great Influence upon them, and stirr'd them up to do what they did. Or, if you will understand *Jews* here in the strictest Sense, *viz.* such as profess *Judaism*, then it may refer to *Theudas's* Insurrection, who, though he was an *Egyptian*, as some gather from *Acts* 21. 38. yet he headed the Mutinous *Jews*; which gave just occasion to the Emperor to banish all of that Nation and Religion from *Rome*. And because (as I have said) the name of *Jews* and *Christians* was promiscuous among the *Gentiles*, thence *Christus*, i. e. *Christ* is said to be their Ringleader and Impulsor. *Pliny* the Younger mentions the *Christians* and

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Christ by name, for * he tells the Emperor that some that were brought before him upon Suspicion of being *Christians*, were found to be Persons of another Perswasion, for upon his Sollicitation they refused not to *Curse Christ*. This was the Appellation he was known by to the *Gentile* Historians, and this is the very Title which the *New-Testament* so often giveth him. Thus far then the *Pagans* bear witness to the Gospel.

But from the *Name* I pass to the *Person* and his *Actions*, and most of the great and notable Circumstances which accompanied his *Birth*, *Life* and *Death*. First, we will speak of those four remarkable things which attended his *Birth*, namely the *Particular Time* of it, the *General Tax*, the *Wonderful Star*, and the *Murdering of the Infants of Bethlebrm*.

First, Those known Adversaries of Christianity, the *Jews* and *Gentiles*, testifie that *Christ* was to come at that *very Time* when he came. It was the universally receiv'd Tradition of *Elias*, that after four Thousand Years the *Messias* should be born; for though that Celebrated Saying or Prophecy in the *Talmud* of Two thousand Years before the Law, and two Thousand after it, be not exactly true, for there were about Two Thousand five Hundred Years from the Creation to the Law, and from the giving of the Law to *Christ* there were not above Sixteen or Seventeen Hundred Years, yet the Prophecy may be made use of to convince the *Jews*, that the *Messias* is come, and it is a plain Indication of the *Time* when he was expected by them, even that *Time* when he blessed the World with his Presence on Earth. Hence
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* Epist. 97. lib. 10.

352 *The Truth and Authority*

it is that (when Christ was brought to *Jerusalem* to be offered in the *Temple*) as soon as *Simeon* beheld him, he forthwith acknowledged him, and cried, out *Mine Eyes have seen thy Salvation*. This is that *Simeon* to whom the *Jewish* Doctors had reference, when they said, The Disciples of *Hillel* shall not fail till the *Messias* cometh ; for this *Simeon* called the *Just*, was one of the chief of those Disciples. * *Rabbi Hakiba*, the Wisest of all the Talmudical Doctors, interprets those words of *Haggai*, † *The Desire of all Nations shall come*, of the *Messias* ; and it is confessed by all the Learned *Jews*, that he was ardently desired and expected, not only by that People, but by all Nations, just at that time when our Saviour came ; for this was the Great Lord of the World, who was then lookt for by the *Gentiles* out of the East ; this was that Universal Monarch, who was expected to rise out of *Jury*, of whom I spoke before. This was no other than the *Messias*, the *Christ*, whom all the World longed for at that time by a general Consent ; and that was the fulness of Time, spoken of by the Apostle, that blessed Time when the Son of God was born of a Woman. So that the holy Records of the Gospel, and those of *Pagans* agree in this.

Another Circumstance of Christ's Birth, which the *New Testament* takes notice of, is the *Tax* that was made by the appointment of the Emperor *Augustus* ; and this also is recorded by the *Gentile Writers*, which is a Confirmation of the Truth of the Evangelical History. It came to pass in those days, (saith § St. Luke) that there went out a Decree from *Cæsar Augustus*, that all the World should be

* In Sanhedrim. † Chap. 2. v. 7: § Chap. 2. v. 1.

is Taxed, or Enrolled, as the Greek Word properly denoteth. This was no Money-Tax, but only a taking down or Enrolling of every Person according to his Quality, Age, and Station in the Place where he was. It was a taking in Writing the Names of every individual Man, it was numbering the People, and Registring the true value of their Estates, Incomes and Revenues, and way of getting their Livelihood. A late * Writer is of Opinion that the design of this Census was to know the number of Soldiers, and what fighting Men Judæa afforded; whence it is, saith he, that Prophane Writers say not any thing of it, it being not considerable. But he forgot that the Virgin Mary went to Bethlehem with her Babe to be Enrolled there. Or rather he did not forget this (for he makes mention of it afterwards) but he considered not that Women and Children are not usually listed for Soldiers. It is more agreeable then to Reason and Truth to assert that this Decree of Augustus was for the purpose afore-mentioned, namely, that he might have a particular account of the Number and Quality of all his subjects. The Emperor had Precedents among the old Roman Kings for this, for Plutarch tells us, that Numa Pompilius, and Florus relates how Servius Tullius took an Account of the Age, Family, Patrimony and Offices of the Romans, digesting them into particular Classes, and setting them down in the Censual Tables. Augustus, by such a Census as this, knew the Strength of his Empire, and what the Riches of the People were in the several Provinces, and so when there should be occasion

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for a Subsidy he could take his measures hence. For tho this *Tax*, which St. *Luke* mentions, be not a Pecuniary one, yet it was in order to it. This Registring, this Enrolling of every Person was to this purpose, that they might more easily be taxed or sessed by the Head. And whereas it is said *all the World was Taxed* or Enrolled, it is to be restrained (though not to *Judæa* only, as some imagine, yet) to the *Roman Empire*. All that were under the Dominion of the *Roman Empire*, at that time, were book'd and registred to the purpose aforesaid. This being a thing so well known we may expect that the *Pagan History*, as well as that of the *Göspel* should take notice of it; and accordingly we find *Dio*, *Josephus*, and *Tacitus*, making mention of it.

I know some are unwilling to grant that it is the same *Tax* mentioned by St. *Luke*, because it is said, *this Taxing was first made when Cyrenius was Governor of Syria, Chap. 2. v. 2.* Now it is Recorded by *Josephus* and others, that *Quintilius Varus* (not *Cyrenius*) was President of *Syria* at that time of *Christ's Birth*, and the same Authors relate that *Augustus* taxed the Empire in that President's time. How then can they speak of the same *Taxing* which St. *Luke* Records? And Moreover, as for *Cyrenius*, he was, according to * *Josephus*, commissioned by the Emperor to make a *Tax*, not about the time of *Christ's Birth*, but a good while after. Whence it follows, that *Augustus's Taxing of the World*, or ordering *Cyrenius* to manage it, which is mention'd by the Evangelist, is different from that *Tax* which the foresaid Writers

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* Antiqu. Jud. lib. 18. c. 1.

ters speak of. Some answer the first Difficulty thus, *Κυρήνιος* is put for *Κυϊντίλιος*, *Cyrenius* for *Quintillius Varus*, by the neglect and fault of the Transcriber. This is the Opinion of *Steuberus* in his Preface before *Helvicus's* Tables, and also of *Ludovicus Capellus*. But this is an ill way of solving the Difficulty, because it disparageth the Holy Text, and argueth it to be corrupted. If we admit of these over-sights and mistakes of the Transcribers, we must impeach the S. Scriptures of Error. Therefore the true Answer is this, That *Quintilius Varus* was the ordinary President of Syria, he was the Governor Residentiary, but *Cyrenius* (or *Quirinus*, or *Quirinius*, as he is call'd by *Tacitus* and † *Suetonius*) was the Governor Extraordinary, that is, he was sent thither by *Augustus* to make a general Tax there. Not that he was the settled Ruler of that Province, but was only appointed, at that time, to take care of that business; and afterwards (upon *Varus's* Death) he was made President in ordinary of Syria. This, I conceive, is the true reconciling of this Passage of *St. Luke*, with what you read in Prophane Authors. It is rightly said, that *Cyrenius was Governor of Syria*, because he went with extraordinary Power from the Emperor to govern and preside in that particular Affair. This amounts in a manner to what *Drusus* and *Petavius* say in this Case. viz. That *Varus* and *Cyrenius* were join'd in the Work; the one began it, and the other carried it on and finished it. And then, as to what is said concerning the disagreeing of *St. Luke*, and the Jewish Historians, about the time of *Cyrenius's* Taxing, which

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* Annal. lib. 3. † In Tiber. c. 49.

356 *The Truth and Authority*

the former faith was in the Year when *Christ* was born, but the latter nine Years after *Herod's* Death, in the Reign of *Archelaus*; I conceive this difference betwixt them is easily adjusted. Which is done not by Distinguishing between the Taxes; as * some tell us long Stories of a two-fold Tax, one under *Augustus*, without any Exaction of Tribute, the other, under the same Emperor, but with gathering of it; in the first, *Christ* was born, but the other was a considerable time after. *St. Luke* speaks of one, say they, and *Josephus* of the other, and so they are different Taxes, and thus there is an end of the Controversie. I do not deny, that there were two Taxes under *Augustus*, for † *Dion*, as well as § *Josephus*, affirms this; nay, *Suetonius* ‡ lets us know that this Emperor caused a *Census* of the *Roman* Empire to be made thrice. That he did it more than once, is implied, in that the Evangelist calls this Taxing under *Cyrenius* the *First*; (for I do not attend to || those who think that *πρῶτη* is as much as *πρωτη*, or that the Preposition *πρὸ* is omitted by an *Elipsis*, so that it should be thus, *πρὸ ἡμενονδωρτου*, before he was President or Governor; and then the meaning is, that this Tax was before *Cyrenius* was President, which is a plain perverting of the Grammar and Sense of the words, and therefore not to be regarded. It is called the *first*, because it was the *first* that was under-

* Beza, Scaliger, Casaubon, Grotius.

† Ἐπιμύειν ἄλλος ἄλλῃ τὰτε τῷ ἰδιωτῇ καὶ τὰ τῷ πλειον ἀπογραφόμενος, (the very word used by *St. Luke*.) Hilt. lib. 20.

§ Antiqu. l. 18. c. 1. ‡ In *Augusto*, Cap. 27.

|| Cloppenburg in Syntagm. Bynæus, Jacobus Perizonius.

der *Cyrenius*. That is plain ; but this is that which I assert more-over, that they are not different Taxes which are spoken of by *St. Luke*, and the *Jewish Historian*, but they are the same ; only the Inspired Writer relates it barely, but the other with some additional Circumstances. They may seem to differ, because one is called an *Enrolling*, and the other is represented as a *Money-Tax* ; but if you consider, that one was in order to the other, that the taking Mens Names was but a preparative to the actual levying of Tribute, you will soon apprehend the Mistake in the fore-mention'd Historian, and see that he speaks of the very same thing. Nay, though he represents it in part, as a pecuniary *Census*, yet you will find it call'd by him * *Amoseggh*, the same word which the Evangelist useth. Or, if they seem to differ, as to time, yet they may be the same notwithstanding that ; for it hath been observed by † *Baronius*, and several Learned Criticks, that *Josephus* is often faulty as to the Timing of things, and so he is here, and by that means confounds one thing with another ; but to a considerate Enquirer, it is evident, that he and *St. Luke* do not disagree, but that the Relation which this latter gives us is confirmed by the former. *Eusebius* was clearly of this Opinion, and was not affraid to assert, that § the Taxing which *Josephus* speaks of, is the same that *St. Luke* writes of. Nor are we to attend to a || Learned Doctor of the *Sorbon*, when he charges this upon him as a mistake and falshood, unless he had back'd his charge with good reason.

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* *Joseph. Antiqu. l. 18. c. 1.* † *Apparat. § Eccl. Hist. l. 1. c. 9.* || *Du Pin, Tom. 2 Cent. 4.*

As for *Tacitus's* Testimony, that is denied by none, but it is granted, that he speaks of the first Tax, under which *Christ* was born. He gives this short Description of the Books of Taxes, which were made at that time, * *The Publick Revenues* (saith he) *were contained in them, the number of the Citizens and their Fellows that were in Arms, how many Ships, Kingdoms and Provinces there were within the compass of the Roman Empire, was exactly set down, and consequently what Taxes and Impositions there should be, what was needful to be laid out, and what to be contributed in the several parts of the Empire* : And all this *Augustus* writ over with his own hand. Thus the *Roman* and *Jewish* History accords with the Sacred one in this matter ; it confirms the Relation of *St. Luke* concerning *Christ's* being born under the first *Census*. Wherefore it is falsely said, that *Augustus's* Taxing all the World, i.e. all the People of the *Roman* Empire is not mentioned by any Historians, either *Pagan* or *Jewish*. It is true, this is matter that seems more proper for the Diaries of the Emperors, than for the Annals of History ; which may be the reason why it is not taken notice of by many, nor insisted upon by them. But we see it is not forgotten by some, but particularly recorded by them, as is evident from what hath been propounded. The same may be farther evidenc'd from the *Censual Tables* at *Rome*, wherein all Persons that were subject to the *Roman* Empire were enroll'd according to *Augustus's* Decree. By reason of this universal Register

* *Opes publicæ eo continebantur, quantum civium sociorumq; in armis, quot classes, regna, provinciæ, tributa aut vectigalia, & necessitates ac largitiones ; quæ omnia manu sua perscripserat Augustus, Lib. Annal. l. i.*

bring of Persons, it came to pass, (through the wonderful Providence of God) that the Holy *Jesus's* Name, with the Time of his Birth, and the Place of it, and his Stock and Lineage, were Recorded in these Publick Rolls, as some of the Ancientest *Fathers* openly declar'd, and appealed to these Records at *Rome* for the proof of it. *Tertulian* testifieth, that this Tax under *Cyrenius* was set down in these Tables, and * as a most faithful Witness of *Christ's* Birth was kept in the *Roman* Archieves in his time. *Justin Martyr* doth the same in his publick Defence of Christianity to *Antoninus Pius* and the *Roman* Senate: *There is a Town*, saith he, *call'd Bethlehem in the Land of Judæa, five and thirty Furlongs off of Jerusalem, where Christ was born, as you may learn out of the Censual Tables made for that Tax which was under Cyrenius your first Procurator in Judæa.* So he, both † *Cyril* and † *Orosius* take particular notice of this, namely, that our Blessed Lord and Saviour was registred as a Subject of *Cæsar*, and as a Citizen of *Rome*. Moreover, that Women and Children, as well as Men, used to be Enroll'd in the *Census*, is testified by *Dyonisius Halicarn.* (*Lib. 1.*) speaking of that which was in *Servius Tullius's* time. And *Cicero* (*de Legib. lib. 3.*) acquaints us that this was usual. To conclude then, this Taxing was a thing known and open, and the Heathens themselves (as *Celsus*, *Porphry*, and *Julian*) did not deny it. Thus the Publick Records of *Rome* vouch the History

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* *Testem fidissimum Dominice nativitatis Romana Archiva Custodiunt.* Cont. *Marcion* l. 4. c. 7.

† Cont. *Julian*, l. 6. † *Romano censu statim ascriptus ut natus est*, lib. 6. c. 22. *Dicendus utiq; civis Romanus census professione Romani*, Ibid:

360 *The Truth and Authority.*

story of the Gospel. Therefore the *Fathers* appeal'd with great Confidence to these Authentick Tables, as knowing that these were a notable Confirmation of the Sacred Records, and particularly of what *St. Luke* delivers concerning the *Tax* which *Augustus* made.

The Third remarkable Circumstance of *Christ's Birth* was the *appearing of a wonderful Star*, *Mat. 2. 2. 7. 9.* which is also taken notice of by *Heathen Writers*. There are great Disputes among the Learned about this *Star*, which appear'd to the *Magi* when our Saviour was born. Some have said it was an *Angel*, some a *fixed Star*, others a *Planet*, and it hath been thought by some to be a *Comet*, or some lower *Meteor*. The true decision of the quarrel is this, That this strange Apparition was none of these, and yet it had something of all these in it. It is probable some glorious *Angel* presided, as an *Intelligence*, in this shining Body, and directed its Course and Motion. It might pass for a *fixed Star* or a *Planet* in respect of its height, if you consider at what distance it was seen. * *We have seen his Star in the East*, said the Wise Men, *i. e.* they being in the East (in *Chaldea*, *Persia*, or *Arabia*, for 'tis question'd from which of these they came) saw his Star at *Beth'lehem* or *Jerusalem*. Or if this Interpretation be not admitted, but that the meaning be thought to be this, that they saw that Star, it being then in the East, in those parts where they were, in those Eastern Countries where they lived, and that they came along by the conduct of it to *Judea*, then this argues its orderly Motion from East to West, and so shews its resemblance to the ordinary Stars.

Stars. It had also something of a *Comet* in this, that * *it came and stood over where the young Child was*, that is, as I conceive, it directly darted its Beams in a Line, as it were, upon that very place where the Holy Babe was; its glorious Train which came from it spread it self towards that quarter, and so this heavenly Light shew'd where the House was that was bless'd with such a Guest. In this respect also it had the nature of a *Meteor*, that it was partly in the lower Region, and there hover'd for a time. But if we strictly consider the nature of this Apparition, we shall find, that it really was none of these which I have named. It was not an *Angel*, (although guided by one) whatever some fanciful Men have imagined, for this is not the way of the Holy Spirit's speaking here, as you may see in this very Chapter, where that particular sort of *Messenger* is called in plain terms an *Angel of the Lord*, v. 13. and so again, v. 19. It could be neither *fixed Star* nor *Planet*, because both its Motion and Appearance were interrupted. They saw it when they were in the East, but it disappear'd afterwards, or moved another way when they came to *Jerusalem*, otherwise they would not have asked (as they did) † *Where is he that is born King of the Jews?* It is evident hence, that it did not shew 'em where Christ was when they came at first to *Jerusalem*; but afterwards it appear'd again, and not only so, but conducted them to the place where the Blessed Babe lay. It was no *Comet*, for the length of its duration proves this, it being seen two Years before Christ's Birth. || *Herod sent forth and slew all the Children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the Coasts*

* Mat. 2. v. 9. † Mat. 2. v. 2. || Mat. 2. v. 16.

*Coasts thereof, from two years old and under, according to the time which he had diligently enquired of the wise Men, that is, according to the time the Star had appeared, of which he was particularly informed by the Wise Men. Henec a * Learned Man infers, that these Eastern Sages came not to visit Christ till two years after he was born. But this doth not follow thence, for the Star might appear a Year or two before Christ was born, and give those Sages an Intimation of some strange thing that was to come to pass; and 'tis likely that after it had appeared a good while, and they were thoroughly confirmed in their Perswasion, that some great thing was to happen, as signified by this new and unexpected Luminary in the Heavens, they set forwards towards Judea, which they knew was the Scene of the greatest Wonders in the World, and they were a long time on their Journey from those remote parts which they left, (perhaps sometimes making a halt, or sometimes going back, accordingly as their Apprehensions and Surmises were concerning this new Phenomenon in the Heavens,) two Years or thereabout might be spent from the time of the first appearing of this heavenly Light till their arrival at Jerusalem. From this we gather that it was of great Continuance, such as is never known to be the duration of Comets.*

Some think this new Star appear'd only to the *Magi*, because (say they) otherwise *Herod* would not have so *diligently enquired* of them concerning its appearing, for he might have learnt that of his own Subjects. But to understand this aright, let us observe the words, † *Herod, when he had privily call'd*

* Dr. Lightfoot. † Mat. 2. v. 7.

call'd the wise Men, enquired of them diligently what time the Star appeared, i. e. either first what was the time of its usual Rising, for it did not appear always, night and day: Or secondly, Perhaps the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, and other *Jews*, did not observe it, it being no great and large one; but these *Magi*, who were skill'd in the Stars, and took notice when a new one shew'd it self, knew the time of its rising; therefore *Herod* enquired of them. Or thirdly, He enquired what was the time when the Star began first to appear. And that This is the true meaning, is evident from what is said in the Sixteenth Verse of this Chapter, *viz.* That *Herod slew the Children from two Years old and under, according to the time which he had enquired.* Where you see these two are joined together, and answer to one another, the Age of the Children, and the time since the appearing of the Star. *Herod* had been told by the Wise Men that this had appear'd about Two Years; therefore he ordered all Children born within that time to be slain. Hence it is plain, that the time of the Stars first shewing it self, which was in those Regions where the Wise Men inhabited, was the thing which *Herod* made enquiry about, and in which he could not be satisfied by his own Subjects. But it doth not follow from this that the Star was not seen by them at all, nor by *Herod* himself, because his enquiry was not about the present appearing of it, but only concerning the time of its first Appearance. Besides, if it was seen of none but the *Magi*, then it could not be expected it should be taken notice of in the Writings of other *Pagans*; but we find that it is taken notice of, which is the chief thing I am concern'd in at present. The *Sibylls* in their Verses prophetically speak of it, or rather (as I have shewed

364 *The Truth and Authority*

shewed before) borrow it from the *Old-Testament*, wherein is * *Baalams* Prophecy concerning the *Star*, which though it is chiefly meant of *Christ* himself, yet it may not exclude this unusual *Star* which usher'd him into the *World*. But *Virgil*, who Transcribes the *Sibylls* Verse, applies it in *Court-flattery* to the Emperor *Augustus*.

† *Ecce Dionæi processit Cæsaris astrum.*

After its Appearance it is mentioned by *Chalcidius* a *Platonist* in his Comment on *Plato's Timæus*, where speaking of the wondrous Presages of Stars mentioned in Writers, he saith, || *There is another more Holy and Venerable History, which tells us of the appearing of a certain Star, which did not denounce Diseases and Death, but the descent of a God to converse with Mankind, which when the Chaldean Sages saw they took it to be the fore-runner of a Deity, and they forthwith sought him out and worshipped him.* This *Star* is mentioned by * *Pliny*, under the name of a *Comet*, (so all extraordinary Stars were call'd) which appear'd in the latter end of *Augustus's* Reign; and he adds, that that one *Comet* is adored and revered all the *World* over. But hear what he saith farther in the same place, speaking of the several Species of *Comets*, † *There is a bright Comet hath appear'd, which by reason of its Silver looks, was so refulgent, that it could scarcely be look'd upon; it had the shape of a Man, and at the same time shew'd in it the Effigies of a God.* He might mean the *Star* which ap-

* *There shall come a Star out of Jacob*, Num. 24. 17.
 † *Eclog. 4.* || *Est quoque alia sanctior & venerabilior Historia quæ perhibet de ortu stellæ, &c. Apud Marsil. Ficin. Tract. de stell.* * *Nat Hist. l. 2. c. 25.* † *Fit & candidus Cometes, argenteo crine ita refulgens ut vix contueri liceat, speciemq; humana, Dei Effigiem in se ostendens.*

appear'd at Christ's Nativity, and which brought the Wise Men to visit him; for there might be (it is probable) a Rumour abroad in *Pliny's* days, that in *Augustus's* Reign a Comet appeared in *Judea*, which had the Image of him whom the Christians call'd *God-Man*. However, they are very strange words which this Writer utters, and deserve your Consideration. *Macrobius*, an Enemy of Christianity, speaks of the coming of the *Magi* from the East to *Jerusalem*; and *Julian the Apostate* confesseth the appearing of a new Star, though he trifles about solving the manner of its appearing. This Testimony of our Adversaries is sufficient.

Again, *Herod's murdering the Babes of Bethlehem*, is mention'd by Prophane Writers, as well as by the holy Evangelist, *Mat. 2. 16*. *Dion* in the Life of *Octavian Caesar* hath left a brief Memorial of it. But you will find it recounted more particularly by *Macrobius*, who not only tells us of *Herod's* killing the Children of *Bethlehem*, but of slaying his own Son. It seems this bloody Man had put to death two of his Sons (*Alexander* and *Aristobulus*) before, and now his Son *Antipater* also is dispatched about the time of the slaughter of the Infants, and upon the same account and jealousy, to secure the Sovereignty of *Judea* to his other Sons (who were born after he was King) for whom he designed it. He adds, that the Tidings of both (that is, *Herod's* killing the Infants of *Bethlehem*, and his own Son together with them) being brought to the Emperor *Augustus*, his witty remark or reply was this * *It is better to be Herod's*

Hog

* Quam audisset *Augustus* inter Pueros, quos in Syria Rex *Judeorum* intra bimatum iussit interfici, filium quoq; ejus occisum, ait, Melius est *Herodis* Porcum esse quam Filium, *Saturnal.* l. 2. c. 4.

366 *The Truth and Authority*

Hog than Son, (because *Herod* being as to his Religion a *Jew*, would not have kill'd his Hog.) Or, if it be granted, (and I shall not be very unwilling to do so) that *Augustus* could not hear of this, because *Antipater* was no Child, but grown up in years, and was not at *Betlehem* when the slaughter of the Children was, but * was slain five days before his Father's death, (which yet was not long after this) Admit this, I say, yet all that can be said is, that *Macrobius* represents not the Story aright as to all its Circumstances, especially the Time; but notwithstanding this, he gives Testimony to the main thing (which is, that we are to attend at present) viz. the slaughter of the Children by the Command of *Herod*, especially of such who were born † *within the space of two Years*, which is the thing *St. Matthew* expressly records. *Tertullian* appeals to the Censual Tables and publick Acts at *Rome* for the Truth of this, which shews it was a thing well known to those *Pagans*. Nor were the *Jews* backward to assert this, as you will see in † *Philo*, who relateth that *Herod's Son* was killed with the Children. If it be objected here that the famous *Jewish Historian* saith nothing of this Massacre of the Innocents at *Betlehem*, I answer, 1. Nor is there any mention of it in the other three Evangelists. This is no uncommon thing for one Evangelist to record that which none of the others so much as make mention of. 2. Many things in the *Old-Testament*, and those of great Fame, are omitted by this Author, who designedly took upon him to give an Account of all the great Occurrences among the *Jews*. He hath nothing of the

* *Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. 17. c. 10.* † *anno Antyq. Mat. 2. 16.*
Intra bimatum, Macrobi. || *In Breviario Temporum.*

the *History of Job*, nothing of the *Golden Calf*, and other matters worthy of our Observation; wherefore let us not wonder that this Historical Passage in the *New-Testament* concerning the Infants of *Bethlehem* is not mentioned by him. 3. It is sufficient, that this Murther of the Infants is testified by one of his own Nation, and by *Heathen Men*, as you have heard. It is probable that other *Gentile* Historians had delivered the same; for it had been recorded some where, as appears from *Macrobius*, who received it from those Authors.

Secondly, after *Christ's Birth* we are to consider his *Life*, and some notable things which accompanied it, and to shew that these also are attested by those that were professed Enemies of Christianity. That there was such a one as *Jesus* who lived in *Judea* in *Tiberius's* time, and did great and wonderful things, and was followed by many of the *Jews*, and was acknowledged by them to be the *Messias*, and sent from God, and was famous for those Wonders and supernatural Effects which he wrought in the sight of the People, is not disowned by the greatest Adversaries of the Christian Religion. *Hierocles* freely confesseth it, as you may read in *Eusebius*. *Celsus*, *Julian* and *Porphyry*, deny not the Miracles done by Christ and the Apostles, as several of the * ancient *Fathers* assure us; they confess the matter of Fact, that he cured the Blind and Lame, &c. but they ascribe it to Magic. In short, they give assent and testimony to the chief Passages of the Evangelical History concerning our Saviour, (though they cavil at others, and strive to confute them) They frankly acknowledge

* Origen cont. Celsum. Cyril cont. Julianum. Augustin. de Civ. Dei. l. 22. c. 8.

ledge that there was such a Person as *Jesus* of *Nazareth* in the Reign of *Tiberius*, who declared himself to be the *Messias*, and sent from Heaven to Redeem and Save Mankind, and who Preached those Doctrins which are recorded in the Gospels, and acted those marvellous things which are set down there. This Testimony of the *Pagans* is irrefragable and undeniable. And such is that of the *Jewish Writers*, who frequently make mention of *Christ*, and acknowledge there was such a Person, and that he lived at that time in which we say he did, and that his doings were no less than miraculous, and exceeding the power of Nature. This the *Jews*, who then, or not long after lived, report concerning Him, as you may see in the *Talmuds*. To this purpose *Buxtorf* in his *Talmudick Lexicon* may be consulted, and our Learned *Lightfoot* in his *Harmony and Horæ Hebraicæ*, where he hath abundant Proofs concerning the matters of Fact mentioned in the Evangelical Writings, even out of *Talmudick* Authors. This is another Confirmation of the History of *Christ* the True *Messias*.

Besides this, I will mention some things which happened among the *Pagans* at that time when *Christ* was on Earth, as an Assurance to us that there was such a Man, and that he did such and such things. Thus I might produce † *Publius Letterulus*, the Roman Proconsul his Letter from *Jerusalem* to the Senate of *Rome*, describing our Saviour as to the Colour, Shape, and Proportion of his Body. I do not know any reason why we should doubt

* *Talmud Hierosolym. Sanhedrin, cap. 7. Talm. Bab. Sanhedrin, Gem. 43. 1.* † *Eutropius, Hist. Compend. Nicephor. l. 1. c. 40.*

doubt of the Credit of this Testimony, unless it be this, that it is not taken notice of by any very ancient Writer. The Chronicles of *Edessa* I might next mention, which tell us of *Abgarus's* or *Aggarus's* Letter to *Christ*, and *Christ's* Answer to him. * *Eusebius*, who sets both down, acquaints us that he transcribed them out of the publick Tables and Records of the City of *Edessa*, and that the Originals were extant at that time when he wrote his Ecclesiastical History. There is some probability of this from what the Evangelist saith, that † *Christ's* Fame went throughout all Syria, and so *Abgarus*, who was a King in that Country, and whose Residence was in *Edessa*, might come to a knowledge of our Saviour, and be desirous to hold a Communication with him by Writing. And what though the Evangelists are wholly silent about it? This is not to be wondred at, for they omitted abundance of Passages belonging to our Saviour's Life, as appears from *John* 20. 30. 31. 15. As for the Author of the foresaid Relation, his Authority is unquestionable in this matter, for he is universally acknowledg'd to be an honest and faithful Historian; and here he declares to the World that he saw the Originals of these Epistles in *Syriack* at *Edessa*, and translated them thence into *Greek*. It is indeed the peculiar Excellency of this Historian, that he produces the ancient Monuments for what he delivers. This makes him a Writer worthy to be credited: For what can be more desired than the citing of the Authors and unquestionable Witnesses from whence he had his Relations, and the inserting of Extracts faithfully taken out of them, as is usual with those that

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write

* Eccles. Hist. l. 1. c. 13.

† Mat. 4. 24.

write Annals? Observe it, he took these Epistles out of the *Syriack*, in which they were writ; and that is the reason why other Authors and Writers before him speak nothing of them, they being ignorant of the Tongue; but he having Skill in it, found out this choice Piece of Antiquity. Afterwards these Letters are mentioned and appeal'd to by *Darius Comes* in an * Epistle of his to *St. Augustine*. And † *Ephrem*, who was a *Syrian* himself, and was well skill'd in the *Syriack* Writings, yea, and was a Deacon of that very *Edeffa* where these Epistles were kept, makes mention of them particularly, and asserts the Authority of them. Therefore those excellent Men, || *Casaubon* and * *Montague*, are strongly enclined to embrace them as true and genuine. A late worthy and industrious Writer, † looking upon them as such, reckons our Saviour and this *Abgarus* among the *Ecclesiastical Writers* of the *First Age*; and || farther professeth, that upon a diligent enquiry into these Letters he cannot discern any flaw or falshood in them, he cannot find any appearance of Fraud and Imposture; he sees nothing unworthy of our Blessed Lord in the stile or contexture of that Epistle which is attributed to him. Yea, next to the Bible he thinks these are the most remarkable and venerable piece of Antiquity that respects Christianity. As to those *Objections* which are started against the Authority of these Epistles by a * Learned Divine of the *Sorbon*, it must be said that they are unworthy of him, for they are very frivolous and groundless, and he might have used the same Arguments against

* Ep. 263. † Tom. 3. F. 1. Num. 4. || Exercitat. ad Baron. 13. cap. 31. * Orig. Ecclef. Tom. 1. † Dr. Cave Hist. Literar. || In his *Apostolici*. * Du Pin Bibl. Patr. pag. 1.

against many parts of the Evangelical History, and the passages that occur there.

But suppose, after all, that these Epistles were not really written by *Christ* and by *Abgarus*, yet notwithstanding this) they are no mean Testimony for us. If we should only grant that *Eusebius* found them among the Records of *Edeffa*, this is very considerable. Though, I think, there is good Evidence of the Truth of these Writings, yet I am not mightily concern'd whether these Writings were real or feigned, that is, whether *Abgarus* did send such a Letter to *Christ*, and whether our Saviour return'd an Answer to it. This is sufficient; that *Eusebius*, who translated them out of *Syriack* into *Greek*, was well satisfied that there were such Records at that time in *Edeffa*. Whether they were Spurious, or not, is not so material; for, whether they were such or not, they give a Testimony of the Person whom we speak of, they certify us of this Truth that such a one really was at that time when these Records bear date. For suppose the People of *Edeffa* forged them, as being ambitious to retain the Memory of their Prince. and to celebrate it by this particular Memorial inserted into their Records; yet this makes not a little for our purpose; for though we should grant the Letters to be Supposititious, (as some Learned Men have concluded them to be) yet the Registering of such may be true; though they feigned these in a politick Remembrance of one whose Name they intended to transmit to Posterity, yet the Recording of them is thus far an Attestation given to *Christ*, that hereby his Person and Worth were acknowledg'd by these *Edeffens* so long ago. But I pass this by.

I could relate here what was done by *Pagani* in Testimony of their *acknowledging* and *approving* of Christ. Thus the Emperor *Augustus* refused the Title of *Lord*, saith * *Dio*; and it is not improbable that he did it on our Saviour's Account. † Some indeed tell us that it was upon another occasion, *viz.* when at a Play *Dominus aequus & bonus* was pronounced, and thereupon the People, as if the words were said of *Augustus*, with great signs of Joy shewed their Approbation of them, the Emperor labour'd by signs to stifle their Flattery, and the day after put forth an Edict, forbidding any to call him *Lord*. Such a thing as this might happen, and yet the first and truest Motive to his refusing that Title might be with reference to our *Lord Christ*, who was born not long before. The reason to believe it is this, that this Emperor was much changed after Christ's Birth, and after the Fame of him was spread abroad, he became a great favourer of the *Jews* and their Religion, as *Philo* the *Jew* acquaints us in the Account which he gives of his Embassy to *Caius* in behalf of his Country-men of *Alexandria*. He there relateth several particular kindnesses which he shew'd to the *Jewish* Nation; and all grant that *Philo* is a very credible Author in this case. And though ‖ *Suetonius* gives an Instance of his Aversion to the *Jews* and to *Jerusalem* it self, yet it is likely this was before the other, and so it inhanseth the Emperor's after-Esteem and Favour for that Nation and People. If you thus consider that he was now much altered, it is not hard to believe that his putting out the foresaid Edict was done

* Hist. Rom. lib. 55. † Paulus Orosius, lib. 6. cap. 20.
‖ In Octavio, cap. 93.

done in honour to *Christ* : He would not be called *Lord* after our *Saviour* was come into the World, who was Lord of Lords and King of Kings. And this may appear to be the more probable if that be true which is farther related of *Augustus*, that about the close of his Reign he inquired at *Apollo's* Oracle, who was to administer the Affairs of the Empire after him, and received this Answer,

Παῖς Ἐσραϊῶν καλεῖται με Θεὸς μακάρεσσιν ἀνέσσων
 Τὴν δὲ δόμον περιπατῶν, τὴν καὶ αὐτὸς αἶδῃ ἱκέτης
 Ἄσπερ, ἀπὸ σίγων ἐν βωμῶν ἡμετέρων.

*A Hebrew Babe, a God himself, and King
 Of blessed Subjects bids me quit this place,
 And trudge again to Hell; wherefore, great Sir,
 From these our Altars silently be gone.*

Whereupon the Emperor left off Sacrificing, and returning to *Rome*, built in the Capitol an Altar with this Inscription, *Ara Primogeniti Dei*. But because no very ancient Historian reports this, and * those that do are thought to be sometimes fabulous, therefore I offer it not as if I much relied upon it. Nor do I on that other passage in † *Suidas*, viz. that one *Theodosius* a Jew ascertain'd a *Christian* whom he discours'd with, that *Christ* was chosen one of the Priests of the Temple upon the death of another, and that they writ him down (as the Custom was to Register the Names of those that were elected Priests, and to assign also their Parents Names) *The Son of God and of the Virgin Mary*. The Book wherein this was re-

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corded

* Nicephor. Eccles. Hist. l. 1. c. 17. Cedrenus, Suidas in verbo [Augustus] † In verbo [Jesus]

corded was kept in the *Temple* till the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and it was well known to the Priests and Rulers of the People. This is a remarkable Testimony, but because it wants evident Authority, I will not insist on it. That which I have said already may suffice towards the proving what I undertook, that *Christ's Life* is attested even by *Pagan Witnesses*

Thirdly, his *Death*, with some of the most considerable attendants of it, is related by Persons of the same Character. Thus the great *Roman Historian* expressly voucheth this Article of our Christian Belief, * that *Christ suffered under Pontius Pilate*, and that in the Reign of *Tiberius*. *Lucian*, who was famed for his Taunts and Scoffs at the Christians, calls their Great Master and Founder, † *The Man that was fastned to a Gibbet and hung up upon it in Palestine*. And this is confess'd by *Jews* as well as *Pagans*; the particular manner of his Suffering, namely on the Cross, is acknowledg'd by the *Talmudick Writers* very often; and by the *Jews* in Contempt and Scorn our Saviour is blasphemously call'd *Talui, suspensus*. He that was hang'd. The *Eclipse at Christ's Passion*, mentioned by the Evangelists, and that as an || *Universal One*, is left upon Record also by *Heathens*. *Dionysius*, an *Athenian* by Birth, before he was converted to the Faith, when he was a Student in *Egypt*, was an Eye-witness of this miraculous Eclipse, which he gives

* Tiberio imperitante per Procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus erat. Tacit. Annal. l. 15. C. 44. † Τὸν ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ ἀνακροσμένον De morte Peregrini. || There was darkness ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν γῆν over the whole Earth, Mark 15. 33. over all the Earth, Luke 23. 44. And so ἐπὶ πάντων τῆς γῆς, Mat. 27. 45. should be rendred, and not (as it is) over all the Land, i. e. Judea only.

gives an Account of in an * Epistle that he wrote, assuring us that it was seen, not only by himself, but by *Apollophanes*, who was at the same time with him at *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*. They were both greatly astonished, concluding some strange thing was happening to the World; but *Dionysius* † is said to have cried out in such Language as this, *Either the God of Nature suffers, or the Frame of the World is like to be dissolved*. This is that *Dionysius* who is call'd the *Areopagite*, Acts 17. 34. For returning home after his Travels, he was chosen into the Senate of *Areopagus*, and thence hath that Name, and was converted to the Christian Faith by St. Paul. || *Origen*, dealing with *Celsus* the Philosopher, proves this Eclipse at Christ's Passion out of *Pblegon Trallianus*, (one of *Trajan's* freed Men) who it seems was a great Chronologer; and * *Ensebius* mentions the same Author, and quotes his words, which are these; *In the Fourth Year of the 202 Olympiad, there happened a great Defection of the Sun, such as was never known before. The Day at the Sixth Hour was so turned into dark Night that the Stars appeared in the Heavens*. And he adds, *There was an Earthquake at the same time in Bithynia, which over-turned several Houses in the City of Nice*. Thus that Writer. What could be more Accurate seeing Christ's Passion was in the last Year of the 202 Olympiad, which was the 18th year of *Tiberius's* Reign? Or, if according to *Scaliger*, this be not very punctual, (for the Eclipse at our Saviour's Death, he saith, was in the beginning of the 203 d. Olympiad) yet it is granted that a Years difference here is of no great moment, especially when the

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time

* Ad Polycarp. Epist. 7. † Suidas in voce Διονύσιος.
|| Cont. Cels. lib. 2. * Chronicon. A. D. 33.

time is so circumstantiated and fixed by what follows, for *the Hour of the Day* assign'd by *Pblegon*, plainly shews that he relates the same thing which *St. Mark* doth, who expressly affirms the Eclipse to have happened at the *Sixth Hour*, *Mark* 15. 32. Besides the *Earthquake*, the Companion of the Eclipse, is said by this *Pblegon* to have been at the same time, which agrees with *St. Matthew* c. 27. v. 51. all which proves that this *Pagan* Writer refers to the very same Eclipse mention'd by the *Evangelists*. * *Eusebius* citeth the same Testimony, and also adds the like suffrage of an other *Gentile* Writer, who (though not named by him) is † *Thallus*, as *Grotius* proves from *Julius Africanus*, who citeth this Author for this very purpose, and sets down his words; and the same Testimony you will find mentioned by *Origen*. Moreover, *Tertullian* appeals to the *Roman Archives* about this portentous Eclipse, and tells the *Pagans* that they had this recorded in those Authentick Tables, yea, that at the very moment when it happened it was inserted into those publick Records. *Lucian* the Martyr appeal'd to the same publick Acts of the *Romans*, as † *Eusebius* repors; he bids them consult their own Annals, and lets them know that those would certifie them of the Truth of that Eclipse. Shall I add to all these what *Adrianus Gressonius* in his History of *China* saith, that those People have registred it in their Annals, that at that very time, about the Month of *April*, an extraordinary and irregular Eclipse of the Sun happened, at which strange and unusual thing *Quamvutius*, the Emperor of *China*, was exceedingly trou-

* *Chronic. an. 33. Christi.* † *Apolog. ad gentes cap. 21.*
 † *Eccl. Hist. l. 9. c. 6.*

troubled. Thus this Prodigy which was taken notice of at Christ's Suffering on the Cross is attested by *Pagans*, which is some accession to this Truth related by the Evangelists. And it is the more considerable, because we are certain that That Eclipse was not natural, being in the Opposition of the Moon, *i. e.* when the Moon was Full; for it was the day before the Passover, which fell on the * Fourteenth Day of the first Month, call'd *Nisan*, (which answers to our *March*,) when the Moon was Full, and opposite to the Sun. Now, it is known to be against the Rules of Astrology that the Sun should be eclipsed when the Moon is at the Full; whence we must conclude this Eclipse to have been Miraculous, and altogether against the course of Nature, and that it could be the Hand of God only, to testify *Christ's* Divinity. Lastly, We cannot but think that this wonderful Eclipse was seen and observed by the Enemies of Christianity, and acknowledg'd by them to be a real Prodigy when we consider that the Evangelists expose this Relation to those professed Enemies of the Christian Religion, who if such a thing had not happened could have presently confuted the Reporters of it. Can it enter into our Thoughts, that these Writers were so foolish as to imagine they could impose upon the Faith of Men in such a matter as this, which was publickly to be seen, and which every one might take notice of? This is an unreasonable and groundless Surmise.

In the next place the *Earthquake* at Christ's Passion (which as you have heard, was attested by *Pblegon*) is now more distinctly to be considered. That

* Ex. 12. 2, 6.

That Author indeed saith that it was in *Bitunia*, but it might be in other Countries likewise. He did not intend to relate how far it reach'd, but what he knew, and in what place it was most observ'd, he sets down. And this being join'd with the Relation of the *Eclipse*, is an Argument, (as hath been hinted before) that it refers to the Earthquake at Christ's Passion, which not only shook the Land of *Judea*, but other remote Countries, as the Lesser *Asia*, wherein this *Bitunia* was. For as the *Eclipse* was Universal, so was the *Earthquake*, it is probable, and the whole Earth felt the shock of it, though to some Places only it proved destructive, as to this in *Asia* particularly. With which concurs that of * *Pliny*, who tells us of an extraordinary Earthquake in *Tiberius's* Reign, which over-turn'd Twelve Cities in *Asia*, to help and relieve which the Emperor remitted their Tribute, say † *Suetonius* and ‖ *Dion*. Concerning that Earthquake at our Saviour's Passion, *Eusebius* quotes the Testimony of *Iballus* mention'd before; and the same is alledged as an Authentick Witness by * *Tertullian* and † *Origen*.

Some Learned Men are pleased to relate here, as appertaining to *Christ's* Passion, the Story they meet with in ‖ *Plutarch*, and quoted out of him by * *Eusebius*, of the Death of *Great Pan* lamented by the *Dæmons*. This falling out in the Reign of *Tiberius*, and about the time (as some conceive) when our Saviour Suffer'd, is applied by them to Him and his Death, and they think it is to be reckoned among the *Pagan Testimonies*. But I am
not

* Nat. Hist. l. 2. c. 84. † In Tiber. c. 48. ‖ Hist. lib. 57.
* Apol. cap. 21. † Cont. Cels. l. 2. & Tractat. 36 in Matth.
‖ De Defect. Oracul. * De Præp. Evang. l. 5. c. 9.

not so well satisfied as to that, but rather think it may more pertinently be made use of to shew how our Saviour dispossessed the Devils, and silenc'd the *Pagan Oracles*, which were given by them. Accordingly we find that *Plutarch*, from whom we have this Story, brings it in upon occasion of the *Oracles ceasing*, and he gives this as an Instance of it; The *Dæmons*, saith he, that assisted at those Oracles are departed, a Proof whereof we have in this *Pan*.

Lastly, Of the *rending the Veil of the Temple*, mention'd by * Three of the Evangelists, the † *Jewish Historian* expressly testifieth, and he is as good a Witness as we can desire in this Affair.

* Mat. 27. 51. Mark 15. 38. Luke 23. 45.

† Antiqu. l. 2.

C H A P. XII,

After particular Testimonies, now more general ones are produced, as that of Pontius Pilate in his Letters to Tiberius. The respect which this Emperor and others bore to Christ. Josephus's famous Testimony concerning him, as also concerning others mention'd in the New-Testament. Attestations of Pagans concerning St. Paul, St. Peter, and the Truth of some Passages in the Acts. All Christ's Predictions about the Destruction of Jerusalem confirmed by Heathens and Jews. What Pliny and Trajan relate of the Christians. Mahomet bears Witness to Christ.

THUS you have *particular Testimonies* as to those Three great Things, our Saviour's Birth, Life, and Death. Now, in the next place, I have *general Testimonies* to produce. There are some *Pagan* and *Jewish* Witnesses that confirm all these, yea, and more than what hath been hitherto testified, namely Christ's Resurrection. As other Governors and Deputies of Provinces used to send an Account to the Emperors and Senate of the most remarkable Things that happened in their Provinces, so *Pontius Pilate*, Procurator of *Judea*, did the like, and his Relation is the more valuable, because it is the Testimony of a Person who Condemn'd our Saviour to death. His Letter, or Letters rather (there being two of them)

to

to the Emperor *Tiberius* soon after Christ's Death, give an Account of his Life, Miracles, Crucifixion, and rising to life again. And as Public Acts were wont to be transmitted and reserved in the Imperial Archives, so these were kept there, whence the Christian Fathers had them. *Hegeſippus* (an ancient Champion of the Christian Cause) made use of them against the *Pagans*, as we are informed from * *Eusebius*. † *Justin Martyr* tells the *Roman* Emperors, that as for the Death and Sufferings of Christ they were to be seen in the Acts of, or under *Pontius Pilate*, and refers them to those as satisfactory and undeniable. *Tertullian* with great boldness alledgeth the same Records as a sufficient Confirmation of the History of Christ in his *Apology*, c. 5. & 21. Whereupon || one of the Learnedst Men of our Age concludes that this ancient Father found this among the Acts of the *Roman* Senate, where all things of this nature were set down. It is not to be questioned, saith he, that *Pontius Pilate* sent this Account to *Tiberius*; if we consider that this was the constant practise of all the Governors and Deputies of Provinces to transmit the Relation of every remarkable Occurrence to the Emperors by whom they were placed in those Stations for this purpose, viz. to inform them concerning the Affairs of those particular Places. Now, the Crucifying of our Saviour, and his Rising again, were certainly very considerable and remarkable Passages, and therefore 'tis not to be doubted, that *Pilate*, as Procurator of *Judea*, sent the Emperor

* Eccl. Hist. l. 2. c. 2. † Έκ τῶ ἐν Ποντίῳ Πιλάτῳ
 ἱστορουμένων Ἀκτῶν μαθητῶν δύναστος, Apol. Adv. Gentes.
 || Dr. Pearson, Episc. Cistr. Præcæct. in Act. Apost.

peror a Relation of them. On which account this Judicious Writer asserts the Authority of these Letters; and there are *other* Arguments which he useth to enforce the Truth of them, which are worth the consulting. Thus it plainly appears from the fore-mention'd Fathers, that there were such Letters from *Pilate* to *Tiberius*, and that there was such an Account of our Saviour extant at that time; otherwise they would not have made their Appeals to them in their *Apologies*, otherwise they would not have call'd upon the Emperors to consult their own Records which testified of Christ and his Actions. Wherefore I look upon * *De Pii's* Judgment as flat here, who saith, *That though this Relation cannot be absolutely charged with falshood, yet it is to be reckoned as doubtful*. † *Tertullian* adds, (and from him *Eusebius*) that *Tiberius* would have put Christ into the number of the Gods, upon *Pilate's* Writing such strange things to him concerning Him; he refer'd the Matter to the Senate, desiring them to rank Him among those that were Worship'd and Deified, but the Senate refus'd it, because they themselves did not first order and approve of it, for it was an old *Roman* Law, that no God should be set up by the Emperor unless first approved of by the Senate; for this reason only they rejected Christ from being admitted among the Gods. However, the Emperor still retain'd the same Reverence and Esteem of Christ, as a most Divine Person, and in

* *Bib. Patr. i. Cent.*

† *Tiberius annuntiatum sibi ex Syria, Palestina, quæ veritatem illius Divinitatis revelarat, detulit ad Senatum cum prærogativa suffragii sui. Senatus, quia non ipse probaverat, respuit. Cæsar in sententia mansit, comminatusq; periculum accusatoribus Christianorum.* *Apul. Ibid.*

in Honour to him favoured the Christians, and by * Edict ordered that none should accuse and disturb them merely for their Religion, and the name of Christians, annexing a severe Penalty on such as dared to transgress this Edict. Nay, *Tertullian* and other *Fathers* assure us, that he had so great a Reverence for *Christ*, that he intended to erect a Temple to him. This was from that Information which *Pilate* sent him concerning our Saviour. I might mention the Kindnesses which other Emperors had for *Christ*, as no contemptible Testimony to that purpose which I design this Discourse for. † *Lampridius* reports that *Alexander Severus* Worshipped our Lord, and had his Picture in great Veneration, and that he had thoughts of erecting a Temple to him, and taking him into the number of the Gods. Which *Adrian* likewise, he saith, intended to have done, but was hindred from it by being told that all would turn Christians, and the Temples Consecrated to the other Gods would be forsaken. These are ample Attestations of *Paganis* concerning *Christ*, and (which is greater) they are their Approbations of him.

Next, I produce the Testimony of a *Famous Jew*, whom I have so often made mention of, who forty or fifty Years after some of the Evangelical Writings, gave an account of the *Jews* Affairs, and of *Christ*, and of many things relating to Him. Among other Passages he hath this memorable one; * *At this time*, saith he, *there was one* Jesus

* Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. 2. c. 2. Chronic. ad annum 22. Tiberii. † In Alex. Severo. cap. 43. & 51.

* Τίνας δὲ καὶ τὸν ἡγεῖον Ἰησοῦς τις Κορδὸς ἀνὴρ, ὅς γε ἀνδρα. αὐτὸν λέγουσιν· καὶ ὁ δὲ παραδίδων ἔργων ποικίλων, δι-
δασκαλὸς ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἡδὴ τ' ἀληθὴς διχομήτων· καὶ πολλὰς
μὲν καὶ Ἰουδαίων, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλανικῶν ἐπαγαγὼν. Ὁ
Χεῖρς δὲ τῶν, &c. Joseph. Antiqu. Jud. lib. 18. c. 4.

384 *The Truth and Authority*

Jesus, a Wise Man, if I may call him a Man, for he did most wonderful Works, and was a Teacher of those who received the Truth with delight. He brought many to his Persuasion, both of the Jews and Gentiles. This was Christ, who though he was by the Instigation of some of the Chief of our Nation, and by Pilate's Doom hung on the Cross, yet those who loved him at first did not cease to do so, for he came to Life again the third day, and appeared to them, the Divine Prophets having fore-told these and infinite other Wonders of him; and to this day remains that sort of Men, who have from Him the name of Christians. Both Eusebius and St. Jerom alledge this Famous Testimony of Josephus concerning Christ, as an undeniable Confirmation of the Christian Religion. And the latter of these Writers places this Jew among the Ecclesiastical Writers of the Church, because he speaks of our Saviour with this great respect. A * late Writer hath a great many idle foolish Cavils against this so notable a Memorial of Josephus concerning our blessed Lord. He thinks it strange that Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and Clement Alexandrinus writing against the Jews make no use of this Testimony, especially that the first of these in his Dialogue with Trypho (where his design is to convert that Jew to Christianity) omits it wholly. But to him that considers things aright this will not seem strange; for if he looks into these Fathers, he will find, that their grand enterprize and design were to convince the Jews out of the Old-Testament, which they profess'd they heartily believed and imbraced; and therefore those learned and pious Writers fixed here, and were not solicitous to go any farther. What need was there of

* Tanaquil Faber. Epist. 44.

of flying to human Authors when this divine and inspired Volume furnished them with abundant Arguments and Proofs against *Judaism*? It would have been unnecessary and superfluous to alledge the Testimony of this Person, though never so credible, when they had so many infallible Authors to vouch them and the Religion which they had espoused. Again, this late Critick tells us that this Testimony is against *Josephus's* mind, he being a *Jewish* Priest, a legal Sacrificer, and most tenacious of the *Jewish* Religion. He was of the Sect of the Pharisees, and one of the Princes of the *Mosaick Church*, therefore it is unlikely that he would leave any such thing upon record in his Writings. Those that know *Josephus's* Sect and Life cannot believe, saith he, that these words were his. Yes, they very well may, for he doth not absolutely assert our Saviour to be the true Messias, but only that he was the Person who was called *Christ*, and that excellent Worth, and even Divinity appeared in him; and he farther bears witness that this excellent Person, who was of old prophesied of, was not treated according to his transcendent merits, but was barbarously put to death by his Country-men, and yet that in a miraculous manner he was revived, and thereby gave an undeniable proof of his Innocency and Integrity. All this, though it be a most remarkable Attestation of our Saviour, yet might have been said (as really it was) by a *Jewish Sacrificer*, by a strict *Pharisee*, by a tenacious asserter of the *Mosaick* Religion. The whole Testimony is but the result of an unprejudiced and honest Mind, such as this Historian was Master of. And if it be true what this Criticizer mentions, and attempts to prove out of *Origen*, that *Josephus* had before this

writ against *Christ*, the Testimony thereby becomes the more remarkable, because it is a great argument of the irresistible power of the Truth, and that there was a wonderful change wrought in this Person. And truly this *Objector* himself mentions that which may induce us to believe it; for we read, saith he, in *Josephus's* Book which he writ of his own *Life*, that he having gone through all the *Jewish* Sects, was admitted at last into the discipline of *Bannus*, a Disciple of *John the Baptist*. Thus this Author answers himself, and what he had before objected, namely, that this Historian wrote against his own mind, if these words of his were true. It is not likely that he spoke contrary to his Perswasion, if he was entred into the discipline of *John Baptist*, who had been *Christ's* fore-runner, for thereby this Author imbibed a good opinion (to say no more) of the Founder of Christianity. What this Critick farther saith, that if this Testimony were *Josephus's*, he would have said a great deal more than he doth, is very frivolous, and not worth taking notice of. And so is that, that the *Stile* plainly betrays the Cheat, it being *frigid* and *lax*, *putid* and *inert*, (as he saith) whereas it is evident to any competent Judge, that the Language is nothing of this nature, but is like the rest of the Historian's *Stile*. Lastly, we are beholding to him for finding out the Author of the Cheat, who he affirms is *Eusebius*, as if he had lived before or at the same time with *Josephus*, that is, as if one of the Fourth Century was contemporary with him that flourish'd in the First. He peremptorily tells us that * *Eusebius* clapt in this Passage meerly out of design, namely, to gratifie

* Eccl. Hist. l. i. c. xl.

a party of Christians, and to carry on the Cause. And that we may give credit to this, he falls very severely on this worthy Man, and both ignorantly and maliciously finds fault with him. This is the course that our angry Critick takes; but no sober and judicious Person can allow of it, for it may be plainly discern'd that this Writer was resolv'd upon it to run down this Testimony of the *Jewish Historian* by any kind of artifice whatsoever; but when we come to examine the Methods he takes, they are found to be of no force; what he offers for proof is groundless, precarious and inconsistent. After all that he hath said, this *Jewish Testimony*, and the Credit of its *Author*, remain impregnable. What though we have granted that in some things he is faulty (and where is their an *Historian* that is not?) what though he omits some remarkable Occurrences, and mistakes the order of Time, of which he could not come to a certain knowledge? Notwithstanding this, his Testimony in this matter may be valid, nay, we have all the reason imaginable to believe it is such; for he was capable of attaining to a full knowledge of what he here writeth. There is then no ground to think that he imposed upon his Reader, or spoke against his Perswasion, but on the contrary it is reasonable to look upon him as one that freely uttered his mind, and shew'd himself to be Ingenuous, Faithful, and Impartial. Such was he esteemed to be by those * ancient Writers who had occasion to make use of his Testimony, and such was his Character with all those Persons who have since used the same in Confirmation of

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the

* Eusebius, Jerom, Isidore Pelusiot. Sozomen. &c.

the History of the Gospel. And truly it is a full and pregnant Ratification of it, an attesting no less than the Life, Death, and Resurrection of our Saviour. This latter especially being attested by a *Jewish Priest*, is considerable. This Person knew nothing of that Cheat which the *Jews* labour'd at first to put upon some, and therewith to stifle the truth of *Christ's* rising from the dead, namely, that * *his Disciples came by night and stole him away*. He tells us plainly and expressly, that *Christ* was restor'd to Life on the Third Day after he was put Death, which is exactly according to the Narrative in the Gospels. I will conclude then with the words which a Pious Father useth, after he had recited *Josephus's* Testimony of *Christ*, † *If our very Enemies, saith he, dare not oppose the truth, who will shew himself so obstinate as not to give credit to those things which are as clear as the Sun, yea, much clearer? If Jews and Pagans bear witness to Christ, we Christians are obliged to listen to their Testimony, and to abominate the practise of those who endeavour (and that with no little art and pains) to enervate and destroy it.*

Again, *Josephus* confirms the Truth of the Evangelical History, by relating several other things which are recorded there. Thus || he speaks of the putting *John the Baptist* to death, whom he hugely extols, telling us *that he was an excellent Man, and stirred up the Jews to piety and virtue, holiness and purity, both of Body and Soul; and that Herod caused him to be killed because he feared his Authority would hurt him, and occasion a defection among the*

* Mat. 28. 13.

† Εἰ τοίνυν καὶ οἱ ἐχθροὶ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἀνιστάμενοι ἐκ ἐνόμιμον, τίς ὁ ἀπιστῶν τοῖς ἡλίο φανερωτέροις περὶ μαρτυροῦν;
 Ilidor. Pelus. Epist. l. 4. || Antiqu. Jud. l. 18. c. 7.

the People. He also relates how this *Herod* cast off his own Wife, and took *Herodias*, who was his Brother's Wife. This Author makes honourable mention of * *St. James*, whom he calls *the Brother of Jesus Christ*, and relates his Martyrdom, and declares that the taking away his Life was so flagitious a Sin, that it was in revenge of that that the *Jews* were destroy'd, their Temple and City burnt, and all other Evils beset that Nation. He fully agrees with *St. Luke* in mentioning † *Herod's Speech to the People*, and their *impious Flattery*, and the immediate Judgment of God upon this Wicked Man, by whose command that holy Apostle was put to death. It is true, *Josephus* saith not that he was eaten up of Worms, but this is included in that he saith he was seized with a sudden pain and disease, and died in great torment of his Bowels, which without doubt, were gnaw'd and devour'd by those Worms *St. Luke* specifieth. Because this Writer relates that *Herod the Great*, the Infant-slayer, I was infested and plagued with noisom Vermin in his Body, therefore some say he is guilty of a great mistake here, and speaks that of this *Herod* which *St. Luke* saith of the other, viz. *Herod Agrippa*. But I do not see any reason for this imputation of Guilt, because *Herod the Great* as well as the other *Herod*, might dye of that filthy disease, though it is not mention'd by *St. Matthew* or the other Evangelists. Wherefore we have no reason to think this Historian was mistaken, and disagrees with the holy Writers. As to the main you will find him concurring with them, not only in this, but in other matters recorded by them, and consequent-

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sequent-

* Antiqu. l. 20. c. 8. † Antiqu. Jud. l. 19. c. 7. ‡ Antiqu. Jud. lib. 17. c. 8. De bello Jud. l. 1. c. 21.

sequently you will find him attesting the verity of the History of the Gospel, and you will conclude that he is a very substantial Witness for the Christian Religion.

Having produced these Testimonies concerning St. *John* and St. *James*, I might add somewhat relating to St. *Paul*. That Insurrection mention'd in *Acts* 21. 38. where you read that the Tribune of the People said to St. *Paul*, *Art not thou that Egyptian who before these days didst raise a Tumult, and leadest into the Wilderness four thousand Men?* That Insurrection, I say, is the same with that taken notice of by * *Josephus* more than once, which was begun by an *Egyptian*, who pretending to be a Prophet, gathered together great numbers of *Jews*, the attempt and issue of which are recorded by this Historian; and so it is a Confirmation of what St. *Luke* here records with reference to St. *Paul*. I will here add also a Pagan Testimony concerning this Apostle, viz. concerning his being caught up to the third Heaven, mention'd by himself in 2 Cor. 12. 2. This is refer'd to in one of † *Lucian's Dialogues*, where one *Tripbon* professeth himself to be *Paul's* Disciple, and would make *Critias* such a one, and convert him to the Christian Faith. *Paul* is there described thus, || *That Bald-pate, that Hawk-nos'd Galilean, who mounts up through the Skies into the third Heaven, and thence fetcheth those goodly Notions which he preacheth to the World.* He is called a *Galilean*, because that was the common name of a *Christian*, and he is said to be *Bald*, as that holy Man

* *Antiqu.* l. 20. c. 6. De bello Jud. l. 2. c. 12. † In *Philopatr*

|| Ταλμαῖος ἀναβαλῶν, ἐπιρρινῶ, ὡς τεῖνον ἰεγὼν διεσπαῖον, καὶ τὰ κείμενα ἐμμεμαδηνός.

Man is † reported to have been when he was old. His *Hawk-nose* alludes to his high flight, and mounting up into the Air like a Hawk, when he ascended to Heaven. And this *ascending into the third Heaven*, is a plain Description of him, because none of the Apostles, or other Christians, ever did so but he. And what is added next, that he *learnt there all his fine and goodly Notions*, it may refer to what that Apostle saith in the same place, that * *he heard unspeakable words, which it is not possible for any Man to utter*. I could observe, that in the same *Dialogue* this Author bears testimony to the Faith receiv'd and professed by the Christians, whilst there he scoffingly brings in a *Catechumen* asking this question, *By whom would you have me swear to you?* And then his Instructor answers thus, † *By that God who reigneth on high, who is Great, Immortal, Celestial, by the Son of the Father, by the Spirit proceeding from the Father, One of three, and Three of one*. Thus from this Pagan Scoffer, (who could laugh and speak truth together) we are informed that the Doctrin of the Blessed Trinity (which the *New-Testament* so expressly declares) was profess'd by the Primitive Christians.

To this I might add the *Inscription on the Athenian Altar*, taken notice of by St. ‖ Paul, and which wants not the Testimony of Prophane Writers. This is mentioned by *Pausanias* in his *Atticks*, and hinted at by *Lucian* in his *Philopatriis*. *Thucydides* saith there were no less than twelve Altars erected in the Market-place in *Athens* with

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this

† Nicephor. Hist. * V. 4.

† Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἀβυσσῶν, ὁ ἀμετρετός, ὁ ἀσώματος, ὁ ἀόρατος, ὁ ἀκίνητος, ὁ ἀφ' ὧν πάντα ἐγένετο, ὁ ἐν τῷ αἵματι τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκτετατός, ὁ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκτετατός, ὁ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκτετατός.

‖ I found an Altar with this Inscription, To the unknown God, Acts 17. 23.

this Inscription 'Αγνός Θεός, and * *Philostratus* makes mention of the same. *Laertius* takes notice of the † *nameless Altars* at *Athens*, and particularly of one erected, *To the unknown and strange God.*

To proceed, some have produc'd a *Letter* of *Seneca* (*Nero's Tutor*) to *St. Paul*, with *St. Paul's* Answer to it. This is mentioned by ‖ *Jerom*, who reckons *Seneca* in the Catalogue of *Ecclesiastical Writers*, because of this Epistle to the Apostle; and ‡ *St. Augustin* also takes notice of it. But I am not so fond as to take in all sorts of Testimonies, without any distinction; but I rather look upon those Epistles as Spurious, the stile plainly shewing that one of them at least (that to *Seneca*,) is so. But because this *Seneca* was a grave and serious Philosopher, and was against the Superstitions of the *Romans*, and was far better than the *Pagans* of that time, hence some thought he was a *Christian*, and was so perswaded to be by *St. Paul*, and then it was easily believed that they conversed together, and had Correspondence by Letters.

Concerning *St. Peter* likewise I will only leave this, and submit it to the censure of the Readers; his encountering that Arch-Sorcerer, *Simon of Samaria*, (who is spoken of in *Acts* 8.) and his dismounting him by his Prayers from his Chariot, though they are not mention'd in the infallible Records of the *New-Testament*, yet are registred by *Clemens* the *Roman*, *Arnobius*, and *Epiphanius*. For it seems, this Magician would needs be flying in the Air, and by such artifices bring credit to his false Doctrins; but *St. Peter*, by the extraordinary assistance of the Spirit, and the Efficacy of

* 'Αγνός Θεός ἀνώνυμος ἱερουργεῖται. In vit. Apollon.

† Θεοὶ ἀνώνυμοι. In Epimenide. ‖ De Scriptor. Ecclesiast.

‡ Epist. 14.

of his ardent Addresses to Heaven, baffled this soaring Magician, and brought him down from his heights, and laid him prostrate and dead on the Ground. Which very thing, I conceive, is attested by *Suetonius*, in whose Writings this *Simon* goes under the fabulous name of *Icarus*, the famous Flyer among the Poets. * *This Person*, saith he, *at his very first attempt fell down near the Emperor's Bed-Chamber, and besprinkled him with his Blood.* The Representation of *Icarus* in that Play which *Nero* exposed to the People might be a mistaking of the true Story of *Simon Magus*, whose downfal happening at *Rome* in that Emperor's Reign in the sight of all the People, might well be remarked in his Life by this Historian. But this is propounded in way of Conjecture only. Thus I have briefly shew'd what some *Heathen Witnesses* testify concerning *St. John*, our Saviour's fore-runner, and concerning those chief Apostles *St. James*, *Paul*, and *Peter*, who are so often spoken of in the *New-Testament*. Which is a farther Confirmation of what I have undertaken to make good, *viz.* that the Truth of the holy Writings of the *New-Testament* is vouched by those who are the greatest Adversaries of them.

I pass to another Historical matter recorded in these Sacred Writings, *viz.* the *Universal Famine*, fore-told by *Agabus*, *Acts* 11. 28. which if you will credit *Pagan* Historians, happen'd in accordingly the fourth Year of *Claudius's* Reign, and was over all the World in the sixth Year. † *Dion Cassius*, who had compiled his History out of the *Fasts* of *Rome*, through the several Years, speaks of this *Famine* under

* *Icarus primo statim leonatu juxta cubiculum ejus decidit, ipsumq; cruore resperfit*, In *Nerone*. cap. 12. † *Hist. lib. 60.*

394 *The Truth and Authority.*

under that Emperor, and mentions his great care of the City, that the Inhabitants might not be starved. So * *Suetonius* commends him for his Diligence and Providence in furnishing the City with Provision. † *Josephus* also mentions this grievous Famine in *Claudius's* days, with some particular Circumstances and Accidents which agree with what is delivered by *St. Luke* concerning the relief which was sent at that time by the Disciples at *Antioch*, to the Brethren in *Judea*, that being a Place where the Famine exceedingly raged. Thus we find that of *Eusebius* to be true, who speaking of this dreadful Famine recorded in the *Acts*, tells us, that || even those Writers, who were averse from the Christian Religion, have deliver'd the same in their Histories.

The next thing I undertake is to treat of *Christ's Predictions concerning the Overtrow of Jerusalem*, and some things which were to follow upon it, and to shew that they are expressly confirm'd by *Heathens* and *Jews*. In the 24th Chapter of *St. Matthew*, and the 21st of *St. Luke*, (which speak of the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, both City and Temple, and the whole Nation, yea, with some remarkable Consequences of it; though I know these Chapters have been, and may be applied another way, viz. as a Description of the fore-runners of the end of the World, and the day of Judgment, as I shall shew elsewhere, there being a *primary* and *secondary* meaning of this Chapter, as well as of some other places of holy Scripture) there is, I say, first fore-told, That many shall come in *Christ's* name, saying, *I am Christ*,
and

* In *Claudio*. cap. 18. † *Antiqu.* l. 20. c. 2, & 3.
|| Τῦτο δ' οἱ πόρρω τῷ χρόνῳ λέγει συγγραφεὶς τῶν αὐτῶν Ἰσραὴλ πᾶσι δώσειν. *Eccl. Hist.* l. 2. c. 8.

and shall deceive many, v. 5. And again, v. 11. Many false Prophets shall rise, and shall deceive many; i. e. they shall pretend to be Messiaſſes and Deliverers of the People, though indeed they are very Impoſtors. Of the truth of this † *Joſephus* will inform you, who relates that there was a vaſt number of theſe Pretenders and Mock-Saviours that drew the People after them, particularly he tells us of a certain *Egyptian* in *Felix's* time, and of *Theudas* when *Vadus* was Procurator, and of *Judas* the *Gaulanite*; which two laſt, ſome think, are not the *Theudas* and *Judas* ſpoken of by *Gamaliel*, Acts 5. 36, 37. but others are of Opinion that theſe are the ſame with them, only that *Joſephus* miſtakes a *Gaulanite* for a *Galilean*, and is alſo miſtaken in the time, for he ſaith *Judas* was in the Reign of *Archelaus*. If ſo this Impoſtor cannot be meant in this 24th of *St. Matthew*. But I will not ſtand now to diſpute whether there were two *Judaſſes* and two *Theudaſſes*, or whether *St. Luke's* and *Joſephus's* *Judas* and *Theudas* are the ſame. It is ſufficient for my purpoſe, that theſe and other *Seducers* and *Diſturbers* aroſe, and ſtirred up the People to Sedition, and drew many after them in expectation of the Meſſias's coming, and partly pretended that they themſelves were He. So it was after the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, there roſe up *Jonathas Barchochebas*; who being the moſt famous of thoſe Impoſtors is taken notice of by * *Joſephus* and others, as a great Ring-leader of the *Jews* in *Adrian's* time. He confidently profeſs'd himſelf the Meſſias, applying *Balaams* Prophecy to himſelf, Num. 24. 17. A Star ſhall riſe out of Jacob: His name *Barchochab*, which

† Antiqu. l. 20. c. 2 & 3, 6, 7. & de bel. Jud. 2. c. 11, 12.

* De bello Jud. lib. 7. c. 31.

which signifies the Son of a Star, being not a little serviceable to this Imposture. He prevail'd on a great number of People to adhere to him by his inviting Promises, and perswading them he was to be their Deliverer. Yea, he brought over a great part of the Learned'st *Jews* to him, not only in *Judea*, but in *Greece*, and *Egypt*; but he and his Party being vanquished by the Emperor, the *Jews* no longer call'd him *Barcochab*, but changed his name into *Barcozab* the Son of a Lye, a false Prophet, a lying Impostor. Divers others in those days took upon them the name of *Messias*, and said they were to restore the *Jewish* Nation, and to that end led People after them into the *Deserts*, for in such places the pretended Prophets and Leaders drew up their forces as the fittest rendezvouz for them, as *Josephus* saith in several places; which gives an Account of our Saviour's words in this Chapter, *vers. 26. If they shall say unto you, behold he is in the Wilderness, go not forth to them.*

Again, *Wars* and *rumours of Wars* are fore-told to be the fore-runners and attendants of that fatal time which should befall *Jerusalem*, *v. 6.* Of this we have plentiful mention in the *Pagan* and *Jewish* History. Those were properly *rumours of War* when *Caius* threatned the *Jews*, and offered to set up his Image in the Temple, of which *Tacitus*, *Josephus*, and *Philo* speak, telling us in what Consternation the *Jews*, both in *Alexandria* and *Judea* were at that time. There were *actual Wars* when those slaughters were committed on the *Jews* in *Caius's* time at *Alexandria* and *Babylon*, of which * *Josephus* makes mention. Likewise, when
upon

* *Antiquitat. Jud. l. 18. c. 11, 12.*

* upon the cruelty of *Cestius Flavius* the President of *Judea*, there was a Rebellion of the *Jews* against the *Romans* in the Twelfth Year of *Nero's* Reign, and an open War followed that Rebellion, which was the first occasion of their final Overthrow by the *Roman Armies*, who came soon after, and sat down before their City. Or by *Wars* and *Commutations* (for so St. † *Luke* words it) are to be understood those Civil Wars and Intestine Broils among the *Jews* themselves, of which we read in † *Josephus* and other *Jewish* Records of those Times. There we may be informed concerning the Tumults of the *Seditions* and the *Zealots*; the former were those that endeavoured to cast off the *Roman Yoke*, and in order to that raised Tumults, and foster'd Sedition and Faction, which produced mutual slaughters and bloodshed; the latter were a sort of Men that pretended to be Inspired with an extraordinary *Zeal* for their Religion and Country, but shewed no other Effects of it but Rage, Rapine, and inhumane Slaughters. Besides the fury of these *Zealots*, (these *Jewish* Rapparees and Assassins) and the Domestick Quarrels and Ravages caused by the *Factions*, there were also Foreign Assaults and Invasions from their Enemies abroad. ‡ *Josephus* records how the foresaid *Cestius* first of all approached their City, and drew a Line about it, but the main shock and fatal blow they receiv'd were from *Titus's* Armies which laid siege to them, of which you shall hear farther afterwards. The short of what is now to be said is this, that if any Man consults the *Jewish* and *Heathen* Writings, which relate what was

* Joseph de bel. Jud. l. 2. c. 13. † Chap. 21. Vers. 9.
 ‡ De bel. Jud. lib. 5. c. 1, 2. † De bel. Jud. l. 2. c. 23, 24.

398 *The Truth and Authority*

was done about that time in *Judea* by the *Zealots* and the *Factions*, and by the *Romans*, he must say our Saviour's words concerning those days were true, *Ye shall hear of Wars, and rumours of Wars; for Nation shall rise against Nation, and Kingdom against Kingdom*, v. 6, 7 Not to mention what History tells us that the *Roman Empire* was strangely allarm'd with Wars about the latter end of *Nero's* Reign; Kingdoms rose against one another both in the East and West, and Blood and Slaughter began to be very rampant.

In the same Verse he fore-tells *there shall be Famines, and Pestilences, and Earthquakes*; and so it happened. as *Josephus* assures us, for he (as hath been said already on another account) mentions the great Famine in *Claudius's* Reign, (fore-told in the *Acts*)* and another after that in the same Emperors time. But that long Famine, attended with Pestilence, in the time of the Siege of *Jerusalem*, exceeded all the rest, the dread and horror of which were such, saith † *Josephus*, as were never known to *Greeks* or *Barbarians*. Among other dreadful passages, he relateth how a Noble Woman was forced by extremity of Hunger to eat her own Child that suckt her Breast. And hereby the words which our Saviour afterward speaks in this Chapter were verified, *Wo to them that are with Child, and to them that give suck in those days, and those in Luke 23. 29. The days are coming in which they shall say, blessed are the Barren, and the Wombs that never bare, and the Paps which never gave suck.* As to the *Earthquakes* which happen'd, they have been recorded by some of the *Gentile Writers*, and particularly that in *Claudius's* Reign, as ‡ *Eusebius* lets us know.

Those

* *Antiqu. L. 20. c. 5.* † *De bel. Jud. l. 7. c. 7, & 8*
 ‡ *Verf. 19.* † *Chronicon.*

Those horrible Earthquakes which were felt, and those Thunders (as I may so say) which were heard under Ground by the Inhabitants of *Campania* after the Siege of *Jerusalem*, are accurately described by * *Dion Cassius*, who also informs us that the Mount *Vesuvius* in that Province began first to burn about that time, to the great Horror of the neighboring People. It follows v. 9. *Then shall they deliver you up to be afflicted, and shall kill you; and ye shall be hated of all Nations for my name sake.* There is abundant testimony given to this by *Tacitus*, *Suetonius*, *Pliny*, and other Prophane Writers. The † former of these relates what exquisite Punishments, what severe Torments were inflicted on the Christians by *Nero* for their burning of *Rome*, though indeed he set it on fire himself. And the other ensuing Persecutions in his Reign, which the Christians underwent, are sufficiently testified by the Enemies of Christianity.

Let us now approach towards *Jerusalem's* last fatal Siege, the immediate fore-runner of its Overthrow. *When ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with Armies, then know that the Desolation thereof is nigh*, *Luke. 21. 20.* And more particularly and distinctly this close besieging of *Jerusalem* is express'd in *Luk. 19. 43.* *The days shall come upon thee, that thine Enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side.* Which || *Dion Cassius* amply and particularly attesteth, saying, That *Titus Vespasian* cast a Trench round the City, and so closely kept them in with his Army that none could escape, no not through those Vaults under the City Walls, which were made

* Hist. lib. 66.
man. lib. 66.

† Annal. l. 15. c. 44

|| Hist. Ro-

made for conveying Water into the City; for even those were stop't up by *Titus*. And from the * *Jewish* Historian (who was personally present at the Siege, and knew very well all the Occurrences of it) we learn that the *Romans* made three Trenches about *Jerusalem*, and built a Wall or Rampire round about it in three days, so that none could pass in or out. The Army which shut them so close up is call'd *the Abomination of Desolation standing in the holy Place*, v. 15. It is true, *Chrysostom* understands this of *Titus's* Statue set up in the Temple; but *Josephus* (who is very full in Relations of this matter) saith nothing of it. Others understand it of the mad and abominable pranks of the *Zealots*, who seiz'd the Temple, and acted strange and unaccountable things. But it is most probable that this Place is meant of the *Pagan* Idolatrous *Roman* Army, which stood in the holy Place, i. e. environed *Jerusalem*, call'd the holy City, and at last made their way into it. That this is the true meaning, appears from comparing this Evangelist with another. What *St. Matthew* here saith, *When you see the abomination of Desolation standing in the holy Place*, is explain'd by *St. Luke* thus, † *When you see Jerusalem compass'd with Armies*, i. e. the abominably Desolating Armies, the Armies consisting of *Ethnick* Idolaters, who were an *Abomination* to the *Jews*, and who not only threatned but brought *Desolation* and *Destruction* on the City and Temple, the *Roman* Armies, whose Banners or Ensigns were in the shape of *Eagles*, ‡ rapacious devouring Creatures. In allusion perhaps

* De bel. Jud. l. 6, & 7.

† Chap. 21. Vers. 20.

‡ Job 39 29, 30.

haps to which our Saviour uttered those words; *Wheresoever the Carcase is, there will the Eagles be gathered together, v. 24.* that is, wheresoever the Jews, destin'd to slaughter and death, were to be found, wherever these walking Corpes, (these Carcases) were to be seen, thither the Roman Armies, as God's Executioners should fly, and like preying Eagles fall upon them, and devour them. Most remarkable is that which Christ farther saith in *Luke 19. 44* *They shall lay thee even with the Ground, and shall not leave in thee one stone upon another.* Which *Josephus* will acquaint you was fulfilled by *Titus's* demolishing the whole Temple, and Walls (excepting a small part of these latter, which he ordered should remain: And particularly he commanded three Towers, besides part of the Wall, to be left standing, that Posterity might see by those Relicks what a stately and strong Place the Roman Army had taken, and partly also that these might be a Garrison for his Soldiers) and by laying level the whole compass of the City, as well as the Temple, that those who came thither should scarcely believe it was ever inhabited. To accomplish this more effectually he made his Soldiers pluck up the very Foundations of the City and Temple, that is, the uppermost parts of the Foundation which they could conveniently come at, and then tear up the Ground with a Plough: (for as it was a Custom among the Romans to make use of the Plough when they laid the Foundations of a City, so they dug up the Ground in the like manner when they destroy'd it.) The Jews themselves Record this; we find both in the *Talmudick Chronicles*, and in *R. Maimonides* (as *Dr. Lightfoot* assures us) that *Jerusalem* was ploughed up after the Destruction of it. At
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* De bel. Jud. l. 7. c. 18. † Hor. Heb. in Matth.

which time there was a literal accomplishment of that Prophecy of *Micah*, c. 3. v. 12. *Sion shall be ploughed as a Field.* Afterwards, in *Adrian's* Reign, the *Jews* rebelling under the Conduct of *Barchochab*, as hath been said, the Emperor caused all the remaining footsteps of the City and Temple to be defaced and demolish'd, and commanded the three Towers, which by *Titus's* Order were left standing, to be pull'd down, and then strewed the City with Salt. Nay, the very name of the City was extinguished, for *Adrian*, after this total Desolation, causing the City to be built anew, (but much more contracted than before) call'd it by his own name, *Ælia*; and here he set up the *Heathen* Worship, and in defiance and abhorrence of *Judaism*, erected the Image of a Sow over one of the greatest Gates of the City. And after this, when *Julian* out of that hatred and malice which he bore to the Christians and their Religion, set the *Jews* on work to rebuild the Temple at *Jerusalem*, * to a terrible Earthquake spoilt all, and those Stones of the Foundation which lay unmoved before were now thrown out of their places. Then were those words of Christ in the beginning of this Chapter exactly fulfill'd, *There shall not be left here one Stone upon another that shall not be thrown down*, v. 2. Lastly, I will add this, that this direful and tragical end of the holy City was usher'd in with several strange Spectacles and Signs; according to our Saviour's Prediction, not only in this Chapter (v. 29.) but in *Mark* 13. 24. *Luke* 21. 25. And even these are particularly mentioned and described by *Jewish* and *Pagan*

* *Socrat. Eccles. Hist. lib. 3.*

Pagan Authors. *Jerusalem* was compassed with Armies in the Sky as well as with those below. Of these strange Sights the chief *Roman* Historian speaketh, saying, * *There were Armies seen in the Air encountering one another, that their Weapons were exceeding bright and glistering, and that the Temple seem'd to be all of a Light by the continual flashings of the Clouds.* And he proceeds to enumerate other prodigious Accidents which were the pre-*ludes* of *Jerusalem's* Destruction. Thus the Twenty-fourth of *St. Matthew*, and the other parallel Chapter in *St. Luke*, which treat of the fore-*runners* of *Jerusalem's* Destruction, and the Destruction it self may be particularly made good out of mere *Heathen* Writers, who knew nothing of *Christ's* Predictions concerning it. But not only of these, but of all the other strange Apparitions, Voices, and portentous Events † *Josephus* gives us a particular Account in an intire Chapter on this Subject. There you will find that the Prognosticks of *Jerusalem's* Destruction, the Signs and Tokens in Heaven or Earth, which the *Evangelists* speak of, are faithfully Recorded by that Jewish Historian.

I have yet another Evidence to exhibit, and that is concerning *Christ's* Followers and Servants in the Age next after him; whence it will appear from the Relation given by a professed *Heathen* what the *Christians* were. And by a fair and rational Deduction, we may gather what manner of Persons they were at the very first, and consequently that the Evangelical History represents them aright. || *Pliny* the younger; Wri-

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ting

* *Vise per Cælum concurrere acies, rutilantia arma, & subito nubium igne collucere Templum, &c. Tacit. Hist. l. 5.*

† *De bello Jud. l. 7. c. 12. || Lib. 10. Epist. 97.*

ting to *Trajan*, gives an account of the Religion and Practise of these Persons; for he being Proconsul of *Bitbynia* in that Emperors time, and appointed by him to inspect the carriage of the Christians, he was careful to inform himself of that matter, thereby to gratifie his Master who had employ'd him. Accordingly he tells how strangely that Religion increased and gathered strength every day in that Province, and that not only great Cities, but Towns and Villages were filled with the Professors of it, and in proportion to this, that the *Pagan* Worship daily decreased. He testifies how resolute and constant they were in their Profession, for he saith he had some Persons before him under Examination, who were accused of being Followers of *Christ*, but he presently found them to be no *Christians*, because they were so ready upon his Suggestion to adore the Emperors Image, and even to curse *Christ* himself. Which was a sufficient Evidence to him, he saith, that they were not * *Christians indeed*; for he had been informed, (he tells the Emperor) that Persons of that Character could not possibly be forced to any thing of that nature, but that they were immoveable and unshaken in their Religion. Lastly, he gives some account from their own Mouths and Confessions of their way of Religion, and how devoutly they served God, and that they worship'd *Christ* as such. Then there is also *Trajan's Rescript* to *Pliny* concerning the Christians, wherein he expresses it to be his pleasure, that these Persons should no longer be under the Inquisition, *i. e.* they shall not be sought for

* *Revera Christiani.*

for to be punished, notwithstanding their stedfastness and *Pervicaciousness* (as *Pliny* had represented it) in their Religion; for he was satisfied of their good moral Qualities, and that they were neither perjur'd Persons, nor Sacrilegious, nor Adulterers, nor Homicides, nor Malefactors of any sort. This Character and Account which were given at the beginning of the Second Century by the Emperor himself, and by *Pliny*, who had certain knowledge of the *Christians*, may create a Perswasion in us that they were at first the same holy and Innocent Persons, and that their Religion wonderfully increased and flourish'd, and that all the Severities which were used towards them, were not able either to stifle them or their Religion; and consequently may assure us that the History of the *New-Testament* rightly and truly describes them, and gives a faithful Account of Christianity, and the Author of it. After this ample Testimony, it would be needless to insist on what * *Arrianus* and † *Galen*, and several other credible Writers have deliver'd concerning the manifold Sufferings of the first Christians; and that invincible Patience, Resolution and Constancy, wherewith they underwent them.

After all that hath been said, I will conclude with the Testimony of that Arch-Infidel *Mahomet*, who hath these express words in the *Alcoran*, || *The Spirit of God hath given Testimony to Christ the Son of Mary; a Divine Soul was put into him. He is the Messenger of the Spirit, and the Word of God. His Doctrine is perfect, &c.* And

D d 3 again,

* In *Epiſtet.* l. 4. c. 7. † De different. puls. lib. 3.
|| *Azoar.* 1.

again, ‡ the Gospel is called the Light and Confirmation of the *Testament*, and the right way to fear God. And moreover, † he brings in God speaking and declaring thus, that he had sent *Christ*, the Son of *Mary*, and that he had given the Gospel to no other end but that they might obtain by it the love and grace of God, And in other places the *Miracles* of our Saviour are owned and confess'd to be true. Thus even this Great Impostor, and Enemy to Christianity, bears Witness to the Blessed *Jesus*; Thus the *Alcoran* acknowledgeth the Gospel to be Divine and True.

‡ Azoar. 12. † Azoar. 67.

CHAP.

C H A P. XIII.

*The Testimonies before-mention'd briefly sum-
med up. An Objection, viz. That some
remarkable Passages relating to the History
of Christ in the New-Testament, are not
so much as mention'd by either Jewish or
Gentile Historians, fully answered by con-
sidering that, 1. A great part of our Sa-
viour's Life was spent in privacy. 2. No
Historians, either Jews or Heathens, take
notice of all Occurrences. 3. They wilfully
conceal or mis-represent some things out of
Design: This shew'd in several Particu-
lars. 4. Pagan Historians, out of mere
Contempt, omit many things which the Go-
spel Records. 5. Yea, sometimes out of
mere Hatred and Spight. 6. Some Pieces
of Pagan History are lost. 7. Some of
these that are extant are defective.*

THese are the Testimonies of professed Ad-
versaries to *Christianity*, whereby the Hi-
story of *Christ* and his Followers is abundantly
confirmed. Even those who are averse to the
Gospel attest, and sometimes approve of the
chief things related in those holy Writings. A-
mong the *Jews* we have *Philo*, an excellent Pla-
tonist of *Alexandria*, who flourish'd soon after
Christ, and lived in the times of the Apostles.
We have *Josephus* a Jewish Historian, some say

a Priest, who writ about forty Years after, and had great opportunities of acquainting himself with the Christian as well as the Jewish Affairs. We have the *Talmudick Doctors and Writers*, some of which lived near those Times, and give their suffrage most freely to the matters of Fact recorded in the Gospel. Among *Pagans* we have their Emperors, *Augustus, Tiberius, Caius Caligula, Trajan, Adrian, Alexander Severus*; we have their Deputies and Officers, *Lentulus, Pilate, Pliny*; we have their noted Historians, Philosophers and Learned Writers, as the aforesaid *Pliny*, the Proconsul in *Asia*, in his Epistles; his Uncle of the same name, (who flourish'd in *Vespasian's* time) in his natural History; *Cornelius Tacitus*, a famous Roman Orator and Historian, in his Books of *History and Annals*: *Plutarch*, a Priest of *Apello Pythius*, loved by *Trajan*, and made Consul by him, in several of his Treatises; *Lucian* in his Dialogues, (all which four flourish'd in the Emperor *Trajan's* time,): *Suetonius* in his *Cæsars*: *Dion Cassius* in his *Roman History*, the former of which lived in *Adrian's* time, whose Secretary he was, the latter in *Alexander Severus's*, towards the middle of the Third Century. We have, besides all these, those four sworn Enemies of Christianity, *Julian, Celsus, Porphyrius, Hierocles*, whose Writings attest the Truth of many things which the *New-Testament* speaks of. We have *Macrobius* (if we may reckon him an Heathen Author) in his *Saturnalia*, and *Lampridius* in his *Lives of the Emperors*. We have their *Women* also, the *Sibylls*, whose Testimony concerning Christ is not contemptible. Lastly, as we have the joint assent of *Jews and Gentiles*, so of *Mahomet* himself, in the *Azoara's* of his Law, which

which give suffrage to the Evangelical Writings. Thus we have all the Witnesses that can be desired and expected; and we have all the Evidence and Proof that can be had.

These things need not to have been insisted on, or so much as mention'd, if some Ill-minded Men, who pretend to knowledge in History, had not question'd several Relations in the *New-Testament*, because they say they are not to be found in the History either of *Pagans* or *Jews*. To obviate the Cavils of these Men, I designedly undertook to shew you the Concurrence of Scripture and Heathen Authors, to discover the Harmony between the History of the Gospel, and the Accounts which are given us in Jewish Story. In these you may meet with the most considerable Passages which you read in the Books of the *New-Testament*, viz. The Tax in *Augustus's* time, the appearing of the Star, *Herod's* putting to death the young Children at *Betlehem*, the Account of our Saviour's Person, Life, Actions, &c. all which have been particularly insisted upon. I have shew'd you that all these memorable things are related by the Enemies of Christianity, as well as by the Evangelists and Apostles themselves, who had so great love of it.

But here it may be *Objected* thus, granting that these remarkable Passages related in the *New-Testament*, are mentioned in Pagan and Jewish Historians, yet others as remarkable are not. Now, if there were such things, and if they were publickly known, What was the reason they were not recorded by those who made it their business to transmit such Occurrences to Posterity? Why do not the *Pagan* Historians of that Age mention Christ's and the Apostles Miracles, and all

410 *The Truth and Authority.*

all the great and notable things mention'd in the *New-Testament*? This very thing disparageth the Evangelical Records, and causeth us to suspect that they are fabulous; for if they were not, other Historians, yea, all the Historians of those Times would make mention of them, as well as the Evangelists do. I will stifle this cavelling *Objection*, by offering these following things to your Consideration, which will fully satisfie you, that there is no ground at all for this which they alledge.

1. This is to be considered, that from the time soon after Christ's Nativity, till the Eighth Year of his Age, there could be no History expected concerning him, for he was all that time in *Egypt*; therefore you have not one word of him, for all that space of time, in the four Evangelists. And if these say nothing of him, there is no reason to expect that other Historians should. When he returned into *Judea*, he lived retired from that time till he was Thirty Years old; only it is said that he went to *Jerusalem* with his Parents, and disputed in the Temple with the Doctors; and then presently he came home to *Nazareth*, and there lived obscurely. Here was no matter for History thus far. And afterwards he was but three Years and a half employed in Action, so that 'tis no wonder the Pagan and Jewish Writers could afford to say but little of our Saviour and his Doings, there being so great a part of his Life spent in privacy.

2. You must remember this, that there are many considerable Things and Persons, (besides those we have been speaking of) which some chief Historians among the *Jews* and *Heathens* take no notice of; therefore you are not to marvel that some of those things before mentioned are
not

not spoken of by them. That Obscurity of the Sun at *Julius Caesar's* death, which lasted a whole Year, is not recorded by any but *Ovid*, *Virgil*, and *Pliny*; yet ten Historians or more in the after Age wrote *Caesar's* Life, and gave an Account of his fatal End, and of several things that followed. The like Prodigy *Cadmenus* reports to have happened in *Justinian's* time; but there were almost twenty considerable Writers from *Justinian's* time till *Cadmenus* that mention no such thing. Or, if these Examples be not Authentick (as truly I cannot say much for them) I will produce those that are so in all Mens Judgments. You may observe, that those Writers who have undertaken to compile all the laudable things and Manners of divers Nations, and have even prais'd the *Brachmans* and *Gymnosophists*, and ransack'd the most remote parts of the World, for things excellent and observeable, yet have said nothing of the *Essenes*, who far out-did all of them, and were in the face of the World, most eminent and conspicuous. Neither *Strabo*, nor *Tacitus*, nor *Justin*, nor *Aristæus*, who have particularly spoken of the *Jews*, say any thing of these. Nay, *Josephus* a *Jew*, and who, in his two Books against *Apion* hath heaped up all that is Great and Noble of that Nation, hath nothing there (though, as you shall hear anon, he hath something in his other Writings) of this famous Sect of Philosophers among them; shall we therefore be quarrellsome, and deny there were *Essenes* before or in Christ's time? Again, I could observe to you that the *Romans* are not so much as mentioned either by *Herodotus* or *Thucydides*, or any other *Greek* Writers of that time, though they were in the same quarter

412 *The Truth and Authority*

quarter of the World, and growing great and formidable. It is somewhat strange, but is very true, and is taken notice of by *Josephus* against *Apion*, though this Author (as you have heard) was himself defective in the like case. *Suetonius* writ the Lives of the first twelve *Roman* Emperors; yet if you compare his Relations with the things set down in others, you will find, that he hath pass'd by many considerable things, he hath omitted sundry matters which were very obvious. Let us apply this to our present purpose: What if none of the Heathen Historians, who have related the *Roman* Acts, had spoken of that famous *Census* or *Tax* in *Augustus's* time? What though the *Eclipse* at *Christ's* Passion had not been taken notice of by Historians? (though both this and the other are recorded) yet it would not have followed thence that there were no such things; for you see 'tis not unusual with Historians to pass by some Persons and Things which are very remarkable, and worth recording. If then, some matters spoken of by the Evangelists be not mentioned in other Histories, we cannot with any Reason thence conclude that the Evangelists recorded that which is false. No such thing can be inferr'd, for even among *Pagan* Writers there are many peculiar historical Passages mentioned by some of them, which none else speak of. *Tacitus* and *Valerius Maximus*, and others, have Narrations which are not to be found in any others, and yet they are not suspected of falshood. Why then may we not credit those things which the *New Testament* Records, although no *Gentile* Historians say a word of them? Nay, we have observed this before of the Evangelical Historians themselves, that

that they do not all Record the same things. Though all of them mention some Passages, yet there are others which are spoken of only by one or two of the Evangelists; and there are some Things or Persons which none of them make mention of, and yet they are as remarkable as some of those which they have committed to Writing. Thus the Gospels speak of the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees*, yea, of the *Galileans* and *Herodians*, and yet say not a word of the *Essenes*, who were a considerable Sect, as was noted before. We are not to be troubled then that some things occur in the *New Testament*, which are not to be met with in very approved Authors. No History, Sacred or Prophane, relates every thing. The Evangelists themselves pretend not to this, you must not expect all Christ's doings in their Writings, for one of them, who wrote last of all, closeth his Gospel thus, * *There are many other things which Jesus did, the which if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the World it self could not contain the Books that should be written.*

3. We are to know this, that both Jewish and Pagan Historians concealed or misrepresented some things which relate to Christianity, and that willfully and out of design. I begin with the first sort of Historians, and offer this Instance; we read in *Philo* and *Josephus* the Character of the *Essenes*, (whom I mention'd before) viz. that they were the most Devout Men of all the Jewish Nation, that they were a retired People, and given to Husbandry, that they were famed for their mutual Love to one another, and that (as an effect of this) they had

* John 21. 25.

had all things in common, like those Primitive Christians spoken of in the *Acts*, or like the *Caldees* or *Culdees* among the *Scots* in the first Ages; that though they were the devoutest Worshipers among the *Jews*, yet they * offered no Sacrifices, but composed their minds wholly to a severe Sanctity, that they were celebrated for their great Austerity of Life, for their Temperance, Chastity, and Self-denial; that † their bare Word was of more force with them than an Oath, and that they avoided all Swearing; counting it far worse than Perjury; that they ‖ were generous Despisers of all those things which affright and trouble others, and that they vanquish'd all Torments and Persecutions with Fortitude and Steadiness of mind. And as for Death, if it was to be undergone with honour and repute, they judged it to be better than Immortality. This is the true, but admirable Character of that People, and both these Authors tell us that they were *Jews*. It is true, there were such People as *Jewish Essenes*, and *Josephus* reckons them as one of the three Sects of Philosophers among the *Jews*. But it is probable that this excellent Character, or all of it at least, belongs not to These, but to the *Christians* of *Alexandria* at that time. *Philo* then in his Treatise

* Οὐ ζῶα καὶ ἀδύοκτες, ἀλλ' ἡγεμονικῶς τὰς ἑαυτῶν διατάξεις καὶ σαυκαυάζον ἀξίους. *Philo. lib. quod omnis probus liber.*

† Πάντες αὐτοὶ τὸν αὐτὸν νόμον ἔχοντες ἔχοντες τὴν ἑαυτῶν αὐτῶν ἀρετήν, καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντες τὴν ἀνθρώπων ἀντιπαράθεσιν. *Joseph. de bel. Jud. l. 2. c. 7.*

‖ Καταφρονεῖται ὅτι θνήσκον, καὶ τὰς ἀδυναμίας νικῶντες τοῖς φρονήμασι καὶ ὁ δαίμων, οἱ μετ' ἐνελπίας ἐπιβόησι, τομίζοντες ἀδυναμίας ἀμύνου. *Ibid.*

title of a *Contemplative Life*, where he pretends to describe the *Essenes*, writeth in praise of these *Jewish Christians*, who were under the Tuition and Conduct of *St. Mark*, Bishop of *Alexandria*; for this Evangelist Preaching the Gospel in *Egypt* settled a Church here. This was the Opinion of that Learned Father * *St. Jerom*; That Church, saith he, did at that time Judaize, and therefore *Philo* the *Jew* thought it to be for the praise of his Nation to describe their excellent Order, Life and Institution. For this Reason this Author is numbred by that Father among the *Ecclesiastical Writers*, namely because he hath left an Encomium of these *Christians*, who lived thus religiously under *St. Mark* the Evangelist. † *Eusebius* is of the same Judgment, and saith what *Philo* writes of the *Essenes* is to be understood of those Primitive *Christians* who were disciplin'd under *St. Mark*. *Epiphanius* and *Crisostom* were of this Perswasion, and so were some others of the Fathers. *Baronius* holds they were old *Christian Monks*, and a great number of *Protestant Writers* agree in this, that they were devout *Christians* bred up as Disciples under that holy Man. This is the more credible, because it is said of them that they used no Sacrifices; this plainly shews they were no *Jews* as to their Religion, although *Philo* and *Josephus* were willing to represent them as such, in honour of their Nation, they being so much admired for the Piety and Integrity of their Conversations. And the rest of the Character is a plain Description of the *Primitive Christians*, as they are represented in the History of the Gospel,

* *Catalog. Script. Ecclesiast.* † *Eccles. Hist.* l. 2. c. 16.

416 *The Truth and Authority*

spel, i. e. as having for a time all things Common, as being Exemplary for their brotherly Love, as Persons of singular Moderation and Self-denial, as those who were bid not to Swear at all, as those who underwent the severest Persecutions with an undaunted Courage and Fortitude, and resisted even unto Blood, and loved not their Lives unto the Death.

Now the Jewish Writers for Politick Ends, would not give this Account of them as *Christians*, but as *Jews*, that the Credit of it might not redound to Christianity, but to their Own Religion and way of Worship.

Then, for *Pagan* Historians, they also out of Design omit some things, and insert others that are very false. Thus, as * *Budæus* hath well observ'd, *Pliny* the Natural Historian, could not be ignorant of the *Eclipse at Christ's Passion*, it being recorded in the *Roman Archives*, and he being a diligent Searcher in those Acts; but he would not insert that into his Writings which he knew Princes were desirous should be conceal'd; for the Doctrin and Religion of *Jesus* were to be as little plausible as could be among proud and voluptuous Men, whom the Christian Religion so much abhors and condemns. To have mention'd that Prodigy, might exalt that Religion too much, and the *Eclipse* might make it shine the brighter, and be more admired and reverenc'd by the World. For this Reason it is probable the Heathen Writers neglected to record this so prodigious an Accident, it making for a new Religion contrary to their own. I will give you another notable Instance, which is this, when *M. Aurelius Antoninus's Army* was

* De assë lib. 4.

was in great streights, and wanted Water, they were suddenly and unexpectedly supplied with Rain, but at the same time their Enemies against whom they fought were over-whelm'd with Hail and Thunder. * *Dion*, † *Julius Capitolinus*, ‡ *Claudian*, § *Lampridius* report this thing, but say it was from the Emperor's own Prayers to *Jupiter*, and from the Incantments of the *Jewish Magicians*. But the plain truth is, that the *Christian* Soldiers by their Prayers procured this extraordinary and unexpected Rain for the relief of their Thirst, and brought down Thunder and Storms upon their Enemies. The relating of this would have been too great an Honour to the *Christians*, and to their Religion, and the Master of it; wherefore the *Pagan* Historians out of Policy would not ascribe this Wonder to the Prayers of the *Christians*, but to those of the Emperor, and tell us the very words he used. But they have not wholly concealed the Truth, for (as you have heard) they impute this wonderful Accident partly to the Incantments of the *Jewish Magicians*. We know how common a thing it is with the *Pagan* Writers to mistake *Jews* for *Christians*, and so the *Jewish Magicians* here are no other than the *Christians* in that Army, who because they brought to pass such a wonderful and astonishing Thing, are said to be *Inchanters* and *Magicians*. These religious pious *Christians* were employ'd in the Expedition against the *Germans* and *Sarmatians*, and when the Army was ready to perish with Thirst, obtained and fetch'd down by their

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* Hist. † In Marco Aurelio. ‡ In Marco.

effectual Prayers great showers of Rain for themselves, and destructive Thunder and Lightning on their Enemies Camp, and thereby procured a Victory over them, whence the Emperor got the Names of *Germanicus* and *Sarmaticus*. This is alledged and made use of in the Cause of Christianity by *Apollinaris*, in his Apology to the Emperor, as *Eusebius* testifies. And this is mentioned by *Tertullian*, as a thing every where known in his Apology to the Senate; and he tells them there that the Emperor's own Letter to them, not long before sent to them out of Germany, acknowledged the same, viz. that God wrought a Miracle for the sake of the Christians who were in his Army, and he owed the Victory wholly to their pious Addresses to Heaven. This Father would never have said this to the *Romans*, if there had been any possibility of confusing it; yea, if it had not been a thing certainly known by them. This Story of the *Thundering Legion* you have also at large in *Eusebius*, who assures us that this Name was given them for this very reason, because by their ardent Prayers they procured Thunder to fright and disperse their Enemies, and Rain to refresh themselves. And if what some have endeavour'd to prove were true, viz. that this was the name of a *Legion* in *Augustus's* time, and was named so from the *Thunderbolt* which it carried in the Shield, yet I do not see any reason to disbelieve this ancient Author; for why may not a Name be given on different accounts? Why may it not be call'd the *Thundering Legion*, for

* *Eccles. Hist.* l. 4. c. 26.
& in *Chronica*.

† *Eccles. Hist.* l. 3. c. 5.

this reason which he mentions as well as for that which others Assign? I don't perceive that these are inconsistent. *Eusebius* goes on, and adds that the Emperor hereupon recall'd his Edicts against the Christians, and by a new Decree appointed a severe Punishment to be inflicted on the Accusers of them. The *Gentile* Historians say nothing of this, and will not let us know that that miraculous Event was by means of the Christians. A Victory gain'd by the Prayers of Christians would sound ill. This would have been too signal a Testimony of the Truth and Prevalency of Christianity, therefore it is suppressed. For the same reason you may reckon Christ's Miracles are omitted in *Pagan* Historians, if you suppose they came to their Ears. It is their cunning to write nothing of these, for hereby they would at the same time commend Christianity, and disparage their own Way. Besides, some of them were afraid to own the miraculous Acts of Christ and his Followers, for they saw that this sort of Men were persecuted and put to death; so that they dared not relate the Wonders they did, lest they should be suspected to favour Christianity, and by that means become liable to Capital Punishment. Or, if they fear'd not this, yet they were afraid to displease the great ones, as I said before. If they knew any thing would be ungrateful and unacceptable to their Masters they pass'd it by. Thus when it was given out by the *Sibylline Oracle* in the Year before our Saviour was born, that *Nature did then bring forth a King to the World*, the Roman Senate thereupon ordered that no Child born that Year

420 *The Truth and Authority.*

should be brought up, as appears in * *Suetonius*. Which was sufficient to give check to the *Roman* Historians, and so 'tis not to be wondered (as the † Learned *Vossius* observes) that the killing of the Children of *Bethlehem* by *Herod's* command is not mention'd by any but the Evangelists, he might have said, unless by *Macrobius*; that act of his being somewhat a-kin to the Edict of the *Roman* Senate.

4. I adjoin this, that the Christian Religion, and the Professors of it, were generally look'd upon by Prophane Writers as very contemptible, so that some of these scorn'd to record those things which had any relation to them. Hence it is that Christ's Miracles, and other things appertaining to Christianity, are not so much as mention'd. They would not vouchsafe to record such mean sorry things, and which indeed some of them took for Fables and mere Falsities. On this account likewise it cannot be expected that the *Roman History* should at any time particularize the Christian Affairs, unless when War and Tumults suppos'd by them to be caused by the Christians invited those Writers to it. Then the *Roman* Glory is concern'd to let the Conquest be told, and to have an Account given of the Particulars. But other Things relating to Christianity are deemed low and mean, and are pass'd over in silence, as not of any Concern and Moment. The *Pagan* Historians do purposely omit the Acts of the Christians because they think them not worth the reciting.

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* In *Octavio* cap. 49.

† De *Orac. Sibyll.*

5. To speak more plainly, Prejudice, Hatred and Malice, may be assign'd also as the Causes why some of the most remarkable Passages in the Evangelical History are not mention'd by Pagan or Jewish Writers. It is no wonder that *Valerius Maximus*, who hath made a Collection of the memorable Acts and Sayings of other Nations as well as *Rome*, and dedicated them to *Tiberius*, yet hath not a word of Jewish Acts, much less hath inserted any Christian ones. His Aversness to the Christian Religion may solve this very well, unless you will say that Christianity was but just risen at that time when he wrote, and the materials of History concerning it were not yet brought to him. But this cannot be said of *Tacitus*, who lived in the next Age, and who was a great Hater of the Christians, and was very * severe upon them in his Writings, on which account he cannot be thought to have related things impartially concerning them. *Suetonius* was † bitter against them, and who then can look for any fair Account from him? The same may be said of *Lucian* and *Pliny*, who though they deliver some Truths (and not inconsiderable ones) concerning the Christians, yet their Aversness to them and their Religion (which by the latter of them is call'd || *Pervicacia & inflexibilis obstinatio*) would not permit them to speak what they knew of them. *Platarch*, of all that lived and writ about that time, was the civilest to the Christian Religion;

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* Per flagitia invisi. — Haud perinde in crimine incendii quam odio humani generis convicti sunt. *Annal.* l. 15.

† Genus hominum superstitionis novæ & maleficæ. In *Nerone*, cap. 16. || *Epist.* 79. lib. 10.

on; he no where jeers or slanders it, or makes any Reflections upon it, which made *Theodoret* think he was almost a Christian, and had a favour for their Religion. But the rest (some of whom I have named before) hated the Christians, yea their very name was odious to them; hence when they speak of Christians or Christianity they mingle Calumnies and Lies with what they say. Christians with them pass for fond and superstitious People, nay for flagitious and profligate, nay sometimes for Diabolical Impostors and Wizards, and the most execrable sort of Persons under heaven. I might here mention *Zosimus*, a fierce Pagan, and therefore shews it in his History when he speaks of the Christians. Being a great Hater of these Persons he doth upon all occasions speak ill of them, and particularly of *Constantine* the Great, because he was the first Emperor that threw off Heathenism, and imbraced Christianity. He tells us that he Murder'd his Empress, his Son, and other near Relations, and that he was smitten with Leprosie for these unnatural and horrid Crimes; in brief, he relates the Particulars of this great Man's Life contrary to all ancient Historians that have written concerning him. The ground of which was no other than this, that he had entertain'd a particular Grudge and Prejudice against the Emperor, and bore a hatred to Christianity it self; so that whatever he wrote concerning them favor'd, of ill will and malice. It is not then to be marvell'd at, that such Men mis-represent many Passages which relate to the Professors of Christianity, and falsifie all reports concerning them. They can

can by no means speak well of a People that they hate. A Religion that they so abhor can have no Persons Good of it, they think. You must not expect they will relate Truths which they have a dislike of. ¶ This is one reason why *Pagans* are defective in their Historical Narrations; why many things spoken of by the Evangelists, are not mention'd by them, or are vilely mis-represented. This is the cause why so few of Christ's Actions, and the Affairs of Christians are taken notice of; and why those that are, are so miserably perverted. Prejudice and Envy, Spleen and Malice, are the Source of this Miscarriage.

¶ 6. I add this, that many pieces of History are lost, as hath been acknowledged and complain'd of by the Learned; whence it is that many Occurrences which we meet with in the History of the Gospel are not to be found in the Writings of the *Pagans*. We have but a few of these left us in comparison of their number at first; and those that we have are but Relicks of those Histories before written. Particularly the Stupendous Acts of our Saviour, and the Monuments of the bravest and noblest things done in that Age wherein He was born are now missing. All *Dio's* History from the Consulships of *Antistius* and *Balbus* unto the Consulships of *Messala* and *Cinna*, that is, for the space of Ten Years, Five Years before Christ's Birth, and Five after it, is quite lost, and so is *Livy's* History of that time. In vain therefore doth any Man think to find the remarkable Passages referring to Christ's Birth in these Writers; much more vain is it to look for these things in those

Writers whose Histories are altogether missing at this day. Thus to instance only in the Universal *Ἀπογενεή*, which makes the greatest noise with the *Objectors*, that without doubt was set down by some *Roman Historians*, but their Writings either by Negligence, or by Fire, or by the Invasion of the Barbarous Nations into *Italy*, or by age and length of time are lost. It is clear that some did make mention of it; otherwise whence had * *Suidas* all that which he relates of the Twenty Persons that were sent to make the *Ἀπογενεή*? God perhaps would in his Providence approve the loss of these, that holy History might be partly imbraced by Faith, and not owe its Authority wholly to Human Testimony. But such as is remaining I have produced, and that is enough to satisfy any sober any considerate Person.

Lastly, I remark this in the close of all, that there are two of the most celebrated *Roman Historians* from whom we can expect nothing that hath Relation to Christ's Birth, or any great Occurrence that happened about that time. For *Livy* wrote but to *Augustus's* beginning, which was before Christ, and for that reason no Man can rationally think, that such Notable Concomitants of our Saviour's Nativity as the *General Taxing*, and the *Appearing of the Star*, could be recorded by this Historian. And as for *Tacitus* (who is the other Celebrated Historian) there is as little reason to expect any of these notorious Matters in his Writings, because he goes not back so far as *Augustus*. His *Annals*

* In verbo [*Ἀπογενεή*]

Annals begin with *Tiberius*, and continue to the death of *Nero*: and his Books of *History* begin where his *Annals* left off, and go on to the end of *Titus Vespasian's* Expedition against the *Jews*, and there have their Period. *L. Florus* is but an Abbreviator of *Livy*, and therefore we can look for nothing there. So *Velleius Paterculus*, though he goes something farther, is an Epitomizer, a Scantling of an Historian. As for *Justin*, who flourished in the Emperor *Antoninus Pius's* time, he was but an Epitomizer of *Trogus Pompeius*, and goes no farther than he went; therefore we cannot expect any thing of him concerning the Christian Affairs. Thus you see what are the boundaries of these Chief Historians, and what you may look for (or rather not look for) from them, and also you have the Reasons given you why but few things which have reference to the History of the Gospel are found recorded in Pagan Writers. But all that could be rationally look'd for, is recorded, as I have shew'd you, by the best Historians among the Pagans.

These are the several Considerations which I undertook to offer, and I question not but that they will fully satisfy the *Scruples* and *Objections* before started, and abundantly clear up this Truth to us, that we have sufficient Testimony from Pagan and Jewish Writers concerning the Gospel-History. This Proposition is evident, that the *New-Testament* is confirmed by Prophane Writers, that the Evangelical Records are attested by the authority even of those who were without. These have transmitted to us many of those things which are registred by the holy Evangelists.

vangelists. The Memoirs of these things are in Prophane Story, in the Writings of those that opposed the Christian Religion.

Thus I have finish'd what I attempted, that is, I have proved the *Truth* and *Authority* of the Scriptures from the suffrage and attestation of *Strangers*. I have let you see that the Confession of our *Adversaries* agrees with that of our best Friends. We appeal to the *Jews*, and to the *Gentile-World*; even these bear witness to the Sacred Writings. And their witness cannot be rejected by any reasonable Person, because * a Testimony is least to be suspected when it comes from an Enemy, yea, because such a Testimony is reputed † firm and solid, because it is ‖ worthy to be believed, because ‡ it is most valid for the Commendation and Establishment of the Truth. This then renders the Books of the *Old* and *New-Testament*, worthy of all Acceptation, viz. that they are vouched by *Professed Adversaries*. And this is that which I have been urging in this Discourse, viz. that *Jews* and *Pagans* testify the same things which the Inspired Writers deliver. A great part of the memorable Passages set down in these Sacred Writings are left on Record in those others. This is a mighty Confirmation of the Truth of these holy

* Τότε μάλιστα ἀνέπηθε ἡ μάρτυρία τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων. Chrysost. in Psal. 45.

† Satis firmum testimonium est ad probandam veritatem quod ab ipsis prohibetur inimicis, Lactant. Inst. l. 4. c. 12.

‖ Αἱ πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μάρτυριαι ἀξιόπισται εἰσιν. Basil. M. hom. de Nativ. Christi.

‡ Ἰχθῦνες τοῦ εἶδος τῆς ἀληθείας οὕτως ἐν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς μάρτυρα. Greg. Nyss. de Anim.

holy Books, this is a clear Evidence that they are not forged and supposititious, but that the Matters contain'd in them are real and certain, that they give a just and faithful Account of the things they treat of; in brief, that they are the Word of Truth, and endited by the Spirit of Truth. And thus much in pursuance of the First General Head concerning the Holy Scriptures, viz. the Truth and Authority of them.

A D D E N D A.

Refer this to Page 261. Line 15.

THE English *Jay*, from the Hebrew *Ajab*, pica, cornix. To *abash* is taken from the Hebrew *bush* puduit. And from the Greek we borrow many words with the omission of a Letter or two in the beginning, as *Licourice* for *Glicourice*, from γλυκυρριζα; *Emonies* vulgarly so call'd, for *Anemonies*, from the Flower ἀνεμών, whence the Latin *Anemone*. *Sciatica* for *Ischiatica*, ἀβ ισχίας, the Hip or Huckle-bone: *Scaroticks* among Physicians for *Escharoticks*: *Scar*, from ισχιδες crusta cauterio in carne facta: *Sol*, from λωρθ; *Rice* from ὀρυζα, oryza: *Star*, from αστηρ: *Box*, from βουξ; *Maurus*, a Moor, from μαυρθ obscurus: *Tansto*, from ἀθανασία: To gaze from ἀπαζομαι, admiror, stupeo. *Gay* from εἰσαῖθ, elegans: and perhaps *Trull* from ματρώλη lana. And I have taken notice of several Words from the Latin, with the first Letter, or more, cut off in the beginning, as *Uncle* from avunculus, qu, avuncle: *Tills* (as they are call'd in some Countries)

tries) from *Lentils*, *Lenticula*: *Story* from *History*, *Historia*: *Bishop* qu. *Pischo*p, from *Episcopus*: *Spain* from *Hispania*: *Sparagus* for *Asparagus*: A *Plaister* from *Emplastrum*: *Stum* from *mustum*: *Drop*sy from *Hydrops*: *Gypsy* for *Egypt*sy, of Latin original: *Pouch* for *Capouch*, (a *Cowl* or *Hood*, whence the *Capuchin-Friars* have their Name) from *Caputium*, a *Hood* worn on the *Head*: *Picked* (i. e. sharp at the end) qu. *spiked*, from *Spica* an *Ear of Corn*: Or if it comes from a *Pike*, then that seems to come from *Spiculum* a *Pike* or *Spear*, and that is from *Spica*, it is likely: *Sides-men* corruptly for *Assisting-men*, it being their Office to *Assist* the *Church-Wardens* (unless you will rather understand by them *Testes Synodales*, *Synods-Men*, who were anciently joined with the *Church-Wardens*.) There are other *English Words* derived after the same manner from the *English*, *Saxon*, and *French*: Thus *Poppy*, with the *p* left out in the beginning and middle, seems to give the denomination to *Opium*, (which is now a Word that may pass for *English*, and signifies the Juice of *Poppy*) as if *Popium* were the Word: *Sterling* for *Easterling*: *Bour*, or *Bowr*, from *Arbour*: *Spittle*, or *Spital*, for *Hospital*: *Vails* for *Avail*: *Vantage* for *Advantage*: *Say* for *Essay*: *Grees* (*Stairs*) for *Degrees*: *Cantle* (in *Heraldry*) quasi *Scantling*: *Prentice* vulgarly for *Apprentice*: *Stover* (for *Cattle*) from the *French Estover*: *Squire* for *Esquire*, à Gall. *Escuyer*: *Quiry*, or *Querry*, for *Equerry*, a *Place*, a *Stable* where *Race-Horses* are set: To *Ply* for *Employ*.

Instead

Instead of *Sacristan* we corruptly say *Sexton*: For *God be with you*, we say, *Good By*: For *Koningstable* or *Kingstable*; we say, *Constable*, the Officer that is appointed and establish'd by the King, or to conserve the King's Peace. We vulgarly say *Spice* for a *Specimen*, *Hogo* for *Haut-goust*, *Carfax* for *Quatre voix*, the place where *Four Ways* meet in *Oxford*. Some have thought that *Elphs* and *Goblins* with which they frighted Children heretofore are derived from the famed and so talked of Feud between the *Guelphs* and *Guibelines*. *Saragosa* in *Spain* is most corruptly pronounced for *Cesar-Augusta*. The Emperor of the *Abyssines* is called *Prestor-John*, for *Prestegian*, or *Protegian*, as some think, but this is disputable. *Maldon* in *Essex*, by the *Saxons* called *Malodune*, is a Corruption of *Camalodunum*, the old Colony of the *Romans* here. *Godmanchester* in *Huntingdon shire*, is so written in stead of *Gormonchester*, from one *Gormon* a *Danish* Prince that had this part of the Country allotted to him. But *Charter-House* for *Charterhouse*, (the *Covent* heretofore of the *Cartbusians*). and *Shingles* (the common word for *St. Anthony's Fire*, because it incompasses the Body like a *Girdle*) for *Cingles*; and *Good Morrow* for *Good Morning* are not so great Depravations of the Words.

Refer this to Page 254. Line 25.

If *φελόν* signified any such thing as *furtum*, we might perhaps think the English *Felony* came thence. If *σολή*, or *stola*, signified *sedile*, we should be inclined to fetch *Stool* thence. We should

430 *The Truth and Authority, &c.*

should have derived *Smoke* from the Greek *σμός* if it had signified any thing like, *fumus*, and so a *Spade* from *σπίδα* and *Spada*. Nay, If *ωδ-
μα* denoted any thing like *placenta*, or *laga-
num*, we then should have vouched even our Eng-
lish word of that sound to be derived from it.

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1694

A

DISCOLL

Concerning the

Authority, Style, and Perfection

OF THE

Imprimatur,

CAROLUS ALSTON,

April 8. R. P. D. Hen. Episc.

1694

Lond. à sacris.

Wherein the Author's former Undertaking is further prosecuted, and an Essay is made to bring into several Remarkable Texts which contain some Evidences in their own Nature, with a Probable Resolution of them.

By JOHN EDWARDS, B. D. sometime Fellow of St. John's College in Cambridge.

Printed by J. D. for Jonathan Richardson at the Golden Lion, and John Wain at the Rose in St. Paul's Church-yard. MDCXCIV.

A
DISCOURSE

Concerning the
Authority, Stile, and Perfection
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BOOKS

OF THE
Old and New Testament.

Vol. II.

Wherein the Author's former Undertaking is further prosecuted, *viz.* an Enquiry into several Remarkable Texts which contain some *Difficulty* in them, with a Probable *Resolution* of them.

By JOHN EDWARDS, B. D. sometime Fellow of St. John's College in Cambridge.

L O N D O N,

Printed by J. D. for Jonathan Robinson at the Golden Lion, and John Wyatt at the Rose in St. Paul's Church-yard. MDCXCIV.

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Praefect.

(V)

TO THE

Right Reverend Father in God

S I M O N

Lord Bishop of *ELY*.

My LORD,

I Once more presume to prefix your Lordship's Name, which is so Great and Celebrated, to my Obscure Papers, thereby to create them some Credit, and to derive a Repute upon myself. Your Matchless Pen hath purchas'd You a lasting Renown, and Your Exemplary Life and Practice have added a farther Glory to You. So that all the understanding World counts You *worthy of double Honour*. If You had lived in the Primitive times, You would have been one of the most *Eminent Fathers* of the Church in those Days, as You have the Honour to be now in these. And Your Strict Life



would have entituled You a *Saint*. You do all the Parts of an Excellent Man, and a Christian Bishop: You perform Great and Worthy things Your self, and You countenance even the lower and meaner Attempts of others. In a word, all that are intelligent proclaim You the Chief Glory of our English Prelacy.

My Lord, I do not apprehend that this can offend You, for He that is eminently Vertuous and Learned, provokes the World to speak his Worth: and they would be infinitely blameable if they robb'd him of his due Praise. Therefore I must confess I do not see the Reasonableness of those Writers that tell their Patrons they will not praise them, lest they should offend their Modesty. I would not dedicate my Labours (as mean as they are) to a Person of a mean Figure in the Learned World, or in the Accounts of the Religious. For the Design of the Dedication is to let the World know, that such a Person is really Praiseworthy, and that even to a Wonder; that he

he is one that ought to be extremely honoured and venerated for his Transcendent Excellencies, and that he is to be a Pattern to the rest of Mankind. And yet, my Lord, You see I do not enter on the Task of Enlarging on Your Lordship's Praises: the Reason is not because it is unlawful or unfit, but because it is too Great for me.

Not to give Your Lordship any farther Trouble, if I have offended by this repeated Presumption, I have this to plead in my Excuse, that Your Merits as well as my Own Inclinations have made me Criminal. And seeing my Faule bears the Name of Duty, I despair not but that it will meet with a Pardon, and that Your Lordship will accept of this poor Oblation from,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most

Devoted Son and Servant,

J. EDWARDS.

THE
PREFACE.

WHEN I had by my long Forbearance satisfied the World that I was not fond of shewing my self in Publick, and offering any Discourses in Print, (at least with open Face) I at last prevail'd with my self to venture visibly to the Press. And truly I think I may appear now with the more Confidence, because I have a great while deliberated on what I have done in this Nature. Though I was very shy at first, yet now being enter'd into this Employment, I believe I shall make a Practice of it, till, it may be, I shall be thought by some to run into another Extream. But I shall not consult or attend to the Opinion of a few prejudiced or envious Folks, but go on with my Work which I design'd. And if it be said that some of the Texts, and Other Subjects which I discourse upon, have been often treated of by others, my Answer is, that I am glad they have, for then it will appear what I have done; then the Reader will see, I hope, that I am no Filching Plagiary, no Apish Imitator, no Rash and Credulous Swearer unto other Mens Opinions; that when I handle the same Matter which others have before me, I present the World with some-

something beside Different Phrase and New Method; that by offering a fresh Critical Gloss upon several Dubious and Difficult Passages in the Old and New Testament, I have cleared up the Sense of them; and in short, that I have made some Remarkable Observations on the Best Book in the World. If I have not perform'd this, (which the Judicious only can be Judges of) I am sure I have endeavour'd it, and have all along made it my grand Design and Business to help my Readers to understand the Bible aright, which certainly is of the highest Concern next to the Religious Practice of it. In order to the pursuit of this I had sufficient Warrant to break out of my Retirement, to appear bare-faced, and to salute the Publick. Besides, I thought myself obliged to give the World some Account of the spending of my Time, and to let it be seen that I have not wholly thrown away my Hours. Moreover, I have a great and passionate Desire to serve the Church, to vindicate our Holy Religion, to advance the Cause of Christianity, to demonstrate the transcendent Worth of the Holy Scriptures, (which are the Standard of all Excellent Notions and Regular Manners) and to promote and set forward the Glory of the ever Blessed Trinity.

I am sensible what Multitudes of Writers there are already, how many Printed Discourses are published, that might well be spared (to say no worse). We are told that Tully's Offices

was

was the first Book that was printed in Europe; which was a Good Specimen of that new-invented Art. It had been a happy thing if the Press had proceeded as well as it begun, if Books of Use and Worth only had been handed into the World by it. But it is to be lamented that there is another Use too often made of this Invention, whilst too many Men that are Masters of no other Conceptions than those that are flat and useless, or else erroneous and pernicious, take the Pains to let the World know as much in Print. Others scribble to satisfy a certain Itch of Writing that they have got; and the Press seldom cures the Distemper, but rather increases it. Other mercenary Souls make their Pens wag for Bread, and they may generally be known by this Property, that the Front belies the Fabrick, the Title doth not tell what is in the Book, but only sets it to sale: so that indeed it is a mere Pretence and Shew, and stands as R. B's Sham-name is wont to do of late in the Title-Page. But none of these Miscarriages have discouraged me from appearing in Publick, and pursuing those Good Ends I before mentioned, which alone are sufficient to legitimate the Press, and to License the Author's Undertakings. And if the Question be, Why more Books still? the Answer is made by another Question, Why more Men still? As long as the World increases, Writing will do so too; for all Men are not alike, their Notions and Conceptions are not the same; wherefore for these

The PREFACE.

xi

*these different Readers there must be different Books. St. Augustin's arguing of old is useful and seasonable at this Day; * It is of great Advantage to the World, saith that Learned Father, that there should be many Books composed by many Men, in a different Stile, though not a different Faith, about the same Questions and Subjects, that so hereby the thing it self, and the Truth enquired into, may the better be convey'd to the Readers, to some of them in one manner, to others in another. For this is certain, that all Persons are not convinced and wrought upon by the same Arguments: wherefore there is liberty to use all kinds of Topicks. Thus the Excellent Grotius acquaints us that he pick'd out the Best and most Convictive Arguments (as he thought) to prove the Truth of Religion, and particularly the Christian; and yet some of them, as Signatures, Fire Ordeal, &c. are neglected by other Learned Men; for Evidences work more or less, according to the Diversity of Mens Genius's and Dispositions. Hence the Judicious Doctor Jackson, in his Preface to the Reader, before his First Volume, confesses that the Grounds and Motives which he makes use of, and which most of all prevail'd with him, may have little or no*

Ope-

** Utile est libros plures à pluribus fieri, diverso stilo, non diversa fide, etiam de questionibus iisdem; ut ad plurimos, ad plures sic, ad alios autem sic, res ipsa perveniat. De Trin. l. 1. c. 3.*

Operation upon others. Whereupon is founded the Usefulness, yea Necessity of propounding divers sorts of Arguments, that if some of them prove not forcible and perswasive, others may. So is it in Illustrating and Commenting upon the Holy Text: the Diversity of Interpretations is requisite and useful; and it may be the Mind of the Holy Spirit cannot be penetrated into without these different ways of Enquiry. The Wise Man is a Physician of the Law, say the Jewish Doctors, i. e. whereas the Unlearned and Unskilful corrupt the Text, and deprave the Sense of it, he comes and heals it by restoring it to its genuine and proper meaning. But in effecting this it is not necessary that he should tie himself to the same Methods and Arts of Cure which others have used before him. Some superstitiously confine themselves to one Man's Critical Determination on the Place; as Bishop Montague saith of Mr. Selden, they take a Grammarian for a God. They do so in the worst Sense, they deify Criticism, they idolize an Expositor, and fall down to his particular Interpretation. But we must be more Catholick and Generous if we are desirous to have right Apprehensions of the Sacred Text, and if we would be intimately acquainted with the Divine Truth contain'd in it.

This justifies the Variety of Comments and Critical Researches into the Holy Scriptures: and this furnishes me with an Apology for thrusting

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The PREFACE. xiii

ing my self in among the Writers of the Age. And being now of that Number, I have this to say farther to the Reader, that though I am sensible of my own Defects, and particularly of the Miscarriages and Mistakes that may occur in this Work, it reaching to so great a Variety of Texts and Diversity of Matters; yet on the other hand, I hope I shall find him as sensible of the Arduousness of the Undertaking, and the Liableness of himself and others, to fall short in so Weighty and Difficult a Subject. In fine, in these and all other my Endeavours which I shall expose to the publick View, I covet only the Approbation of the Candid and Wise; and I shall make it my Business (I will not say to merit, but) to purchase it.

ERRATA.

Page 41. line 31. read *there*. P. 54. l. 4. r. *purposed*. P. 61. l. 4. r. *Air* instead of *Fire*. P. 67. l. 3. after *Counsel*, insert [*So Theocritus*, — *Ex soundτων δὲ ἑπὶ μοι φωνὰ γλυκυρτερία ἢ μαιναίων*. P. 69. l. 2. r. *an other*. P. 94. l. 12. after *as in*, insert *Exod.* 26. 18. *the People saw the Noise of the Trumpet*. P. 145. l. 15. r. *bing*. P. 155. l. 2. r. *Nepositick*. P. 178. l. 15. dele *by*. P. 269. l. 32. r. *have no*. P. 278. l. 11. r. *to be*. P. 280. l. 17. after *Belly*, insert *as it is generally thought*. P. 300. l. 1. after *ordinary*, insert *or profane*. P. 333. l. 8. after *more*, insert *according to the different-reading of them*. P. 385. l. 1. r. *it at*. P. 402. l. 11. r. *this*. The *Hibru* requires Correction, which is left to the Learned.

A CATALOGUE of the Texts of Scripture which are expounded and resolved in the ensuing Discourse, according to the Author's PARTICULAR Judgment.

GENESIS.

CHAP. 15. ver. 7. *I am the Lord that brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees.* Page 371.

NUMBERS.

Ch. 12. v. 1. *He had married an Ethiopian Woman.* P. 375.

Ch. 23. v. 21. *He hath not beheld Iniquity in Jacob, neither hath he seen Perverseness in Israel.* p. 96.

Ch. 25. v. 9. *Those that died in the Plague were twenty and four thousand.* P. 369.

KINGS.

Book 2. ch. 6. v. 25. *The fourth Part of a Cab of Doves Dung was sold for five Pieces of Silver.* p. 288.

CHRONICLES.

Book 2. ch. 14. v. 5. *He took away out of all the Cities of Judah the High Places and the Images.* p. 358.

JOB.

Ch. 1. v. 5. *It may be my Sons have cursed God in their Hearts.* p. 342.

Ver. 11. *He will curse thee to thy Face.* ibid.

Ch. 2. v. 9. *Curse God and die.* p. 337.

Ch. 4. v. 18. *His Angels be charged with Folly.* p. 269.

PSALMS.

Psal. 120. v. 5. *Wo is me that I sojourn in Meshec, and dwell in the Tents of Kedar.* p. 115.

Psal. 133. v. 3. *As the Dew of Hermon, and as the Dew that descendeth upon the Mountains of Zion.* p. 331.

ECCLE-

expounded and resolved. xv

ECCLESIASTES.

Ch. 12. v. 2. *While the Sun, or the Light, or the Moon,
or the Stars be not darkned, nor the Clouds return
after the Rain,*

Ver. 4. *And the Doors shall be shut in the Streets,
—He shall rise up at the Voice of the Bird.*

Ver. 5. *The Grasshopper shall be a Burden; and
Desire shall fail.*

Ver. 6. *Or ever the Golden Bowl be broken, or
the Pitcher be broken at the Fountain, or the
Wheel broken at the Cistern.* p. 139.

ISAIAH.

Ch. 59. v. 19. *The Spirit of the Lord shall lift up a
Standard.* p. 205.

St. MATTHEW.

Ch. 10. v. 14. *Shake off the Dust of your Feet.* p. 189.

Ver. 34. *Think not that I am come to send
Peace, &c.* p. 363.

Ch. 12. v. 40. *Jonas was in the Whales Belly, Gr.
κοιλία.* p. 281.

Ch. 13. v. 32. *Which indeed is the least of all Seeds.* p. 117.

Ch. 24. v. 34. *This Generation shall not pass away till
all these things are fulfilled.* p. 391.

Ch. 26. v. 64. *The Son of Man. Why our Saviour is
called so.* p. 221.

St. LUKE.

Ch. 22. v. 36. *But now be that hath a Purse, let him
take it, and likewise his Scrip: be that hath no Sword,
let him sell his Garment, and buy one.* p. 126.

St. JOHN.

Ch. 20. v. 10. *Then the Disciples went away again unto
their own home, Gr. πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς.* p. 82.

ACTS.

Ch. 7. v. 15. *Jacob went down into Egypt and died,
be and our Fathers.*

Ver.

xvi **Texts of Scripture, &c.**

Ver. 16. *And were carried over into Sychem, and laid in the Sepulchre that Abraham bought for a Sum of Money of the Sons of Emmor the Father of Sychem.* p. 361.

Ch. 13. v. 20. *After that he gave them Judges about the Space of four hundred and fifty Years, until Samuel the Prophet.* p. 402.

Ch. 23. v. 5. *I wist not that he was the High Priest.* p. 128.

CORINTHIANS, 2d Epist.

Ch. 2. v. 5. *He hath not grieved me, but in part.* p. 99.

COLOSSIANS.

Ch. 1. v. 15. *Who is the first-born of every Creature.* p. 215.

Ver. 18. *The first-born from the Dead.* p. 217.

THESSALONIANS, 2d Epist.

Ch. 3. v. 1. *That the Word of the Lord may have free Course, and be glorified. And Other Texts which refer to the Olympick Games.* p. 180.

HEBREWS.

Ch. 9. v. 4. *Wherein was the Golden Pot that had Manna, and Aaron's Rod that budded, and the Tables of the Covenant.* p. 365.

Ch. 12. v. 24. *The Blood of Sprinkling, which speaks better things than that of Abel.* p. 389.

TIMOTHY, 1st Epist.

Ch. 1. v. 8. *The Law is not made for a righteous Man.*

Ch. 4. v. 8. *Bodily Exercise profiteth little.* p. 167.

TIMOTHY, 2d Epist.

Ch. 4. v. 13. — *Especially the Parchments.* p. 420.

St. PETER, 2d Epist.

Ch. 1. v. 20. *No Prophecy of the Scripture is of any private Interpretation.* p. 16.

The rest of the Texts are interpreted according to the Sense of Other Expositors.

OF

OF THE
S T I L E
OF THE
Holy Scriptures.

CHAP. I.

There is a primary or literal, and a secondary or mystical Sense in the Sacred Writings. A brief Explanation of both. Several Instances of them in the Old Testament. Episcopius's Opinion concerning the fulfilling of some Passages of the Old Testament by way of Accommodation, animadverted upon. Instances in the New Testament of the double Sense of Scripture. The Nature of Parables, especially of those that our Saviour useth, fully discussed. The several Reasons of this parabolical and mystical way of instructing the People. The Parable of the Ten Virgins particularly illustrated. A double historical Sense in the 24th Chapter of St. Matthew. The like in other Places asserted by Dr. Jackson. Whence the peculiar and transcendent Excellency of the inspired Writings is inferred. A just Censure of those Writers who vilify the Letter of Scripture, and mind nothing in it but the mystical Interpretation. Dr. Buf-

net's allegorizing, and at the same time ridiculing the 3d Chapter of Genesis, rebuked. The great Mischiefs of excluding the literal Sense of Scripture. The other Extream, viz. of resting altogether in the literal meaning of the Bible, condemned. Erasmus, Calvin, Grotius, tax'd for this. Rules to be observed for knowing what Places are to be understood in a primary literal Sense, and what in a secondary or mystical.

HAVING in a former Discourse treated of the Authority of the Sacred Writings of the Old and New Testament, I am now obliged (according to what I then undertook) to give a particular Account of their *Stile*: By which (taking it in a large and extensive Notion) I understand the Sense and Import of the Holy Writ, as well as the Composition of the Words. The *Stile* of Scripture comprehends the Divine Meaning no less than the Phraseology of it. Accordingly I will reduce all that I intend to say upon this Subject, to these ensuing Propositions:

I. There is a *mystical* as well as a *literal Sense* of many Passages of these inspired Writings: and we are carefully to attend to both.

II. The *Stile* of Holy Scripture hath several things in it which are according to the Phrase and Strain of other applauded Writers: which therefore we ought to be acquainted with, that we may the more easily understand the sacred Penmen.

III. As there are many things in the *Stile* and Composition of the Bible common to it with other Authors, so there are some things peculiar and proper

per to it, which we are more especially concern'd to take notice of, that the Singularity and Propriety of them may be rightly understood by us.

IV. The Stile and Expression of Scripture are such, that there are many Passages in it which are *obscure and difficult*. And here a particular, but full Account must be given of that *Obscurity and Difficulty*. And likewise I shall make it my Task to remove them by a particular Explication and Illustration of those Texts which shall be alledged.

The *first Proposition*. This is to be laid down in the first Place, that *there is both a literal and a mystical Sense in Scripture*. The *literal Sense* is when the Words are taken as they originally and properly signify. The *mystical* one is when the Words are to be understood in a more sublime Sense than the bare Letter of them imports. This mystical or spiritual Sense of Scripture is according to some, threefold; 1. *Tropological*; when one thing delivered in Scripture signifies some other thing pertaining to the Conversation of Men. Thus those Texts of the Mosaick Law, wherein is forbidden the *eating of certain Animals*, have partly respect unto the Manners of Persons. Both Jewish and Christian Expositors have thought that it was designed in those Prohibitions, that some moral Instruction should be taught that People from the Consideration of the natural Inclinations and Qualities of those Creatures. 2. There is an *Allegorical Sense*, when things spoken of in the Old Testament are Figures of something in the New; or, when particularly they have a respect to Christ or the Church Militant; as the *Rock*, and the *Manna* mentioned in *Moses's History of the Israelites*.

3. An *Anagogical Sense* is said to be in some Places of Scripture; and this is when the things related are applicable to the Church Triumphant, or the Life everlasting: Thus the entring into *Canaan*, and the Holy of Holies in the Temple, in the highest Sense of them, are meant of Heaven and the State of Eternal Happiness. But because there is a great quarrelling about the applying of this triple Distinction to the several Passages in Scripture, which are said to bear a mystical meaning; and because some learned Divines of the Protestant Perswasion disallow of this Distribution of the *mystical Sense* of Scripture, I will avoid all wrangling, by assigning only those two general Senses of Scripture, *viz.* the *literal* and *mystical*; and by leaving it to every one's Liberty, either to omit the particular Subdivisions of the latter, or to apply them as they see occasion.

Or rather, if I may be permitted to vary from this received Division of the *Sense* of Scripture, I would divide it thus, into a *primary* and a *secondary Sense*: the former is *literal*, the latter is *mystical*; and yet not so, but that sometimes (as you shall see afterwards) the *secondary Sense* is *literal* too: for there are two literal or historical Meanings in some Places; but the latter of them may be called *mystical* also, because it is not so plainly understood as the other. The *literal Sense* of Scripture is the main, and indeed the only Sense of the greatest part of it: for some particular Places only have a mystical Signification. This is the most genuine, proper and original meaning; and therefore I call it the *first* or *primary* one. But the *mystical Sense* is derivative, improper, indirect, and not that which was first and chiefly design'd; and therefore I call it the *secondary Sense*. The former of these is that plain

of the Holy Scriptures.

plain meaning of Scripture which the bare Letter and Words themselves denote to us: The latter is when some other thing is signified in the Words besides what the Letter of them seems to import. The one is obvious, and lies uppermost in the Text, and is the soonest perceived: but the other is more remote, and lies deep, and is not so easily discovered, but is of great Use and Moment, yea generally of greater than the other more familiar and obvious meaning: wherefore it is our Concern to acquaint our selves with it. The Bible, like that Book in *Ezekiel*, ch. 2. 10. is *written within and without*: it hath an inward, secret and mystical Signification, as well as one that is external, open and literal: and we can never arrive to a true Understanding of this Holy Book, unless we have some Insight into both.

I will instance first in the Writings of the *Old Testament*, and shew that there is a secondary or mystical Sense lodged in several Passages of them. Indeed the holy Language it self, in which these were wrote, is big with *Mysteries*. I have observed that there are more Words in this Tongue that signify to *bide* or *conceal*, than in any other Language whatsoever: There are a hundred synonymous Words at least for this one thing. Whether this Criticism have any Weight in it or no, I shall not be much concern'd; but this is unquestionable, that many great Mysteries are wrapp'd up in this abstruse Tongue in the holy Volume. The Jews, who were conversant in these Writings, acknowledg'd there was not only a literal but a mystical Interpretation of them, which latter they called * *Midrash*, because there was no attaining to it but

* A *darash* inquirere.

by a diligent Inquisition. The Hebrew Doctors say in a proverbial manner, *there is not a single Letter in the whole Law on which there do not depend great Mountains.* Their meaning is, that there are vast Mysteries and profound Sense in every Word almost in the Sacred Writings: Which is the meaning of another Adage of theirs, *viz. that † the Law hath seventy Faces.* It hath many various Aspects, different Significations and Senses: for there are mystical as well as literal Interpretations of the holy Text. Thus the Entrance of the Bible, the Beginning of the Book of *Genesis*, though it be historical, and sets down Matter of Fact, as the wonderful Creation of the Heavens and Earth, and of Man, and the rest of the Inhabitants of this lower World, yet it was thought by the wisest Jews, that there was a farther Reach in it, and that both Moral and Divine Mysteries were couch'd in the several Particulars of that Narrative which *Moses* gives there of the Origine of the World; for which Reason this first Entrance into the Pentateuch was forbid to be read by the Jews till they were thirty Years of Age. It is agreed among the best Expositors, that in those Words in *Gen. 3. 14, 15. The Lord said unto the Serpent, I will put Enmity between thee and the Woman, and between thy Seed and her Seed:* Besides the primary or literal Sense, *viz. that there shall be an irreconcilable Enmity between Mankind and the Serpentine Brood, and that Man having an Antipathy against that Creature, shall labour to destroy it, by bruising his Head, because there his Venom lies whereby he doth harm; and the Head is to be first attack'd if we would destroy this mischievous*

שבעים פנים יש לתורה †

chievous Creature, as *Josephus* || gives the Sense of this Place. Besides this (I say) there is another; for *Satan* is meant by the *Serpent*, as well as the Creature of that Name, (for *Satan* appeared in the Shape of a *Serpent*, or rather actuated a living *Serpent*;) and *Christ* is meant by the *Seed of the Woman*, for he is emphatically and exclusively call'd so, because he was not the *Seed of Man*, but was after an extraordinary manner born of a *Virgin*. So that this Text is justly stiled, *πρωτοεὐαγγελιον*, the first Dawning of the Gospel, or the most early Promise concerning the blessed *Messias*, the *Christ*, the *Lamb of God* that was to take away the Sins of the World.

So likewise we are certain from the Authority of the Apostle in *Heb.* 7. 1, &c. that what is said in *Gen.* 14. 18. of *Melchisedek*, King of Salem, Priest of the most High God, is not only literally spoken, but ought to be understood in a higher and mystical Sense of *Christ*, who was the true *Melchisedek*, that is, King of Righteousness, and King of Peace. This mystical Interpretation of that historical Passage is vouched by the inspired Penman, who wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews. Again, * it is written, viz. in *Gen.* 16. & 21. that *Abraham* had two Sons, the one by a Bond-maid, the other by a Free-woman: This is the Letter or History. Now observe the figurative Interpretation of it; which things, saith the Apostle, are an Allegory, for these are the two Covenants: that is, these two Mothers, *Hagar* and *Sarah*, denote the two Covenants, the Law and the Gospel, the one from the Mount Sinai, which gend'reth to Bondage, which is *Hagar*; for this *Hagar* is Mount Sinai, in Arabia: that is, the Law was given on

B. 4

Mount

Mount *Sinai*, and brings Servitude and strict Observances with it; this is represented by *Hagar*; for the Name of *Hagar* signifies the Mount where the Law was given, and answereth to Jerusalem that now is; that is, the present State of the Jews. The *Hagarens*, i.e. the *Arabians*, and all that spring from *Ismael*, (as Historians tell us, no less than the Apostle intimates here) are bound by their own Laws to be circumcised, and observe therein the Mosaical Law, like the *Jews*; and so they, like *Hagar* their Mother, are in a servile Condition still, *are in Bondage with their Children*. But Jerusalem which is above, is free, which is the Mother of us all; that is, *Sarah* (which denotes the State of the Gospel, that new City which Christ brought with him from Heaven, of which all Christians are free Denizens) is a free Woman, and signifies that we Christians, Gentiles as well as Jews (for she is the Mother of us all) are free from all *Moses's* Rites, and are justified without them, *Gal. 4. 22, 24, 25, 26*. Thus it appears from the Apostle, that besides the historical Sense, there is a higher and nobler in the Old Testament, and particularly in that Place of *Genesis*, where the two Mothers, *Sarah* and *Hagar*; and the two Sons, *Isaac* and *Ishmael*, were designed to signify the different State of those in the Church of God: they respect the Law and the Gospel, the Mosaical and Christian Dispensation. There was this, besides the bare historical Sense. From the same Divine Writer, we learn that the Pillar of the Cloud, the passing through the red Sea, the *Manna*, the Drink out of the Rock, and the Rock it self, which you read of in † *Exodus*, had a spiritual meaning, and therefore some of these

† Chap. 13. v. 21. ch. 14. 22. ch. 16. 15. ch. 17. 6.

especially are expressly called *spiritual*: they did eat the same *spiritual Meat*, and drink the same *spiritual Drink*; for they drank of that *spiritual Rock* which followed them, and that *Rock* was *Christ*. 1 Cor. 10. 1, 2, 3, 4. Hence it is evident that this historical Part of the Book of *Exodus* is likewise symbolical, and capable of a *spiritual Construction*, though still the Truth and Reality of the History remain entire.

So what we read in *Numb.* 22. 9. (*viz.* that *Moses made a Serpent of Brass*, and put it upon a *Pole*, that if any *Man bitten with a Serpent* beheld it, he might live, i. e. be cured of the venomous Biting) hath a secondary meaning in it, as our Saviour himself interprets it, namely, that the *Son of Man* should be lifted up, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have everlasting Life, *John* 3. 14, 15. The lifting up of the brazen Serpent upon a Pole in the Wilderness, signified the lifting up of *Christ* upon the Cross, for the healing and saving of all that look up to him with an Eye of Faith. Thus when we read that God swore (in *Numb.* 14. 28.) that the murmuring and unbelieving *Israelites* should not enter into *Canaan*, which the Psalmist calls their *Rest*, (*Psal.* 95. 11.) the primary historical Sense is well known; but besides this there is a secondary or spiritual one, which our Apostle hath acquainted us with in *Heb.* 4. 1, &c. Whence you may gather, that in the History of the *Israelites* entering into the Promised Land, and of the greatest Part of them that came out of *Egypt* being shut out, there is a secondary meaning included, *viz.* that Believers shall possess the *Heavenly Canaan*, they shall enter into their everlasting Rest, that * Rest which remains to the People of God: but Unbelievers shall || come short

* Heb. 4. 9. || Ver. 1.

short not only of the Promise which is left of entering into this Rest, but the Rest it self. Thus you will find that Place in *Numbers* interpreted by the infallible Apostle. Again, this mystical or secondary Sense is observable in those Places in the Mosaick Law which speak of the Rites and Services, and Levitical Priesthood, which the Jews were under, as you may infer from * three Chapters together in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where the Apostle applies those things in a higher Sense (*viz.* to Christ himself, and his offering himself upon the Cross) than ever was intended by the Letter.

But this double Sense of Scripture is nowhere more remarkable than in the Book of *Psalms*. The 22^d Psalm, though primarily it be meant of David when he was in great Distress, and forsaken of God, yet secondarily, *i. e.* mystically it is to be understood of our Blessed Saviour when he was in his Passion, and hung upon the Cross; and accordingly you will find the first Words of it applied by himself, *Matth.* 27. 46. *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* And other Passages of this Psalm, the 8th, 16th, 18th Verses are taken notice of by the Evangelist, as fulfilled at that time, *Matth.* 27. 35, 43. Now it is certain they could not be fulfilled unless they had been meant, in this mysterious Sense, of Christ. The latter Part of the 16th Psalm is spoken in David's Person, and is, without doubt, in the first and immediate Sense of it to be understood of him, and of his Hopes of rising after Death to an endless Life. But it is as clear from *Acts.* 2. 25, &c. that it was spoken of Christ the Son of David, and who was typified by that holy King and Prophet; for St. Peter saith there in his Sermon to
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* Chap. 7, 8, 9.

the Jews, David speaketh concerning him, I foresaw the Lord always before my Face, for he is on my right Hand, that I should not be moved. Therefore did my Heart rejoyce, and my Tongue was glad: Moreover also my Flesh shall rest in Hope. Because thou wilt not leave my Soul in Hell, neither wilt thou suffer thy Holy One to see Corruption. Thou wilt shew me the Path of Life, &c. Which are the four last Verses of that Psalm before-named; and you may see in the following Words of this Chapter, what the mystical Interpretation of them is, according to that Apostle who had the Spirit to direct him to the utmost meaning of those Words. Part of the 68th Psalm, though it be David's Thanksgiving for the present Mercies he received, yet undoubtedly it is a Prophetick Praising of God for the glorious Ascension of Christ into Heaven, as it is expounded by that infallible Interpreter, Ephes. 4. 8. Wherefore he saith, When he ascended up on high, he led Captivity captive, and gave Gifts unto Men: which refers to the above-said Psalm, but is applied to Christ's Ascension by the Apostle here. The 45th Psalm is originally a Song of Loves, an Epithalamium on the Nuptials of King Solomon and the King of Egypt's Daughter, but in a remote and mystical Sense it is meant of the Majesty and Glory of Christ's Kingdom, and the admirable Benefits which accrue to the Church in the Times of the Gospel. And many other Psalms might be produced, wherein the double Sense before-mentioned is clearly to be discerned.

To proceed; Though the whole Book of Canticles be in its literal Capacity no other than Solomon's Wedding-song, yet it is to be look'd upon in the more sublime Acception of it as a Dialogue between Christ and his Church, setting forth all those divine Amours which are mutually experienc'd by them.

them. And that this Part of Holy Scripture, called the *Song of Solomon*, is of a higher Strain than the bare Letter imports, and that it contains great Mysteries and Abstrusities in it, may be gathered from that extraordinary Reverence which the Jews paid to this Book : For * *Origen* tells us, that this (as well as the Beginning of *Genesis*) was not permitted to be read by them till they had attain'd to some Maturity of Years.

I come next to the Evangelical Prophet *Isaiab*, who hath many things concerning Christ and his spiritual Kingdom or Church ; but it is to be acknowledged that some of them in the first and literal Sense, may and ought to be interpreted otherwise. Yea, the learned *Grotius* and *Hammond* are of the Opinion, that that famous Prophecy in *Isa. 7. 14.* Behold, a Virgin shall conceive, and bear a Son, and shall call his Name Immanuel, hath a double Sense. The Words literally and primarily respect a strange and wonderful Birth in those very Days. Secundarily and mystically they are spoken of the *Messias*, who was to be born miraculously of a Virgin. Whether this Opinion be true or no, we are certain that there is a mystical Meaning to be added to the literal ; or rather (as I said before) it might be more expressive to say, a secondary Meaning is added to the primary one, in sundry Passages which we meet with, not only in this Prophet, but in *Jeremiah* and *Ezekiel*. Concerning the former of these the Jewish Historian hath these Words ; † *Jeremiah* (saith he) in his Book, foretold the Captivity which the Israelites were to undergo in Babylon, which was just then approaching ; and also the Slaughter and Destruction which we of this Age have seen.

* *Præfat. in Cantic.* † *Antiqu. l. 10. c. 6.*

seen. There was a twofold Sense, according to this learned Writer, in some of this Prophet's Predictions: Yea, there was a double literal or historical Sense, which was the thing that I asserted before. Whence you see I had reason to make the Distinction of a *first* and a *second* Meaning of Scripture, rather than of a *literal* and a *mystical*, though I bring the *mystical* Meaning (when there is such an one) under the *second*. As to the latter of these Prophets, when we find him relating strange things acted in *Visions* and *Dreams*, which are things only imaginary, and represented to the Fancy, we must not think them true in a strict literal Sense, for they are only or most commonly done in Appearance, and many times will not admit of a real Performance as they are related and described: But we are to look upon them as *Enigmatical Representations*, and to fix only a mystical Sense upon them, that is, to understand them as significative of some greater and higher thing than they represent in themselves. Which may be one Reason why, among the Jews, those that had not arrived to some considerable Age * were not allowed to read the Beginning and End of the Prophecy of *Ezekiel*, in which Parts chiefly those more mystical Visions are inserted.

I might pass to the *other Prophets*, and mention some Places in which we must needs acknowledge a secondary Meaning, as in that of *Daniel*, chap. 9. 27. *For the overspreading of Abominations* (or, with the *Wing*, or † *Army of Abominations*) *he shall make it desolate*: which was meant without doubt of *Antiochus's* desolating Armies, which were so abominable to the Jews, and who, as we read, || *set up*
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* Hieronym. Prol. in Ezek. † Isa. 8. 8. || 1 Macc. 1. 54.

the Abomination of Desolation upon the Altar. But yet our Saviour himself, the best Expositor of the Place, lets us know that this was meant also in a prophetical and secondary way of the Roman Armies that sat down before *Jerusalem*, and after a long Siege made their way into the City and Temple, and so might be said to stand in the holy Place: * *When ye shall see the Abomination of Desolation, saith he, spoken of by Daniel the Prophet, stand in the holy Place, then, &c.* It is manifest therefore that Daniel spoke of both these destroying Armies. His Words are to be taken in a twofold Sense, a primary and secondary one: In the former they speak of what happen'd to the Jews when *Antiochus's* Army invaded them: In the latter they speak of what befel them when *Titus Vespasian* came against them, and destroyed their City and Nation. This is the double Sense, and therefore you may observe what our Saviour inserts, *Whoso readeth, let him understand.* As much as to say, when you read that Passage in the Prophet *Daniel*, you are to understand something more than ordinary in it, you must take notice of a hidden Sense in those Words: they speak not only of what was to come to pass in *Antiochus's*, but in *Vespasian's* Reign, which was about 250 Years after. The *abominable desolating Armies* of both are here meant. You see then here is a double literal Sense; and that was the Reason why I chose rather the Division of the Scripture-Sense into primary and secondary, and of this latter into historical and mystical, than that received one of literal and mystical, because both the Senses sometimes may be literal. This ought to be carefully observed by all those who are desirous to attain to a right

* *Matth. 24. 15.*

right Understanding of the Holy Scriptures. And it is the want of attending to this that hath often hindred Mens due Apprehensions of several Texts. We see here in the Instance before us, that the Letter of this Text in *Daniel* may be applied both to the *Syrian* and the *Roman Armies*. I might produce those Words in the Prophecy of *Hosea*, *Out of Egypt have I called my Son*, ch. 11. 1. Which are to be understood not only of the Patriarchs of old (God's Children or Sons) being brought by God out of *Egypt*, but of *Christ the Son of God*, call'd out thence after the Death of *Herod*, *Matth. 2. 15*. This Place of *Hosea* must be understood of both.

Hither may be referred some other Places of the Old Testament made use of in the New, where it is said, *This was done that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Prophet*; then *was fulfilled that which was spoken*†, and the like. The Places speak not primarily of those things which they are alledged for, but secondarily they do, and so are truly said to be fulfilled. I know *Episcopius*, and some others before him, tell us, that these Scriptures are said to be fulfilled when there happens something like them, when there is a Representation or Similitude of the things; when there may be a fair Accommodating of one Event to another, then this Phrase is used. But a judicious Writer saith well; || “ No
“ Prophecy can be truly said to be fulfilled only by
“ way of Accommodation or Allusion: for there
“ is no allusive Sense of Scripture distinct from the
“ literal and mystical ones. This then is a new way
of fulfilling Predictions of the Old Testament, and was never heard of among the ancient Expositors
of

† *Matth. 13. 35. John 15. 25, &c.*

|| *Dr. Jackson, Vol. 2. Book 7. Sect. 2.*

of Scripture. They never dreamt of a way of Accommodation, but understood by those Words a strict Completion of those Texts in the Old Testament; for it is said, they were fulfilled. But how? Namely, there being a double Sense in those Texts, the Evangelists take notice, and leave upon Record that they were accomplished and fulfilled in the secondary or mystical Sense. And this I take to be the true Import of the Apostle's Words, 2 Pet. 1. 20. *No Prophecy of the Scripture is of any private Interpretation*, though I know there is another Exposition generally given of them by those that comment on these Words: But freely and impartially scan them, and you will find this to be the genuine Sense of them; Scripture-Prophecies are not fulfilled according to the literal or proper Signification of them only; they frequently have a mystical Sense: with the literal is joined a typical one, or one literal one is added to another. This is the secondary, and, as 'twere, the improper Sense; but the other is the first and more proper one; for that is the word here used, ἰδὲας ἐπιλύσεις, of proper Interpretation. And if you consult the Greek of the Text, you'll see there is Reason to translate it thus, * *Every Prophecy of Scripture is not of proper Interpretation*; i. e. there are some Predictions that contain a secondary as well as a primary meaning in them: they are fulfilled according to both these, and therefore can't be said to be ἰδὲας ἐπιλύσεις, of proper Interpretation. This Exposition of the Place is confirmed by the Reason that follows, for the Prophecy came not of old time by the Will of Man, but holy Men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost; i. e. these Predictions were of an extraordinary

* Πᾶσα προφητεία γραφῆς ἰδὲας ἐπιλύσεις ἢ γίνεται.

traordinary Nature, there was a deeper and farther Meaning in them than is in the Writings of Men; they are not bounded by a single Sense, and therefore neither are they to be interpreted so. This might be made good from several Instances besides those afore alledged. Many other Places in the Old Testament might be mentioned to prove that the same Texts are to be taken in a different manner; that there is sometimes a double meaning in them; which is plain from the Quotations in the New Testament: for the Evangelists and Apostles quoting of them is a clear Proof that there is a primary and secondary Sense of those Texts, and that this latter is sometimes *historical*, and sometimes *spiritual*; for we see these inspired Writers of the New Testament take no notice of the first literal Sense of those Places, but understand them wholly in the secondary way.

If we look into the Books themselves of the *New Testament*, we shall discover there likewise this double Meaning in several Places: Witness the many *Parables* which are used by our Saviour, and which are recorded by the Evangelists. It is true the *Old Testament* is not destitute of this sort of Enigmatical Instructions; but because those in the *New* are most numerous, and because our blessed Master himself hath thought fit to express himself in this *parabolical* way, therefore I choose to speak of it here. *Parables*, as the Greek Word signifies, are properly † a *comparing of things together*; setting one against another; a making use of one Thing or Narrative to set forth and represent to us another of a higher Nature. Therefore in a *Parable* the

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† Παροβολαι à παραβάλλειν, conferre, comparare. T. m. i.
b) Cicero and other Rhetoricians a Parable is called Collatio, &
rétum différencium inter se Collocatio:

Antients used to observe two Parts, *παραβολή* and *ἀνέκδοτος*; the former being the Ground-work and Plot, as it were; and it might be either true or feigned: and the latter was the Application; or, if you will, the Moral of the other. The * *Hebrew* Word used for a *Parable* will give us further Light into it. It signifies first any Sentence or Saying that is by way of Similitude or Comparison, and so answers to the *Greek* Word, and is rightly translated *מַשְׁבֹּל* by the *Septuagint*: for the Verb *Mashal*, from whence the Noun comes, signifies to compare, and lay things together, and liken one to another. Wherefore *παραβολή*, which is synonymous with *Mashal*, signifies any Comparison or Similitude, as in *Matth. 24. 32. Now learn a Parable of the Figtree: When his Branch is yet tender, and putteth forth Leaves, ye know that Summer is nigh. So likewise ye, &c.* Here Christ explains the Etymology and Import of a *Parable*; in its first and more simple Signification it is only a *Simile*, as you see here in these Words; and so it is taken in several other Places of the New Testament. But this is not all; it signifies such a comparative Saying, Speech or Narration, as is obscure and intricate, and contains some greater and higher Meaning than the bare Words offer to us. Thus what is darkly and figuratively expressed is called a *Parable*, in *Matth. 13. 13.* And so the Rabbins call any Figure or Allegory † the way of a *Parable*. But most properly and strictly a *Parable* is a feigned declaring of a thing, as if it were done, when indeed it is not really done, but something else is signified by what is so declared. Now put these things together, and a *Parable* may be defined thus: it

* מַשְׁבֹּל. † מַשְׁבֹּל.

It is such an artificial Speech wherein one thing is compared and likened with another, but with some Obscurity and Intricateness; and we are to understand what is said, not according to the usual Sound and literal Meaning of the Words, but with reference to some other thing thereby mystically signified, as is evident in the *Parables* of our Saviour. If you ask why he so often delivered things, and consequently why Part of the Scripture is written in this mystical way: I answer;

1. It had been the Custom and Use of the *Antients* to express themselves after this manner; and our Saviour in this, as in some other things, was pleased to follow their Example. That the allegorical and mystical way of Teaching was antient, and used not only by the Poets, but Philosophers of old, is sufficiently known. *Orpheus* represented his Mysteries in a kind of *Fables*. *Pythagoras* by *Numbers* and *Symbols*. *Plato* by *Emblems* and *Allegories*. And *Esoy* (the famous moral Fabulist) is the antientest Book in Prose that we have extant. *Heraclitus* gain'd the Name of *Obscure*, because of the Obscurity of his Writings, by reason of his dark and enigmatical Representations of things. Only *Epicurus* took the word *σαφεινεια* for his Motto, and pretended to great Plainness and Perspicuity. But generally all the antientest Greek Sages were wont to set off their Opinions with a Mixture of Fable or Allegory. This Symbolick Way of Learning was in use among the *Gymnosophists* and *Druids*, as * *Lucretius* witnesses. † *Phornutus* saith the same of all the Antients. Both *Greeks* and *Barbarians* used it, saith || *Clemens* of *Alexandria*. This was partly the Fashion of the old *Egyptians*: they used to wrap

* In *Proöm.* † *De nat. Deor. cap. ult.* || *Strom. 5.*

up the Mysteries of their Religion, and of their Civil Affairs likewise in Hieroglyphick Figures: as * *God*, who sees and sustains all things, was represented by an Eye and a Staff: the Periodical Revolution of the *Year* by a Serpent, with his Tail in his Mouth: a *King* by a Bee, which is noted for its Honey and its Sting, to tell us that Reward and Punishment are both necessary in Civil Government. When they would represent *Erudition* or *Learning*, they pictured the Heavens pouring down *Dew*, which perhaps was borrowed from *Moses*; Deut. 32. 2. *My Doctrine shall drop as the Rain, my Speech shall distil as the Dew*: For 'tis not improbable that the Egyptians had many of their mystical Symbols and Expressions from the Jews, as I have shew'd in another Place. The *Parabolical Way* is not unlike to this, it conveying the Notions of things to us by fit Representations, by apt Symbols. And our Saviour thought good to comport with this manner of Speech, which he knew had been in use with the greatest Masters of Learning; and he vouchsafed to imitate them, because he could so innocently do it; because (as you shall hear by and by) this was a very convenient and profitable way of imparting Truth to them.

2. This Instructing by *Parables* and *Allegories* was used not only by the antient Philosophers and Sages among the Gentiles, but (as a † learned Father hath amply shew'd) by the holy Prophets and Men of God, and other eminent Persons among the Jews of old. There are interspersed in the Writings of the *Old Testament* several *Parables* and *Speeches* which are of a *Parabolical Nature*, as *Job's Parable of the Trees that went forth on a time*
to

* *Pict. Hieroglyph. Ægypt.* † *Clem. Alexand. Strom. l. 3.*

to anoint a King over them, Judg. 9. 8. This indeed is properly an *Apologue*, which in strictness of Speaking differs from a *Parable* in this, that the Similitude is taken from a thing that is not only false but impossible; for such is this *Αενδρολογία*, this speaking of Trees, which is here represented. And such is that other *Apologue*, viz. of the *Thistle's sending to the Cedar*, 2 Chron. 25. 18. and an Overture of a *Marriage* between them, which is mere Fiction, and a bold attributing of humane Action to irrational and senseless things. There is not a third in all the Bible of this sort. But among the *Parables* used of old by God's People, we may reckon that *Enigme* or *Parabolical Riddle* of *Samson*, which he put forth at his Marriage-Feast, *Out of the Eater came forth Meat, and out of the Strong came forth Sweetness*, Judg. 14. 14. *Nathan's Parable* of the *Ewe-Lamb*, 2 Sam. 12. is a very notable one, and is famous for the admirable Effect it had. In *Isaiah's Prophecy* we read the *Parable of a Vineyard*, ch. 5. 1, &c. and several *Visions* and *Types* in a *Parabolical Manner*. In *Jeremiah* we have a great many *Typical Representations* and *Parables*, as of the *Linen Girdle*, and of the *Bottles filled with Wine*, ch. 13. of *abstaining from Marriage*, ch. 16. of a *Potter*, ch. 18. of a *Potter's Vessel*, ch. 19. of *good and bad Figs*, ch. 24. of a *Cup of Wine*, ch. 25. of *Bonds and Yokes*, ch. 27. In *Ezekiel* there is the like way of expressing great and important Truths, viz. in a *Symbolical way*: There you have the *Types* or *Parables* of a *Siege*, ch. 4. of a *Barber's Razor*, ch. 5. of a *Chain*, ch. 7. of *Ezekiel's removing*, and of the *Vine-tree*, ch. 15. of two *Eagles and a Vine*, ch. 17. of *Lions Whelps taken in a Pit*, ch. 19. of a *boiling Pot*, ch. 24. Thus you see it was the antient Custom of the Prophets and holy

Men to deliver their Instructions in way of *Parables*. Yea, this was the Guise and Genius of the Country: the *Eastern* People used to wrap up their Observations on Nature and the Manners of Men in this mystical way. Our Saviour vouchsafed to comply with the Practice of his Countrymen, but especially he thought fit to conform himself to the manner of Speech and Delivery which the *Prophets* used, and with which the Jews were acquainted. Accordingly he delivered himself very often in a figurative and mystical *Stile*, and uttered many excellent divine Truths in the dark way of *Parables*.

3. He did this sometimes to hide his heavenly Matter from undeserving Persons, that Pearls might not be cast before Swine, nor Evangelical Truths be exposed to the wilful Despisers of the Gospel. This Account our Sayiour himself gives in *Matth. 13. 10*. When the *Disciples* had said unto him, *Why speakest thou unto them (i. e. to the Multitude) in Parables?* He answered and said, *Because it is given to you to know the Mysteries of the Kingdom of Heaven, but unto them it is not given.* And *21. 13*. *Therefore speak I to them in Parables, because they seeing, see not; and hearing, they hear not, neither do they understand.* Some Parables which our Saviour propounded were so dark and obscure, that none but the refined Minds of his Disciples could comprehend them. Others, who had wilfully blinded their Understandings, were not able to see into the inward meaning of them: Yea, our blessed Lord designed to hide his Mysteries from those profane Persons, and therefore disguised them in these dark Shadows.

4. This artificial and allegorical Representation of things was to stir up our Diligence, and to make the

the Truths, when found out, more acceptable. If all Divine Verities were propounded in an easy manner, so that upon the first Proposal they were obvious to us, this would nourish our Sloth and Idleness: but when we see that our Blessed Instructor delivers some things which can't be understood without Difficulty and Pains; this may induce us to be diligent in searching into the Mind of God, and to use all our Indeavours to attain to a Knowledge of it.

5. This may be assigned as another Reason why Christ was pleased to discourse in Parables, viz. that what he said might be the better fixed on their Memories; for so it is, that what comes in the way of Story or Narrative, doth dwell longer with Men than another sort of Discourse. As they listen to it with greater Attention, so generally it makes a greater Impression upon them, and consequently is remembred and retain'd the longer by them: which is one singular Advantage of delivering things in this Parabolical manner.

6. Parables are not only useful to fasten Divine Truths on the Memory, but to move the Affections, and to beget in us a Delight in those excellent Truths. For it is very entertaining and pleasant to hear the most Heavenly Matters express'd and set forth by those which are earthly and worldly; because hereby at once both our Minds and our corporeal Senses are gratified. We are let into Celestial and Spiritual Mysteries by those Objects which are sensual and bodily: we attain to an insight of those things which are supernatural and extraordinary, by a Representation of those which are merely natural and common. This certainly must be very delightful, and have a mighty Influence on the affectionate Part of Man: this must

needs stir up his Desires and Love, his Joy and Satisfaction. For this Reason, among others, it is probable Christ made use of this pathetick and winning way of Discourse: He borrowed most of his Parables from very vulgar things, such as were well known to his Hearers, and which they had a very sensible notice and feeling of; that by that Means he might work the more powerfully on them; and by discoursing of worldly things bring them to an affectionate liking of the things of God, and the great Concerns of another Life: that by a wise and artificial representing the Objects which were daily before their Eyes, they might be able to discern and approve of the invisible Excellencies of a future State. Our Saviour was a very popular Preacher; he purposely made choice of that way of Discourse to the People, which he knew would be most taking and moving with them: And such was this his Preaching in Parables, which for the most Part consisted of familiar Comparisons and Similitudes, and set forth divine and spiritual things by those which were bodily and sensible, yea ordinary and vulgar, and which they daily convers'd with. Such was his *Parable of the ten Virgins*, Matth. 25. 1, &c. which is a plain Allusion to those things which were common at the *Jewish* Marriages in those Days: for they at that time had borrowed many of the nuptial Rites from the *Romans*; as first of all the Use of *Torches* and *Lamps*, because they celebrated their Weddings at *Night*, at which time they prepared a solemn *Supper*, and brought home the *Spouse*, and carried her to that Entertainment at the *Bridegroom's* House. Again, the Custom of going forth to meet the *Bridegroom* (which is the most considerable Part of this Parable) was well known at that time: The *Bride-maids* used to

go out with burning Lamps or Torches in their Hands to meet the Bridegroom, and to conduct him to the House where the Marriage was, and from whence they came with their Lights. To this that of the Comedian refers:

* *Primum omnium lucebis nova nuptæ facem.*

And that of Claudian, on the nuptial Solemnities of Honorius and Marcia;

|| ——— *Alii, funalibus ordine ductis,
Plurima venturæ suspendunt lumina nocti.*

And who knows not that those Words of another Poet,

† ——— *Novas incide faces, tibi ducitur uxor*

have reference to the Custom of bringing home the Spouse late at Night with Torches and Flambeaus? Nay, when a much antienter Poet (and he an inspired one) compares the Sun's glorious rising to (*) a Bridegroom coming out of his Chamber, i. e. the ushering the Bridegroom out of his Chamber with Lights and Torches, (which is a very elegant Simile, and apposite to his Purpose) we may thence inform our selves, that this Practice was of very antient Date. Moreover, the *tarrying of the Bridegroom* (which this Parable mentions) was known and common in those Days: this happened generally by reason of the many Solemnities that were observed, and the leading about of the Bride, which took up much time; the young Maids or Vir-

gins

* Plaut. in Casinâ. || De Nupt. Honor. † Virgil. Eclog. 8.
(*) Psal. 19. 5.

gins staying at the Marriage-house, expecting the Bridegroom and Bride; so that sometimes it happen'd when they sat up late, that they all *slumber'd and slept*. However some of them used to keep their Lamps trimmed, whilst others suffered them to go out. Then when the Bridegroom and his Bride were solemnly brought home at *Midnight*, (as was usual) they that were ready with their Lamps, went in with them to the Marriage, i.e. the Nuptial Feast; but the Door was shut upon the rest: for it was the Custom, that when the Bridegroom and Bride returned, they presently went into their Chamber, and shut the Door with their Companions; and if any of the Bridemaids were never so urgent, and cried, *Open to us*, the Bridegroom gave Order to let none in, *he knew them not*, for they had forfeited their Right to enter into the Bridal Chamber by their Negligence and Drowsiness, by their not watching the exact Time of the new-married Couples Return home on the Wedding-night. Thus this Parable was suited to the Customs of the Jews at that time: Nay, the very Number of the Virgins (mentioned by the Evangelist) that brought and lighted home the Bridegroom, hath reference to the particular Usage at those Weddings: for from that Passage in *Statius*, in his *Epithalamium* on *Stella* and *Violantilla*;

*Procul ecce canoro
Demigrant Helicone Deae, quatinusque novena
Lampade solennem thalamus coeuntibus ignem,*

We may gather that the Number of those Bridal Virgins was wont to be ten or eleven: And sometimes five only (to which Number the Virgins are unhappily reduced in this Parable) attended the

Nuptial Solemnities: Accordingly * *Plutarch* labours to give Reasons (such as they are) why no more were made use of for this Purpose. The whole Parable is made up of the Rites used by the Eastern as well as the Roman People at their Marriages: and all the Particulars of it were such things as were commonly known to them, because every Day practised by some of them. In like manner the *Parables* of the *Candle*, *Luke* 8. 16. of the *Sower* and the *Seed*; of the *Tares*; of the *Mustard-seed*; of the *Loaves*; of *Leaven*; of the *Net* cast into the *Sea*; (all in one Chapter, *Matth.* 13.) of the *Labourers in the Vineyard*, *ch.* 20. 1. of the *Householder that planted a Vineyard, and let it out to Husbandmen*, *ch.* 21. 33. are Representations of usual and common Occurrences, and such as the Generality of our Saviour's Hearers were daily conversant with; and for that very Reason were made use of by him, as being most moving and affecting. † *Luther* had an odd Saying, (as he had many an one) that *Esop's Fables* is the best Book next to the Bible. His meaning, I suppose, was, that that sort of instructing, viz. by way of *Apologues*, by annexing an useful Moral to a feigned Story, was a very excellent and profitable manner of teaching, it being so familiar and delightful; and upon that account so conducive to enforce and illustrate any Moral or Religious Truth. This and much more is the Excellency of the *Parables* which our Blessed Master clothed his Divine Doctrine in: he chose this way of delivering things to them, on purpose to work the more powerfully on their Affections. A fit Parable moves the Mind with a wonderful Force and Efficacy, it representing Matters to us

in

* *Quaest. Rom.* † *Collecq. Mens.*

In their liveliest Colours and most natural Shapes, and applying them to the particular Circumstances we are in; so that it seemeth to say in the final Close of it, as that Parabolical Prophet to David, *Thou art the Man*. It comes up close to us, and with great Plainness and Freedom tells us our Case, and affects us proportionably. To have Dominion or Authority, and to speak in a Parabolical way, are expressed by the * same word in the Hebrew. This is most certain, that our Saviour reduced this Criticism into Practice, and by this moving way of Preaching let the World see, that † he taught as one that had Authority. Thus I have briefly shewed you the Nature of Parables, and given some Account of our Saviour's so frequently using them. I shall only add that useful Rule of St. Chrysostom, which is to be observed by us if we would rightly understand the Nature of the Stile of Scripture in this mystical way of expressing it self: || "We must not, saith he, over-curiously sift every Word and Passage that we meet with in Parables, but our main Business must be to understand the Scope and Design at which they aim, and for which this sort of Discourse was composed; and having gathered this out, we ought to enquire no further, it is in vain to busy our selves any longer. And that of Maldonate is a very good Rule; For the right interpreting of Parables we must know this, (*) that it is in vain to observe any Accuracy in comparing Persons with Persons, and to be curious in suting particular things to things: but we are to look at the grand Matter, and as it lies before us in gross. So he.

For

* *Mishal*. † Mark i. 22. || Οὐδὲ χεῖν πάντα τὰ ἐν ταῖς παραβολαῖς καὶ λέγειν μεταφασίζοντες, &c. (*) In Matthe, 11. 16.

For this is to be remembred, that there are several Circumstances inserted into Parables, meerly to adorn and set off the Matter, and to make the Representation and Similitude more graceful. Therefore we must not insist on every Particular, and think that an Argument may be drawn from all the Circumstances which we meet with in such Discourses. No; the main thing, which is the Design, is to be attended to in a Parable. If we observe this Rule, we shall gain a sufficient Knowledge of our Saviour's Meaning in his Parables: but otherwise we shall busy our Heads to little Purpose, and mistake the true Design and Intention of our Lord in this kind of Instructions.

There are other Passages in the New Testament, wherein a secondary or mystical Sense is to be observed, as the 24th Chapter of St. *Matthew*; one part of which, according to most Expositors, speaks of the Forerunners of *Jerusalem's* Destruction; and the other Part of the Signs of Christ's Coming to Judgment. But if you look narrowly into the whole Chapter, you will observe that these Forerunners and Signs of both Sorts are intermixed, and so promiscuously placed, that it is difficult to tell precisely which precede the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and which the Day of Judgment. Which gave me this Hint first of all, that this whole Chapter, or the greatest Part of it is to be understood (as those other Places of Scripture before-mentioned) in a double Sense, viz. a primary and a secondary. In the former you must understand our Saviour speaking of those Prodigies and Calamities which should befall the Jews before the final Overthrow of their City and Temple. In the latter you must conceive him foretelling the dreadful Signs and Concomitants of the last Day, wherein

not

not only Jews, but all the World are concerned. Here is a twofold Meaning of Christ's Words, here is a *double literal or historical Sense*: and the latter of them being not so obvious and evident as the other, (and that is the Reason why it hath not been found out) may be called the *mystical Sense*, for it is so indeed in comparison of the other. Whereas then Expositors are divided in interpreting this Chapter, some referring some Passages in it to the Devastation of *Jerusalem*, and others interpreting other Parts wholly of the Day of Judgment, we may compromise the Matter, and reconcile the different Interpreters, by asserting, that both the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the Calamities of the Last Day, are understood by both Parts of the Chapter, excepting only one or two particular Expressions, which may seem to refer altogether to one of these. In short, the Forerunners and Harbingers of the Ruine of the Jews, and of the last Coming of our Saviour are the same. So that while he speaks of one, he also foretels the other. This shews that there is a double meaning, a simple and a compound one, in the very same Words of this Chapter.

When the Apostle in *Eph. 5.* had spoken of the *married State*, and of the Duties of *Husband* and *Wife*, and particularly of the *Love* of the one, and the *Submission* of the other, he tells us, in the Close, that this Part of his Epistle hath a higher Meaning than every ordinary Reader of it would find out: for besides the literal Import of the Words, there is a more sublime and spiritual one. *This is a great Mystery*, saith he, *and I speak concerning Christ and the Church*, v. 32. Those Words in *Gth. 2. 24.* mentioned immediately before, have a mystical as well as a literal Meaning: they are to be understood

stood of the sacred Union of Christ and his Church, as well as of the conjugal Union of Man and Wife. For Marriage is an Emblem of the sacred and inviolable Tie between Christ and Believers; and accordingly whilst the Apostle discours'd in that Part of the Chapter concerning the Love and Submission of Husband and Wife, he lets us know, that it is to be understood in a secondary Sense of Christ's Love to his Church, and of the Church's Subjection unto Christ. And divers other Passages in St. Paul's Epistles have, besides their literal, a spiritual, inward and mysterious Acceptation. Even as to this the Apostle's Words are true, viz. *that he speaks the Wisdom of God in a Mystery*, 1 Cor. 2. 7.

Thus I have abundantly proved the *double Sense*, which is to be found in many Places of the Sacred Writings; and it were easy to evince it from many more Instances, if it were requisite. I will only here in the Close produce the Words of a very profound and judicious Man, a worthy Light of our Church, that I may not be thought to be singular in what I have asserted under this Head.

* Many Passages, saith he, as well in the Prophets as other Sacred Oracles, admit of Ambiguities and ambiguous Senses: and the same Prophecies are oftentimes fulfilled according to both Senses. And he instances in several. Again, a little after he hath these admirable Words: † Seeing our sacred Oracles were given many hundreds of Years before the Events foretold by them, and since exhibited, had any seminal Cause or observable Original out of which they were to grow; the greater the Variety of their Senses or Constructions is, the more admirable Proof doth

* Dr. Jackson, Vol. 2. Book 7. Sect. 1. † Sect. 2.

" doth their Accomplishment exhibit of that infinite Wisdom which did dictate them unto the Prophets. And he instances in such Prophecies as were fulfilled in a double Sense, and at two different times, as *Isa.* 9. 23. *Jer.* 1. 6, 8. and others which had a first and second Accomplishment. This is the very thing, which I have been asserting, and which I hope I have made sufficiently evident. The *historical* Books of the Old Testament are not bare Narratives and naked Stories of what is past, but in the largest and most comprehensive Construction of them they refer even to the Affairs of future Times. So that what *Thucydides* called his History, * a Possession, or Treasure that was to last for ever, a Monument to instruct all the Ages to come, we may most truly and justly apply to the historical Part of the Old Testament. It is of never-failing Use to the World: Whatever is recorded here concerning the Transactions of Divine Providence towards the Jews and other People, is typical and representative of what God now doth, and will always do to the End of the World. In the several Particulars of the sacred Story we may read the Condition and Lot of the Church in all succeeding Ages; for what is to come is but a Transcript of what we find here. And as for the *Doctrinal Part*, it is mysterious and allegorical in many Places: there is a hidden and invisible Treasure lies under the visible and outward Letter. Many of the Precepts, Prohibitions, Threatnings and Promises reach a great deal farther than the Words simply and absolutely denote: and spiritual and heavenly Matters are couched in those Texts which primarily speak of earthly and temporal ones. Lastly, where

* *Ktesis* is *an*.

when you read a *prophetick* Passage in the Bible, the bare thing there literally exprest is not all that is intended, but there is oftentimes much more implied. As *Ezekiel* tells us of a *Wheel within a Wheel*; so 'tis as true there is a Prophecy within a Prophecy in the Holy Scriptures. One and the same Prediction there is to be fulfilled more than once. In short, the Bible is not like other Books: In the *History, Doctrines* and *Prophecies*, both of the Old and New Testament, there are secret and hidden Meanings besides those which are plain and obvious, and which lie uppermost in the bare Letter. This is the peculiar and transcendent Excellency of the inspired Writings: This one thing alone may invite us to study this sacred Volume, and with incessant Labour penetrate into the inmost Sense of it, and acquaint our selves not only with the literal Meaning which first comes to our View, but with that which is more remote and mysterious.

Here then we must carefully avoid these two *Extreams*, viz. of laying the Letter of Scripture aside, and of resting altogether in the Letter. First, some despise the Letter of Scripture, and mind nothing in it but the Mystery. Of this sort were the *Cabalistical Jews*, who depraved the most substantial Parts of the Old Testament, by interpreting them in a mystical Sense only. Some of the *Christian Fathers* were too guilty of this, especially *Origen*, the Prince of the *Allegorists*. *St. Hilary* in his Commentaries on *St. Matthew*, and on the *Psalms*, explains several Places in this mystical way, whereby he fastens on them a Sense very different from that which they naturally have. Indeed his Comments are generally taken from *Origen*. *St. Ambrose*, in his Exposition of the Scripture, is generally allegorical. *Optatus*, Bishop of *Milevi*, is too often
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faulty, as to this, in his Books againſt the Dona-
 tiſts. But it is to be obſerved, that none of theſe
 Fathers do utterly exclude the literal and hiſtorical
 Meaning. And as there have been *Cabalists* and
Allegoriſts of old; ſo ſome high-flown Men of late
 have run all the Bible into moral and myſtical In-
 terpretations; and in the mean time have either
 diſbelieved or ſlighted the hiſtorical and literal
 Senſe. I cannot wholly condemn thoſe who have
 endeavour'd to preſent us with Myſteries in all the
 ſeveral Steps of the Creation, in the whole ſix
 Days Works, and in every particular Inſtance of
 the Moſaick Philoſophy. For this, without doubt,
 is not wholly external, material and ſenſible, and
 to be interpreted only according to the moſt obvi-
 ous Signification of the Words: it is moſt true
 even here, that *Moses bath a Vail over his Face*;
 and there are certain Myſteries and Allegories
 contained under the very Hiſtory. But though we
 are not to be mere Sons of the Letter, yet we have
 no Reaſon to think that the Moſaick Philoſophy or
 Hiſtory are made up of Alluſions and Metaphors,
 and are altogether myſterious. This were to ſoar
 aloft with our modern Chymiſts, to dote after the
 rate of a Roſy-crucian, whoſe Brains are ſo in-
 charmed, that they turn all into Spectres, Dreams
 and Phantaſms.

But eſpecially that Part of the Beginning of the
 Book of *Genefis* which gives an Account of *the Fall*
of our firſt Parents, muſt not be turned into mere
 Myſtery and Allegory: for it is ſufficiently evident
 that *Moses* ſpeaks of Matter of Fact. Wherefore
 a * late Writer cannot be enough rebuked for his
 Attempt of turning all the Moſaick Hiſtory con-
 cerning

* Dr. Burnet. *Archæolog. Philoſoph.* l. 2. c. 7, 8, 9.

cerning Adam and Eve, the Serpent, Paradise, eating the forbidden Fruit, and all the Passages relating to them, into Parable, yea into Ridicule; for he makes himself hugely merry with the several Particulars recorded by Moses. Yea, his Fancy was so low and groveling, that he picks up any vulgar Stuff to present the Reader with. Upon those Words, *They sewed Fig-leaves, and made themselves Aprons*, he triflingly cries out, *Behold the first Rise of the Tailors Trade!* And then that trite and popular Cavil is fetch'd in to embellish his Book, *Where had Adam and Eve Needle and Thread?* And again, this he saith exceedingly troubles and puzzles his Brain, *How the Woman's Body could be made of one single Rib.* Such is the profound Wit and Philosophy of this Allegorical Gentleman! who, because the Scripture sometimes speaks (as I shall have occasion to shew afterwards) after the manner of Men, and in compliance with their common (though mistaken) Apprehensions, he here stretches this too far, and extravagantly tells us, "That all the Account given by Moses, not only of the Origine and Creation of the World, but of Adam, and the first Transgression, and the Serpent, and the cursing of the Earth, and other Matters relating to the Fall, is not true in it self, but only spoken popularly, to comply with the dull Israelites, lately slavish Brickmakers, and smelling strong of the Garlick and Onions of Egypt. To humour these ignorant Blockheads that were newly broke loose from the Egyptian Task-masters, and had no Sense nor Reason in their thick Sculls, Moses talks after this rate; but not a Syllable of Truth is in all that he saith. This is very strange Language from a Reverend Divine, who thereby destroys the whole System of

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Theology, and of Christianity it self: for if there were none of those things before mentioned; if in a literal and historical Sense there was no such thing as that *first Disobedience of Adam*; if there be nothing true concerning the *Temptation* and the *Apostacy* of our first Parents, and the *Evils* and *Misery* that ensued upon it, then it will follow thence that Mankind had no need of a *Saviour* and *Redeemer*; then *Christ's* Coming in the *Flesh* was in vain; then all Christianity falls to the Ground; then when the Writings of the New Testament speak of * *Eve's being deceived*, and being in the *Transgression*; when they acquaint us that † *the Serpent beguiled Eve through his Subtilty*; and that || *by one Man's Disobedience many were made Sinners*; and that in (*) *Adam all died*: all is mere Romance and Fiction; there was nothing of these in Reality. And then likewise we have as good Reason to believe that the other Parts of the New Testament which speak of our Saviour and all his Undertakings, are to be understood in the same manner, that is, they are but a cunningly devised Parable; they may have some moral meaning, as *Esop's Fables* have, but they contain nothing of real Fact. This is the natural Result of *allegorizing* the 3d Chapter of *Genesis*. By dealing thus with this Part of the Bible he hath baffled all the rest, he hath wretchedly subverted the whole Scheme of our Religion; he hath spoil'd the whole Fabrick of Christianity; and he hath made the Scripture useless and insignificant. So that by this one Attempt of his he hath shaken, not to say overturn'd, the Foundations of Religion, he hath taken part with the known Despisers of all revealed Theology; he hath encouraged and patronized

* 1 Tim. 2. 14. † 2 Cor. 11. 3. || Rom. 5. 19. (*) 1 Cor. 15. 22.

tronized the wild Conceits of Scepticks; he hath strengthened the Hands of the Profane; he hath abundantly gratified the whole Tribe of Atheists and Deists; he hath won their Hearts for ever. And indeed we cannot but observe what sort of Men they are that applaud his Undertaking, viz. the Wits of the Town (as they are call'd) Men disposed to very ill Thoughts of Religion and the Scriptures, yea Men generally indulging themselves in Immorality and Debauchery. These are the Persons that promote his Notions, and cry up his Writings. This *Theorist* is become much more pleasing to them than Mr. *Hobbs*. This new *Archæologist* is far more taking than the *Leviathan*, because he nips the Bible more closely, and also because he is not (as the other) a Layman, but a professed Divine, and that of the Church of *England*. This makes his Enterprize so acceptable to these Men; for now they have a *Clergyman* to vouch them; they have the Warranty of a *Churchman*. I will not question, or so much as suspect the Prudence of our Ecclesiastical Governors: but in my Judgment, if there be no publick Censure pass'd upon such a daring Attempt as this, by a Member of our Church, Atheists will have just Ground to laugh at our Discipline, as well as they do at our Doctrine.

To excuse himself, he saith, this way of speaking is used in the Writings of the *New Testament*, and confessed to be *Metaphorical* and *Symbolical*; and why not then in *Genesis*? I answer; Because though there are some Expressions of that Nature, as the *Trumpet sounding*, and the *Books opened* at the Day of Judgment, which are but metaphorical, it is likely, yet it is easy to discern it: And in other Places it is intimated, and sometimes plainly declared,

that the Passages are metaphorical and mystical, as in the *Parables* of the Prophets and of our Saviour. But it is quite another thing which we are speaking of, *viz.* not an Expression or two, but a whole entire History delivered in plain Words, and with all its Circumstances as Matter of Fact; and there is not the least Intimation of any other Sense: yea many of the Particulars are mentioned in other Places of the Old and New Testament, as direct Matter of Fact. Wherefore when he attempts to solve his Undertaking by alledging some Passages in the New Testament of Christ and his Apostles, he cannot but see that it is very foreign to his Business. Again, in a short *Appendix* to his Book (where he seems to retract in a manner what he had said, having been informed (he saith) that it was displeasing to pious and wise Men) he excuses himself by alledging the *Fathers*; who, 'tis true, present us with several *allegorical* Interpretations and Descants on some Places of Scripture, and particularly on the 3d Chapter of *Genesis*: but this is nothing to his purpose, because those antient Writers do not deny the *literal* Sense, which he doth. He is not content to allegorize that Chapter, but he wholly rejects the literal Meaning, and confidently avers that *Moses* all along tells a Story that hath nothing of Truth in it, and is not spoken according to the Nature of the things. So I grant, that some of the old *Jewish* Doctors moralized *Moses's* History, but they did not slight, much less supersede and lay aside the historical Sense. And moreover, he hath neither the *Fathers* nor the *Rabbies* as an Example of ridiculing the Mosaick History, which yet he doth throughout his whole Discourse on that Chapter, shewing his little Talent of jesting and drolling. So that in brief, it might be-

become *Hudibras* better than a *Doctor of Divinity*. I appeal to any that are acquainted with the ancient Monuments of the Church, whether he doth not perfectly tread in the Steps of the old Adversaries and Blasphemers of Christianity, *Julian, Celsus, &c.* The former of these speaking of, and deriding what is said in *Genesis* concerning *Adam* and *Paradise*, and eating the forbidden Fruit, &c. positively declares that * *these are altogether fabulous*. And again afterwards, † *What Difference is there, saith he, between these and the Fables of the Greeks?* What *Dr. Burnet* saith amounts to the same; for when he expressly saith, *Moses delivered nothing of the Physical Truth concerning the Creation of the World, &c. but wisely dissembles to accommodate himself to the People*: and when he tells us, that *Moses said these things only to conciliate Force and Authority to his Laws*, (which are his own Words) he doth as good as say, that what he delivers is a *Fable*. He might in plain Terms have stiled the *Mosaick History* a *fabulous Tradition*, as || *Simplicius* calls the Account which *Moses* gives of the Creation. Yea, he might as well have spoken the Language of his Friend *Celsus*, who call'd the *Mosaick Relation* concerning *Adam* and *Eve*, (*) *an old Wife's Fable*. Thus we see what Examples he follows; some of the craftiest and subtlest (but yet the most malicious) Enemies of the Christians, who laugh'd at their Religion whilst others persecuted it, and did more harm by that deriding it, than others by violent oppressing it. But lo! a remarkable Example of the Divine Justice! viz. on the bold Gentleman who lately englished that part of the Doctor's Book

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which

* Ταυτα εστι μυθωδη πανταλως. Cyril. contr. Julian. lib. 3.

† Τι διαφορη εστιν *Ελληνι πεπλασμενων μυθων τα τειαδ.

|| De Phys. Aud. l. 8. (*) Origen. contr. Cels.

which derides the 3d Chapter of *Genesis*, and who committed it to the Press for the sake of some of the witty Folks of the Town, and to please the Atheistical Rabble. This signal Act of avenging Providence is well known to the World, and I wish the ingenious *Theorist* would seriously reflect upon it, and learn thence to make Sport with the Bible no more: And I request him not to be offended at my plain Dealing with him; for I assure him that I have said nothing out of any Disrespect or ill Will to his Person, but wholly from a deep Sense of the great Mischief which is like to ensue upon this late Attempt of his. I abhor the treating of any learned Man's Writings with Contempt: yea, on the contrary I have always paid a due Respect and Deference to them, though they are not adjusted to the Notions which I have of things. But when I see the Holy Scriptures struck at, and Religion it self shock'd and extremely hazarded, I cannot forbear from uttering my Sentiments, and shewing my just Indignation on such an Occasion. Christian *Charity*, which beareth all things, endureth all things, cannot by any Means brook this. And I must freely tell this learned Writer, that let his Character otherwise be never so fair, (and 'tis not my Design to disown it or blemish it in the least) it is certain that the better this is, the worse is his Enterprize; for he seems to come sober and demure to undermine the Bible, and destroy Christianity, as many a *Cracovian* Reasoner hath done before him. But truly there is little *Sobriety* in jesting and buffooning, in jeering and drolling away our Religion, and that under the Pretence of *Philosophick Antiquity*. Nay, let me tell him, (and I hope by this time his own Thoughts do so too) that to trifle and droll after the Rate that he doth on the

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the inspired History concerning *Adam* and *Eve*, is a near Approach to Blasphemy. I heartily wish he may be apprehensive of his Delinquency in this kind, and that for the future he may guide himself by that wholesome Rule, *viz.* that we are not to quit the literal Interpretation in any Place of Scripture, unless there be a necessity of doing so. And 'tis certain there is none in the present Case; nay, there is an absolute Necessity of acknowledging the literal and historical Meaning, unless we will subvert the very Foundations of our Religion. He that makes this first Book of the Bible to be wholly mystical, doth not observe the Distance between *Genesis* and some Part of the *Revelation*. We must be careful that we follow not the Masters of abstruse Divinity so far, that we exclude the literal Sense of Scripture: for this will prove fatal to the Scriptures themselves, and to all Religion, especially Christianity. If we dote upon Allegories, and defy the Letter and History of the Bible, we quite null these Sacred Writings, because we thereby render them ambiguous and precarious, we authorize any wild Interpretations that can be made of them. If we may leave the literal Sense of Scripture when we please, and fly to metaphorical and mystical ones, then the Certainty of the Word of God will soon vanish: for then we cannot tell what is true or what is false; or if we know it, we can never confute any Error, or maintain any Truth from the Holy Writ. For by this Means there will be innumerable Explications of Scripture, and who can possibly determine which of them is to be made choice of? If you offer any Text to prove such or such a Doctrine, it will easily be evaded if the Letter may not be our Guide; for it is but saying, The Place is not meant as the Words sound,
but

but must be taken figuratively and mystically. Thus Scripture it self is destroyed by cashiering the literal Acception of the Words. Yea, we destroy the whole Gospel, and pluck up the Foundations of Christianity; we deny Christ and all his blessed Undertakings for our Redemption and Salvation: for these being Matter of Fact, are founded upon the literal Account we have of them, upon the historical Relation of them, which we have in the Writings of the Evangelists and Apostles. Thus dangerous and fatal it is to let go the literal Sense of Scripture, and to catch at a mystical one only. By this wild Practice Men attempt to thrust Religion out of the World; or, which is the same thing, to present us with a metaphorical and allegorical Religion, instead of a true and real one. Therefore there is good Reason why we should not quit the literal Construction of Scripture.

Secondly; The other Extream which is to be avoided by us, is the * resting altogether in the outside, the looking no farther than the literal Meaning of Scripture. There is such a thing as *mystical* or *symbolical* Divinity; however some have mistaken and abused it: and this, if it be rightly used, is exceeding profitable, yea necessary; for it is no other than the Result of the *mystical Sense* of Scripture, which I have been speaking of. He is truly a *Divine*, he may deservedly be said to have Skill in Christian Theology, who contents not himself with the primary or literal Import of the Sacred Writings, but dives into the secondary but more abstruse Meaning of them, who penetrates into the hidden Mind of the Word of God. If there be a

* Κατὰ τὸ ὑπομνημα τοῦ, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀρίστῃ ἐκλάμψαν.
Athanaf. in March. 12. 31.

mystical Sense in Scripture, as I have proved in several Instances, it must be reckoned a great Oversight (to say no worse) in the Expositors of this Holy Book, not to take notice of this Interpretation, but to acquiesce wholly in the literal Meaning. This is observable in the Expositions which some of the *Rabbins* give of the Bible: for as the Jewish *Cabalists* are too *allegorical*, (as we took notice before) so another Set of their Doctors is too much devoted to a literal Interpretation. This they stick to when there is no Reason for it, yea when the Words are plainly figurative, and must needs be taken so. Yet even then they interpret them according to the Letter, and thence are produced some of those foolish Propositions and childish Assertions, those groundless Fables and Legends; yea those gross Lies and Forgeries which are found in the Books of the *Rabbins*. *Erasmus* was faulty in this kind: his Readers may observe that he neglected the mystical Sense of Scripture, and resolutely adhered to the bare Letter. In which he is followed by *Calvin*, who generally leaves out the secondary and more sublime Sense of many Texts of Scripture, and satisfies himself with the literal one only. This he doth in his Comment on *Gen. 3. 15. I will put Enmity between, &c.* which he interprets simply of the Antipathy between Men and Serpents, (which is the poor and lank Interpretation which *Josephus* the Jew gives of it, as you have heard :) whereas those Words in the highest Meaning of them (as the antientest and learnedest Fathers have suggested) are the first and grand Promise of the *Messias*, made to our first Parents, and in them to all their Posterity. Those Places, *Psal. 22. 16. They pierced my Hands and my Feet; And ver. 18. They part my Garments among them,*
and

and cast Lots upon my Vesture; Calvin is enclined to interpret simply, and not concerning *Christ*: he would have them to be only metaphorical Expressions of *David's* Calamities and Sufferings, notwithstanding it is expressly said by the Evangelist St. Matthew, that those things were done to Christ, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Prophet, Matth. 27. 35. And by the Evangelist St. John, This was done that the Scripture should be fulfilled, ch. 19. 36, 37. And so as to that Text, Jer. 31. 22. The Lord hath created a new thing in the Earth, a Woman shall compass a Man. The same Author will not have this Prophecy, (for such it is, though it seems to speak of a thing past, it being the Custom of prophetick Writers to signify the future Time by the past, as you shall hear afterwards) he will not, I say, have this Prediction refer in the least to Christ and the Virgin *Mary*: It is ridiculous, he saith, to understand it so. And some other Prophecies which are meant of Christ, he understands otherwise, confining himself to the bare Letter of the Words. Thus this excellent Person, out of an Affectation of Novelty, perverts those Scriptures which the antient Fathers quoted as spoken of Christ; and he plainly tells us, that the Fathers abused those Places. But (which is far worse) he refuseth to expound some of those Texts of the Old Testament concerning Christ, notwithstanding the Evangelical Writers in the New Testament alledg them as punctually fulfilled in him, and in what he suffered. For this Reason that renowned Man may be thought to incline to *Judaism* or *Arianism* as much as *Erasmus* is thought by some; for you shall find the one as well as the other interpreting Places of Scripture, which speak of Christ, quite to another Sense.

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* One of the Worthies of our Church excuseth the former of these Persons after this manner, (and why may not the same Excuse serve for the latter?) " It was, saith he, rather fear lest he should give " Offence unto the Jews, than any Desire or Inclination to comply with them, which makes him " sometimes give the same Interpretations of " Scriptures which they do, without Search after " farther Mysteries than the Letter it self doth administer. It was the Candour of this excellent Divine to apologize thus for that great Man ; and the same Apology may serve for the other : yet certainly we ought to supply the Defect of their Expositions on those Places, by adding the secondary and mystical Sense to them ; else we leave those Texts maimed and imperfect ; yea we rob them of that which is most considerable and precious in them, that which is the *Dabar Gadol*, as the Jewish Masters call the *mystical* Sense, this being *great* in comparison of the *literal* one, which is call'd by them *Dabar Katon*, little and inconsiderable, *viz.* in respect of the other. This was the Fault of another great Man, *great* in Name as well as Worth : Herein he disdains not to tread in the Steps of Mr. *Calvin*, though in many other things he is very averse to his Expositions. We shall find that when he treats of the Texts in the Old Testament which speak concerning *Christ*, he generally interprets them in the first and literal Sense, contrary to the Practice of all Apostolical and Antient Expositors, who constantly search into the *mystical* Sense of Scripture, as the choicest Treasure that is to be found in it. Gold and Diamonds, and the richest Gems, lie hid in the Bowels of the Earth.

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* Dr. *Jackson* on the Creed.

The richest and most precious Truths of Heaven are treasured up in the Entrails of this Holy Book, they are hid in the most inward Recesses of it. *Democritus* could say, *Truth lies hid in a deep Pit.* This is most certain of *Divine Truth* contained in the Holy Scripture; besides what we meet with in the Letter and Surface of it, there is yet a more choice Discovery to be made by searching into the Depths of it, and by discerning the spiritual Meaning, those *deep things of God* which lie covered under the Letter and History. It is a Rule that holds good concerning the Divine as well as Humane Laws, * He that confines himself to the Letter, sticks in the mere Bark and Outside, and can go no further: he reacheth not to the inward Sense, Pith and Mind of those Laws. We must needs fall short of the

- Truth of Scripture, that sacred Law given us by
- God, unless we endeavour to acquaint our selves
- with both these, not only the historical, but the
- more sublime and mystical Sense of it. Both these
- jointly make up Divine Truth. Therefore that is
- a good Rule in interpreting Scripture, which was
- practised by *Athanasius*, † We (saith he) do not
- take away the Literal Sense to bring in the Spiritu-
- al one, but we maintain the more powerful Mean-
- ing of the Spirit by keeping up the literal Sense.
- These two must go together. If we lay aside the
- former, the Scripture is no longer *Scripture*, i. e. a
- written Law, made up of Letters: and if we lay
- aside the latter, we do Despite to the Spirit of
- Grace, who hath lodged a farther Meaning in the
- Holy Scriptures, (which were inspired by him)
- than that which is contained in the Letter. Where-
- fore

* Qui hæret in literâ, hæret in cortice.

† Οὐκ ἀραιεῖται τὸ γράμμα διὰ τὸ πνεῦμα, ἀλλὰ αὐξάνει τὸ πνεῦμα διὰ τὸ γράμμα.

fore to understand the Scriptures as we should do, we must be careful to find out the secondary or mystical Interpretation of the Words, as well as the primary or literal.

And that we may know when the Sense is of the former, and not of the latter sort, it will be needful to observe these following Rules. The first is given us by * *R. Ben-Ezra*, thus; If any Precept in Scripture be not consonant to Reason, it must not be taken in the simple or literal Sense, as that Place, *Circumcise the Foreskin of your Hearts*, Deut. 10. 16. We cannot suppose this to be understood literally, because (saith he) it is so unreasonable and absurd a thing; yea indeed it is utterly impossible, for there is no such thing as the *Præputium* of the Heart. In these and the like Places a spiritual Sense must be searched for, otherwise we must assert that the Scripture enjoins us the doing of those things which cannot be done. Besides, if we understand it literally, *i. e.* of the circumcising or paring off any Part of the Heart, this is an inhumane and bloody thing: to do this is to be cruel to our selves; yea, 'tis Self-murder: Therefore according to a *second Rule*, which I am to propound, this cannot be the Sense of the Place, and consequently the literal Meaning is not intended here. The Rule is this, That all Precepts or Prohibitions, which, as to their Sound, are wholly repugnant to the Moral Law, and the express Command of God there, contain in them some mystical or spiritual Sense. By this you may judg of the Meaning of those Places of Scripture, *Prov. 23. 2. Put a Knife to thy Throat, if thou be a Man given to Appetite*: And that of our Saviour, *Matth. 5. 29, 30. If thy right Eye offend thee,*
pluck

* Comment. in Decalog.

pluck it out : and if thy right Hand offend thee, cut it off. To which I may add, *Prov. 25. 21. Rom. 12. 20. Heap up Coles on your Enemies Heads.* When a Person is thus commanded in Scripture, to do some thing contrary to the exprefs Law of God, we may conclude that Command is to be understood in a secondary or mystical Sense, and not according to the Letter. So when God bids *Hosea take a Wife of Whoredoms, and Children of Whoredoms, ch. 1. 2.* And when it is added that *he went and took such an one, ver. 3.* we must look upon it as a Parable, a mystical Saying. It was a *Vision*, saith St. * *Jerom.* So saith *Jonathan* the Chaldee Paraphrast; and † *Maimonides* agrees with him. It is certain that this was done only in Shew and Representation, but not actually and really, because it was contrary to that direct Prohibition in the Law, *Lev. 21. 7. Thou shalt not take a Wife that is a Whore.* The Meaning then of the foregoing Words is this, that seeing this People brag that they are my People, my Spouse, my Children; go and represent the true State they are in by a Parable, and let them know that they are as much my Wife and my Children, and no more, than if you should take a professed Whore with her spurious Brats, and say, that she is your lawful Wife, and they are your lawful Children, which is absolutely false. This I conceive is the plain Meaning of the Words. But that Command of God to *Abraham, Gen. 22. 2. Take thy Son, thy only Son Isaac, and offer him for a Burnt-offering,* is of another kind; for that this is not to be understood mystically but literally, we can prove from the History it self, which is so related, that we may plainly see it was a Matter of Fact:

* *Proœm. in Hof.* † *Mor. Nev. l. 2. c. 46.*

Fact: and it is inserted among other *Historical* Passages concerning that Patriarch; whereas the *Prophetical* Books, such as that of *Hosea*, contain in them *Visions* and *Representations* of things spoken of as really done, although they are not. Besides, we are certain that *Abraham's* offering his Son *Isaac*, i. e. his binding him, and laying him upon the Altar, and undertaking to kill him, were real things, and actually performed, because we are told by the infallible Penmen of the New Testament, that they were so; for they alledg this Matter of Fact, to prove and demonstrate the Doctrine which they deliver; *Heb. 11. 17. Jam. 2. 21.* Wherefore we are sure it was a Reality, and consequently the Words in *Genesis* are to be understood in a plain *Literal* Sense. A third Rule, and the most useful, is this; See what Texts of Scripture are already interpreted in a *Mytical* Sense by the *Evangelists* and *Apostles*, and observe the Nature, Occasion and Circumstances of those Places, and thereby you will be able to discern what other Places of Scripture are to be understood in the same manner: And accordingly you must interpret them not after the Bare Letter or History, but in a *Spiritual* Sense. And so much for the first thing which is to be taken notice of, in order to our having a right Understanding of the *Stile* of Scripture, viz. that there are many Places in it that have a *Double* Sense.

C H A P. II

The Scripture in many Places speaks not accurately, but according to the *Vulgar Opinion*, and *Apprehensions of Men*. Several Instances of this in the *Old and New Testament*: The *Phrases, Expressions and Modes of Speaking* used by the *Inspired Writers*, are the same with those that we find in the best *Classick Authors*. This largely proved from the *Phraseology* of the *Old and New Testament*. More particularly the *Similitudes and Comparisons* in both are alike. The *Correspondence of Scripture-Phrase* with the *profane Stile* shew'd by *Grotius, Pricæus, Gataker, &c.* There are in the Bible the same *moral Notions*, and express'd in the very same *Stile*, that there are in *Pagan Writers*. In both *Man's Life is a Way, a Pilgrimage, a Warfare*. Other *Ethick Notions*, viz, that *Good and Vertuous Men are Free*; and that *all Vicious Persons are Slaves*: that *Good Men are Wise*, and *all others are Fools*; (to which latter the Author reduceth *John 20. 10.* though generally interpreted otherwise, and comments upon it:) that *Good Men are the Friends of God*; that *Vicious Men are Dead*; that *Death is a Sleep*. All which occur in the *Sacred Writings* as well as in *Pagan Moralists*.

THE Second Proposition is this, that the *Stile of the Holy Scripture* hath many things in it which are according to the usual *Strain of other Writers and Authors*. Take this in these Particulars;

I. The Scripture in many Places speaks not accurately, but according to the *vulgar Opinion* and
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Apprehensions of Men. Thus it is a common Observation, (but I will not balk it here) that in the Mosaick History of the Creation of the World it is said, *God made two great Lights*, Gen. 1. 16. and the *Moon* is reckoned as one of them; whereas it is not to be doubted that the *Sun*, but especially the *Moon*, is but a *little Light* in comparison of some of the *Fixed Stars*. But this we may truly say, with an antient Christian Writer, * It was not *Moses's* Purpose to act the Philosopher or Astronomer in the Book of *Genesis*. But because the Sun is nearer to us than those Fixed Lights are, and the Moon is much nearer than the Sun, therefore though they be less in themselves than those Remote Stars, yet they seem to our Sight to be the Biggest Lights that God hath set up in the Heavens: Wherefore they are emphatically, and by way of Eminency, call'd in the Hebrew, *the Great Lights*, though the least of the Stars be a greater Light than the Sun or Moon. So though it is said of the Almighty Creator and Preserver of the World, that *he hangeth the Earth upon nothing*, Job 26. 7. which is exactly and philosophically true; yet in another Place of this Book we read of *the Pillars of the Earth*, Job 9. 6. which is a manner of Speech adapted to the Capacity of the Vulgar, who cannot conceive how so great and massy a Body as this Ball of Earth can hang hovering in the Air, and be upheld without some *Props*. And several other such Expressions there are in Scripture which are spoken according to the popular Apprehensions, and the seeming Appearance of things, not the Exactness of the things themselves. Therefore their Attempts have

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been

* Σκοπὸς ἦν Μωσῆι ὅτι φυσιολογῆσαι, ὅτι ἀστρονομῆσαι. Philopon. in Hexaem.

been to little purpose, who would force a Philosophy out of the Bible, as if they had a mind to present us with a Body of Philosophy *jure divino*. As some Grammarians and Criticks pretend to find all Arts and Sciences whatsoever in *Homer's* Poems, so these fond Men undertake to discover a Compleat System of Natural Philosophy in the Sacred Writings. But this is a very vain Enterprize, because, though there is a great deal of excellent Philosophy in several Places of Holy Scripture, yet these Writings were never intended mainly for this End, but for one far higher and nobler. Hence it is that you hear the Holy Writers speaking sometimes not according to the very Nature of the things, but according to their Appearance, and the Opinion Men have of them. Yea, they oftentimes express themselves according to the received Opinions, although they be erroneous and false, as in the Instance before mentioned. *Theodoret* gives us the Reason of it in his first Interrogatory upon *Genesis*: he begins his Work with This, that * the Holy Scripture is wont to suite its way of Teaching to the Capacity of the Learner. And in another Place, he speaks to like purpose, saying the Holy Scripture (saith he) is as is most expedient and fit for Men. The Holy Ghost in it is pleased to condescend to their Capacities, and to adapt himself to their shallow Apprehensions. Thus frequently in the Scripture corporeal Properties are attributed to God: you read of his Face and Back-parts, *Exod.* 33. 23. and that these latter were seen by *Moses*, which is spoken by way of *Anthropopathy*, as Divines commonly speak, i. e. after the manner of Men, in compliance with their

* Μετῆν ἑκάστῃ τῶν παλαιῶν ὁρίσιν ἡ θεία γραφή τὰ μαθηματικά.

† Προσφύκει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡ θεία γραφή διαλογισμῶν. *Quest.* 52. in *Genes.*

their weak Capacities. As when a Man's Face and Fore-parts are seen, there is a considerable Discovery and Knowledge of his Person; but when he is seen behind only, it is imperfectly: so was it when God appeared to Moses, he shew'd himself to him not fully, but in part; as when a Man turns away his Face from another, and lets him see only his Back-parts. And so in other Places of Scripture we read of God's Eyes, Ears, Hands, Feet, and other bodily Parts and Members; but we must not forget here the old Rule of Cyril of Alexandria, * When Members and Parts are attributed to God, it is said after the manner of Men, but it is to be understood in a Sense suitable to the Divine Nature. And † Athanasius hath the like Words on this Occasion. But the not attending to this gave Rise to the Sect of the Anthropomorphites, who perversly understanding those Texts which ascribe these Parts to God, held him to be Corporeal, and of Humane Shape: They erred, not knowing, not rightly interpreting the Scriptures, which sometimes speak after the Guise of Man, in condescension to the shallow Understand-

Thus Gen. 6. 6. It repented the Lord that he made Man; and 1 Sam. 15. 11. The Lord repented that he made Saul King; are to be interpreted, that as spoken in a vulgar manner, and after the way of Mortals, who when they repent, abandon their former Doings. So when God is said to repent, that which we are to understand by it is this, that he acts in a contrary manner to what he did before. As in the forementioned Places, it repented the Lord that he made Man, the meaning is, that he purposed to destroy Mankind, viz. with a Deluge; for so

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* Ὅταν ἀνθρωπίνως τὸ λόγιον φησὶ δαΐ, νοεῖν αὐτὸν θεοπραπῶς.
In Johan. 10. 34.

† Dialog. 1. de Trinit.

you find it explain'd in the next Verse, *the Lord said, I will destroy Man whom I have created.* And when 'tis said, *The Lord repented that he made Saul King*; the meaning is, that he ~~purposed~~ to depose him, and set up another, as you read he gave Order in the Words immediately following in the next Chapter. Therefore *Theodoret* saith well, * *God's Repenting* is no other than the changing of his Dispensation. And thus we are to interpret this Expression where-ever it occurs in Holy Writ, (for in many other Places God is said to *repent* of what he did) as knowing that the Phrase of this Sacred Book is oftentimes fitted to the Apprehensions and Language of Men, and not the absolute Reality of the thing. That of *St. Chrysostom* is certainly true, † *God accommodates himself sometimes to humane Infirmary when he speaks in Scripture.* So those Words are to be understood in *Gen. 11. 5. The Lord came down to see the City*: And again, *ver. 7. Let us go down*: which are spoken in a vulgar manner, and with respect to the shallow Conceptions of Mankind. And the same Expression is used in *Gen. 18. 20, 21. Exod. 3. 7, 8. Psal. 144. 5. Isa. 64. 1.* God is here said to *come down*, which signifies God's taking more than ordinary Notice of the Actions of Men, and his designing to do some extraordinary thing. The Scripture calls the Angels that appeared to *Abraham* Men, because they seem'd to be such. The Man *Gabriel* you read of in *Dan. 9. 21.* because he appear'd in the Shape of a Man. And so in the New Testament the Angels at our Saviour's Sepulchre are stiled *young Men*, because as to outward Appearance they were such. Notwithstanding

* *Ἐπὶ δεῦ μεταμέλεια διονομίας ἐστὶ μεταβολή.* Quæst. 30. in Gen.

† *Ἀρμολύεται πρὸς τὴν ἀδύνατον ἀνθρώπων.*

standing what some Commentators have said upon 1 Sam. 28. 15. Samuel said to Saul; and again; ver. 16. Then said Samuel; I am fully perswaded that those Words are spoken according to the Appearance, not the real Truth of the thing. The Name of *Samuel* is given to the Devil or Spectre that appeared, but we are not to think that *Samuel* himself in Body and Soul appear'd; for 'tis ridiculous as well as impious to imagine that the departed Saints are at the Command and Disposal of a Necromantick Witch, a Curfed Sorcerers, a Hellish Hag, as if she could fetch them down from the Celestial Regions when she pleaseth. But this she did, she raised a Spectre, or substituted some Person who resembled *Samuel*, whom she represented to *Saul's* Sight, as if he were the Prophet *Samuel* indeed. Thence we read in this Sacred History, that *Samuel* said to *Saul*, because he who appear'd in *Samuel's* Likeness was thought to be *Samuel*, and thought to speak to *Saul*. Thus a Learned Father long since expounded this Passage of Scripture, and gives us this as the Reason of it; * We find this (saith he) to be the Custom of Scripture, that oftentimes it relates that which is only in appearance instead of what is true and real. And with him agrees † another of the learned Antients; The Sacred History (saith he) calls the Apparition *Samuel*, because *Saul* believed it to be the real *Samuel*; for the Scripture speaks frequently according to other Mens Belief and Notions. So it usually calls those *Gods* that are not really such; but because the false and feigned Deities of the Heathens were reputed True Gods by them, therefore the Name of

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Gods

* Εὐείσκαμν την γεαφικὴν συνήθειαν πλλαχὺ τὸ δοκῶν ἀντὶ τοῦ οἷον διεξῆσαν. Greg. Nyss. Epist. de Pythoni ἰᾷ.

† Theodoret. in loc.

Gods is given them often in the Old Testament, and sometimes in the New.

But to confine my self to this latter, here we find several things delivered not according to the Reality of the Matter spoken of, but according to the Sense and Notion of others: So I understand our Saviour's Words, *Matth. 12. 5. The Priests in the Temple profane the Sabbath, i. e. by killing of Beasts, and doing other laborious Work, they, according to you, profane that Holy-day, according to the Notion which you Pharisees have of keeping and breaking the Sabbath, and according to which you condemn me and my Disciples, as Profaners of that Day.* The Phrase used by St. *Mark, ch. 1. 32.* is according to a very vulgar Conceit, *ἡ δὲ ἥλιος διπ*, the Sun did dip: And the same Expression is in *Luke 4. 40.* for the Sun seems to dive or be drowned in the Sea when it goes down. This is the *Apprehension* of those that inhabit near the Sea. In such a Sense as this must the Apostle be understood when he saith, *It pleased God by the Foolishness of Preaching to save them that believe, 1 Cor. 1. 21.* It is call'd *Foolishness*, not as if it were really such, but because it was commonly *reputed* so by those that were not competent Judges, because (as *Theodore* excellently saith) * it was by Fools call'd Foolishness. Especially it was denominated so by those who thought themselves great Masters of Wisdom: wherefore the Apostle explains himself afterwards, and saith, this Preaching was *to the Greeks Foolishness*, ver. 23. Nay, you read of *the Foolishness of God*, ver. 25. which can be meant in no other Sense than this, that this Excellent Dispensation of preaching the Gospel, which was of God's

* Ὅτι ἐκλήθη τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνοήτους μωρία. In loc.

God's own Appointment, was reckon'd as a weak and foolish Institution by those doughty Boasters and Pretenders to Wisdom. To them and such as they were it seem'd to be *Foolishness*, but really it was no such thing, for the Apostle calls it the *Wisdom of God*, ver. 24. Thus the Scripture speaks sometimes according to the Opinion of others, though it be not true. So I apprehend those Expressions of the Apostle are to be understood, 2 Cor. 5. 13. *Whether we be besides our selves*; — or *whether we be sober*: i. e. we seem to our Enemies to be *besides our selves*, to be distracted when we commend our selves; and then only they think us *sober* when we speak submissively and in a self-denying Stile. In the same Sense we are to take Chap. 11. 1, 16, 17. where he calls his necessary apologizing for himself *Folly* and *speaking foolishly*, not that 'twas so in it self, but because it was accounted so by some. In another Place he calls *Epimenides* the *Cretan Poet* * a *Prophet*, because he was thought to be such an one by his Countrymen, not that he deserv'd that Name. Here likewise you will see that things are sometimes expressed in a popular way, and according to the vulgar Sense and Opinion; as when it is said, *the Stars of Heaven fell unto the Earth*, Rev. 6. 13. which cannot be really and philosophically true; for these Luminaries, by reason of their vast Magnitude, cannot fall upon the Earth; there is no room for them in so small a Compass. But perhaps by the *falling* of these heavenly Lights from their Stations, is meant some Great and Notable Defection in the World, a Mighty Confusion and Disorder; so that the Fabrick of the Universe was as 'twere broken up and dif-

* Tit. 1. 12.

dissolved: Or by *Stars* here are meant Great Men and Magistrates, and their *falling to the Earth* signifies their being displaced from their high Station; and so 'tis a *Metaphor*, and belongs to another Place. And many other Passages there are which I will not now particularly enumerate. And indeed some of these are so common and obvious, that I should have forborn the mentioning of them, but that it was somewhat requisite to touch upon them, when I am representing to you the different and various Guises of the *Scriptural Stile*. It is common also in the Writings of the Evangelists and Apostles, to speak with reference to humane Properties and bodily Actions, even when God himself, and the most Divine things are treated of. So we often read of * *Christ's sitting at the right Hand of God*; whereas 'tis acknowledged, that a *right Hand* cannot properly be attributed to God; nor can our Saviour, in strictness of Speech, be said to *sit at God's right Hand*; for then he could not be said to *stand* there, *Acts. 7. 56*. Wherefore it is evident that these Expressions are used only in compliance with the common Language of Men, who generally prefer the right Hand before the left; and to *sit or stand at one's Right Hand*, denotes great Advancement and Honour. So that when those Modes of Speaking are applied to our Blessed Lord, the plain Meaning is, that after all his Labours and Sufferings, he is highly dignified by God, he is exalted to unspeakable Honour, he is advanced to such a Glorious State wherein he is invested with absolute Power and Sovereignty, and is able to protect, defend and reward his Church, and to confound their most powerful and malicious Adversaries: This is

to

* Luke 22. 69. Col. 3. 1. Heb. 1. 3. & 8. 1.

to sit at the right Hand of God. So he is said to be in the Bosom of the Father, John 1. 18. which bears the same Signification with Matth. 3. 17. *This is my Beloved Son in whom I am well pleased*; for whom we Love, we familiarly embrace and take into our Bosoms. So in the Gospel we find our Saviour setting forth many Divine and Spiritual things by those that are Humane and Carnal, herein comporting with our Infirmities, and delivering those Sacred things in such Language and Expression as are adequate to our imperfect Ideas of those things. It is a known Maxim among the Jews, and a very true one, *The Law speaks in the Language of the Sons of Men*; that is, the Words of Scripture are accommodated to the Vulgar Speech, and in that to the meanest Apprehensions. And this holds good not only of the Old but New Testament. Wherefore it was unreasonably and maliciously * objected by Celsus against the Scriptures, that they were not politely and accurately writ. Origen in answer to this tells him, that this was purposely and designedly done; namely, that all Persons might profit by the Holy Writings, that the Vulgar and Illiterate, as well as the Learned, might be edified by them: *We have* (saith he, using the Apostle's Words) *this Treasure in Earthen Vessels, that the Excellency of the Power may be of God, and not of Men.*

2. It may further be observed, that the Holy Scripture resembles the Phrases in Other Writers. If any Critick should dare to find fault with the Holy Stile, it were easy to defend it by maintaining and proving that it speaks as the Best Authors and Writers do: the Phraseology in them is alike in sundry Places. Many Expressions of Heathens fall in

* Origen. cont. Cels. l. 6. & Philocal. l. 1; & 4.

in exactly with the Terms of Scripture. *To be at the Feet of one*, in the Sacred Stile signifies to follow, to be his Servant, 1 Sam. 25. 27. 2 Sam. 15. 16. 1 Kings 20. 10. *I call'd him to my Feet*, Deut. 33. 3. i. e. *I call'd him to follow me, to be my Servant*: and in several other Places the Scripture speaks after this manner. The very same way of Speaking is not unusual among profane Authors: *To stand at their Feet*, was, among the Romans, applied to Servants, in respect of their Masters, for they waited on them at Table, or as they lay on their Beds with their Feet stretch'd out: Whence that of Seneca, * *Servus qui cœnanti ad pedes steterat*, &c. or this was said because they stood behind them, at their Heels. So in † *Suetonius*, *Ad pedes stantes*, are Servants that attend on their Masters: And *ad pedes*, without any Addition, hath the like Signification in *Martial*. This is very frequent; and ‖ *à pedibus* is used in the same Sense. Thus the Holy and Profane Stile agree; which I will next make good from those Texts where there is mention of *Light* as it signifies Joy or Gladness; as in Psal. 97. 11. *Light is sown for the Righteous*; which is thus explained in the next Clause, *and Gladness for the Upright in Heart*. Esth. 8. 15. we read thus, *The City of Shushan rejoiced*: but Junius and Tremellius very rightly, according to the Original, render it *lucebat*, *it shined*, or *was enlightned*: And the Words there immediately following are a Comment upon it; *the Jews had Light, and Gladness, and Joy*. In conformity to this observe, that in Isa. 50. 10. the Forlorn and Distressed Person, who is void of

* De Benefic. l. 3. † In Galbâ. ‖ In Cicerone, Martial. & aliis.

of all Joy and Mirth, is said to walk in Darkness, and to have no Light. We often read of * the Light of the Countenance, which is no other than the Pleasant Mirth and Joyful Aspect of it, the same with a Cheerful Countenance, Prov. 15. 13. † The shining of the Face, which is often mentioned in the Sacred Writings, is of the same import, and is a farther Proof that Light and Joy are synonymous. In Psal. 13. 4. and Isa. 58. 8. Light is no other than Joy. So the Candle, or Lamp of the Wicked; Job 21. 17. is their Joy and Prosperity; and the Phrase is again used in the same sense, ch. 29. 4. 3. And Prov. 21. 4. is pertinent here, if we translate it according to the Septuagint and the (*) Vulgar Latin, The Light of the wicked is Sin; i. e. their rejoicing is Sin or Vanity, as that word sometimes signifies. And so this Text is of the same import with Prov. 13. 9. The Lamp of the Wicked shall be put out. I might take notice, that the Voice of Mirth, and the Voice of Gladness, and the Light of the Candle, are join'd together; Jer. 25. 10. And I might remind those that are critical, that the Hebrew word *Samach* is rendred *letus*, *bilaris* fuit, and also *luxit*, *claruit*, as in Prov. 13. 9. The Light of the Righteous rejoiceth; or, as that word will bear it, *shineth*. To be merry and to shine are expressed by that same Verb. So the Feast of Dedication, instituted by Judas Maccabæus, was call'd the (†) Feast of Lights, because a great Happiness and Joy began then to shine as a Light, contrary to their Hopes. With the Holy Tongue and Stile agrees that of the Greek and Romans: thus among the former *φαιδ' εὖς bilaris*, is said by the Etymologists

* Job 29. 24. Psal. 4. 6. & 44. 3. & 89. 15. & 90. 8. Prov. 16. 15.
† Psal. 31. 16. & 67. 1. & 119. 135. Dan. 9. 17. Ἀγλαΐης δὲ ἀνθρῶν
ἀκαρπίας. (*) Lucerna impiorum peccatum. (†) Joseph. Antiq.

mologists to be derived from φαῖς, *luceo*. φαῖς or φαῖς signifies Joy in the Prince of Poets, — * φαῖς ἐπαείπον ἐδῆκε, i. e. *he brought Joy to his Companions*: and thus it signifies in † another place in the same Poet. So || γλυκερόν φαῖς is an endearing Compellation, and is the same with my *sweet Delight*, my *dear Joy*: And it must be confess'd by those that have look'd with any care into other Greek Authors, that this word is sometimes taken in that sense, and accordingly 'tis expounded (*) so by the Learned Glossaries. And the Latines teach us to say in their kind and blandishing Salutation, *Lux mea*, as much as to say, *my Joy and Delight*. Thus in the three Learned Languages *Light* signifies Joy, as *Darkness* denotes Calamity and Sorrow. And why may not our own Language be added to the rest, and be thought to resemble them in this Particular? which may be seen in the antient English Metre of the first Verse of the 110th Psalm, *In God the Lord be glad and light*. And who knows not that *lightsome* and *joyful* are of the same Signification in our vulgar Speech at this day? And that it may appear that Grammar and Criticism are no Enemies to Philosophy, it is probable that Men have chosen to express and denote things that are *joyful* and *pleasant* by the Name of *Light*, because this of all things in the World is the most Chearing and Comfortable, according to the Suffrage of the Royal Preacher, and indeed of all Mankind, *Truly the Light is sweet, and a pleasant thing it is for the Eyes to behold the Sun*. And again, *Prov. 15. 30. The Light of the Eyes rejoiceth the Heart*. It is both pleasant in it self, and renders all other things so too. It is an old Rabinnical Proverb, *When the Sun ariseth, the sick*

* II. ζ. † II. θ. || Odyss. γ. (*) φαῖς, χαρὰ, εὐφροσύνη. Hesych.

sick ariseth; he finds himself better in the Day than in the Night: and ordinary Experience vouches this for Truth. Wherefore when the Sun is gone, Men labour to supply its Gladsome Presence by something that resembleth it. Here I might embellish this Notion by observing to you, that it was antiently the Usage in many Countries to testify their publick Rejoicings by Illuminations. It is apparent from many Instances, that they were wont to set up Lights in their Windows and at their Gates for this very purpose. The Romans did this on their high Days, as * *Juvenal* testifies,

*Cuncta nitent, longos erexit janua ramos,
Et matutinis operatur festa lucernis.*

The Egyptians did the like on their Festivals, saith † *Herodotus*. And that the Jews used it on their Publick Solemnities, we learn from *Persius*, who chastises the Romans for their Levity and Folly in imitating the Customs of that People,

— At cum
*Herodis venere dies, unctaq; fenestrâ
Disposita pinguem nebulam vomuere lucernæ.*

When *Antiochus* was honourably received by the Jews, with a pretence of Mirth at least, 'tis said he was brought in with Torch-light and with great Shoutings into the City, 2 Mac. 4. 22. This was the Practice at great Triumphs and publick Reception of Princes, not only among the Jews but *Christians*, as we are acquainted by || *Eusebius*. And *Gregory Nazianzen* tells us that *Athanasius* was received in-
to

* Sat. 12. † Lib. 2. || Lib. 4. de Vita Constantini.

to the City with the like Pomp. And hither we may refer the *Nuptial Torches* which were wont to be carried at Marriages, as Tokens of *Rejoicing*. Thus *Illuminations* of old were Expressions of Joy, as they are even at this day. On the contrary, as *Suidas* observes, the Latin *lucto* is from *λυω*, i. e. *quollia, tenebra*, because they lighted up no Candles, but sat in the dark when they mourned. *Silicernium* the Funeral mournful Banquet is as much as *Solucernium*, i. e. *sine lucerna*, *αλυσχνορ* for (as you find it quoted by * *Possius*) *αλυσχνορ* is *αλυσχνορ* & *αλυσχνορ*. The sum is, Darknes is grievous and doleful, productive of Sorrow and Sadness: but where-ever the Light displays its Beauty, it gilds all things with Joy and Gladness; and thence we see that not only in the Stile of Sacred Scripture, but among Profane Writers, *Light* and *Joy* are expressive of one another.

This Agreement and Concurrence of both in their Stile may be observed in this, That the *Outward* and *Inward Man*, which *St. Paul* mentions, are no strange Language among some of the Classick Authors, for you read of *Salus interioris hominis* in one of † *Plautus*'s Comedies; where *interior homo* is the Soul or Life, the better part of Man, in which sense the Apostle useth it. The very Phrase of a perfect Man in *Eph. 4. 13.* is made use of by the great Moral Philosopher ‖ *Epictetus*, who opposeth *αυτὸς τέλειος* to *μειροκρον*, a Perfect Man, i. e. a Man of ripe Years to a Youth, a Man of Growth and Maturity in Morals to one that is but a Novice or Beginner in them. Only whereas the Philosopher applies it to Morality, *St. Paul* doth it to Christianity. The same Apostle calls the

Body

* Etymolog. Ling. Lat. † *Asin. Act. 3. Scen. 3.* ‖ *Cap. 79.*

Body a Vessel, 1 Thess. 4. 4. *Let every one know how to possess his Vessel (i. e. his Body) in Sanctification and Honour.* And so it is call'd by the great Roman Philosopher and Orator: * *The Body*, saith he, *is as 'twere the Vessel of the Soul, or some such Receptacle of that noble part of Man.* And Antoninus, in a very disparaging manner, stiles it † *the worser sort of Vessel*; which is an Expression not unlike to that of another Apostle, who calls a Woman || *the weaker Vessel or Instrument*, (for the word signifies both) an Utensil very infirm and frail in comparison of the other Sex, which is generally strong and robust. St. * *Paul* calls his Body a *Tabernacle*, and so doth St. † *Peter* stile his: and when St. *John* applies the word || ἐσκηνοσεν to our Saviour, telling us that he came and pitch'd his Tent with us for a time; the meaning is, that he assumed a Body, and dwelt here on Earth in it: which is the very Language of the Antient Grecians, who call'd the Body of Man σκηνή, a Tent, a Tabernacle. Yea, the whole Man is express'd and described by St. *Paul* in a Tripartite Division after the same manner that he is by the Gentile Philosophers. This Apostle represents him as consisting of three main Parts, *Spirit, Soul and Body*, 1 Thess. 5. 23. which very Distribution is to be found in Antoninus, * Σαρκίς, καὶ πνεύματι, καὶ τὸ ἡγμενικόν. And in another place he divides Man after the same way, but in words that approach nearer to those of the Apostle, Σῶμα, ψυχὴ, νῆς: and explains it thus, † to the Body belong the External Senses, to the Soul the Affections

F

and

* Corpus est quasi vas animi, aut aliquod receptaculum. Cic. Tuscul. Qu. 1. 1. † Χείρον τὸ αἰσῶν. || Ἀσθενέστερον σκεῦος, 1 Pet. 3. 7. * 2 Cor. 5. 1, 4. † 2 Pet. 1. 13, 14. || Joh. 1. 14. * τῶν ἐν αὐτῶν, lib. 3. † Σῶμα δὲ αἰσθήσκει, ψυχὴ δὲ οἰσθάνει, νῆς δὲ ὁρμαίνει.

and Passions, to the *Mind* or *Spirit* the Judgment, and refined Thoughts and Reason. And in other Pagan Writings, especially those of *Plato* and his Followers, the same Division of Man is observed, and is exactly that of *St. Paul*, *ψυχή, σῶμα, σάρκα*. This is All that a Man is. And as this and other inspired Writers frequently use the word *Flesh* to signify the depraved Nature of Man, so it hath the same Interpretation in the Incomparable *Antoninus*, where you will find that *σάρξ* and *συναίσθησις* are the corrupt part of Man, the Carnal and Sensual Inclinations, that part of the Soul which struggles with Reason, and on all occasions makes head against it. I could here in several Particulars shew that *Porphyrus* comes very near to the Holy Stile in many words which he uses. And it might be cleared by several Quotations out of *Hierocles*, that he imitates the Phrasology of the Scripture, especially of the New Testament.

Are not the *Similitudes*, especially those that are plain and homely, which we meet with in the Bible, found in the best Antient Writers? The crackling of Thorns under a Pot is made use of by * *Solomon* to set forth a Short and Fading Pleasure, (tho it be accompanied with some Noise and Stir). And the very same is used by *Virgil*,

————— *Magno veluti cùm flamma sonore
Virgea suggeritur costis undantis abeni.*

Homer, the great Soul of Poetry, tells us in Commendation of *Nestor's* Speech, that it was † *sweeter than Honey*: by which plain wording he sets forth that

* *Eccles.* 7. 6. † *Μέλιος γλυκίων.* *Iliad.* &c.

that Old Counsellor's Fluent and Elegant Language, his Excellent and Charming Art of delivering his Advice and Counsel. Which is the very Similitude that the Psalmist, the most Divine Poet, makes use of to express the Ravishing Sweetness of God's Law: *It is, saith he, sweeter than Honey, and the Honey-Comb*, Psal. 19. 10. and the same he repeats in *Psal. 119. 103.* His Royal Son makes use of the same homely Comparison, *Pleasant Words* (saith he) *are as a Honey-Comb*, Prov. 16. 24. And in his Admirable and Transcendent Poem he disdains not this familiar Stile, where he brings in the Sacred Bridegroom speaking thus to his Spouse, *Thy Lips drop as an Honey-Combe*, Cant. 4. 11. And in this Book of the *Canticles* it might be particularly made good that the Description of the Beauty of the Bride, and the rest of the Amorous Passages and Expressions to set forth the Soft Passion, are such as you find in Authors that treat of that Subject, as *Homer, Musæus, Pindar, Theocritus, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Ausonius, Claudian*, and others that have spoken of Love and Beauty. That plain and Country Simile used by our Blessed Master, * *As a Hen gathereth her Chickens under her Wings*, is expressly in † *Euripides*, one of the delicatest Poets that Greece afforded, and who gave the liveliest Characters of Things: and in this very manner of speaking he is followed by *Seneca* the Tragedian. Certainly this was a very apposite Similitude, the *Hen* being, as the Arabians stile her, *Mater Congregationis*, the kind Mother that gathers her young ones together, that by her loving Voice expresses her Affection and Care to her tender Brood, and invites them to a safe Refuge and Shelter in time of

F 2

Danger.

* Mat. 23. 37. † Hercul. Fur.

Danger. In brief, any Man that is conversant in *Homer*, *Virgil*, and other Antient Authors of greatest Note and Repute, may observe that the Penmen of the Bible use the same *Similitudes* which those Writers frequently do; they have the same plain, trite and vulgar Comparisons which are in them.

As for the other Passages, Phrases and Modes of speaking in the Holy Scripture, which resemble those that we find in other Authors, they are innumerable. *Grotius*, that Unparallel'd Critick, in his *Annotations* on the Bible, shews every-where almost the Correspondence of Scripture-Phrase with the Profane Stile; he hath by a vast Collection let us see how the Sacred Dialect agrees with the Phrase of the Best Writers. Out of all sorts of Authors whatsoever he proves the Scripture-Stile to be Proper and Elegant, which no Man before him hath done so well and so largely. He compares all along as he goeth, the Holy Stile with that of *Herodotus*, *Plato*, *Demosthenes*, *Thucydides*, *Xenophon*, *Isocrates*, *Galen*, and others who are the best and most elegant Hellenists. Yea, he shews that the Wittiest Writers among the Greeks, as *Sophocles*, *Aristophanes*, *Euripides*, *Lucian*, have the very same Phrases and Expressions which we read in the Bible, and they have many more which very much resemble them. He shews the like Correspondence between the Scriptures and those *Latin* Writers who are the best Masters of that Language, and in several Instances demonstrates that the Sacred Writers speak as the best Authors in that Tongue do. All this he hath most learnedly performed, and upon this account alone (if there were no other) he is worth the perusal of all Ingenious Men, especially those who are more devoted to
Polite

Polite and Critical Learning. This very same Task is excellently performed by a * Learned Foreign Critick, who hath abundantly made it good in his *Commentaries* on the Psalms and most of the New Testament, that the Stile of Scripture is conformable to that of the best Writers, whether Jews or Heathens, whether Philosophers, Poets or Historians. He hath elaborately shew'd that an innumerable company of Greek and Latin Authors, the most Elegant and Refined of both, have express'd themselves as the Holy Writers do: In a word, that *Athens* and *Rome* spoke as they do. If he had carried this on, and accomplish'd the like on the other parts of the Bible, it would have been an Unvaluable Work, and even beyond what the *Belgick* Annotator hath done. Something of this Nature is performed by * other Learned Men of our own, who insisting upon some Particular Authors among the Pagans, endeavour to evince that the Scriptures are in great measure agreeable to the Stile and Phrase of those Writers. And the same might be undertaken as to other Heathen Writers, with regard both to the Old and New Testament. Nothing is more evident than this, that their Modes of Speech are the same, and that they agree in their Stile, and consequently that the Stile of Scripture is vouched by the best Classick Authors, and (as a Consequent of that) that he who carps at the Phrase and Dialect of the Scripture, and finds fault with the Stile of the Bible, shews that he hath not conversed with the best Human Authors.

But to prosecute and illustrate this Theme yet
F 3 further,

* Johan. Pricæus. † Mr. Bogan in his *Homerus Έρμηνεία*.
Mr. Gataker in *Anthonin*. Dr. Duport *Gnomolog. Homeric.*

further, I will be more particular. I will shew first that there are in the Bible the same *moral Notions*, and expressed in the very same Stile, that there are in Pagan Writers. Secondly, I will shew that there are the same *Grammatical and Rhetorical Figures* in the Holy Book that we meet with frequently in those Authors. First, I will observe to you, that the Phrases and Terms whereby some of the choicest Notions in Ethicks are set forth to us, are alike in Divine and Humane Authors: As to begin with that common Expression, to wit, of calling our Course or State, or manner of Life in this World, a *Way*. The Hebrew Word *Derek, Via, Semita*, in almost innumerable Places in the Old Testament, signifies *our manner of Life*: and *ὁδὸς* in the Greek Testament (which answers to it) is commonly used in the same Sense. In this latter Part of the Bible the Life of Man is particularly expressed and represented as a *double Way*; for our Saviour hath told us, that there is * a *Narrow* and a *Broad Way*. This is even the manner of speaking among the best Moralists: they not only call the Life, Actions, and Conversation of Men a *Way*, (which is usual in all Languages) but they designedly compare them to a *Way*, to a *Path*, and to *walking in it*. As in Walking, saith *Epictetus*, you take heed that you strike not your Foot against a Stone or a Nail, and wrench your Foot; so in leading your Life you are careful that you hurt not your selves, or do any thing that may offend and be prejudicial to your selves or others. And other Masters of Ethicks are wont to pursue this Comparison. Yea moreover, they make use of the same manner of Speech which our Saviour doth, that is, they

* Matth. 7. 14.

they divide this Way into a *Narrow* and a *Broad* one. Thus in *Cebes's Table* the Way to true Learning (which is the same with Vertue and Goodness, and the Moralist means no other thing by it) is represented by him to be *narrow* and *unfrequented*. He calls it a * *little Gate* ; and he describes the Passage before it as very uncommon ; he tells us, that *very few go into it* ; and that it appears to be a difficult, rough and craggy Path. This is also well decipher'd by *Maximus Tyrius*, † “ Imagine (saith he) “ this Life to be a Way, a Way full of Passengers, “ some of which are running, some are thrusting “ one another on ; some labour, others rest ; some “ lie down, others turn out of the way and wander, for there are many By-ways and false Paths, “ (these are all but different Paths of the same “ *Broad Way*.) But there is || *one Narrow Way*, steep “ and rugged, and trod by very few, and this “ leads directly to the very End of the Journey : “ and this Journey some diligent and laborious “ Souls are endeavouring to perform with much “ Work and Difficulty, with great Pains and “ Sweat. Thus that Admirable Platonist. And I could shew you how other Philosophers are delighted with this way of Expression and Similitude used by our Lord ; but I will alledge no others at present. It is enough to have shew'd that the Stile of the Gentile Philosophers is not unlike that of our Blessed Jesus, our Infallible Teacher and Prophet, who thought it a fit way of setting forth the two kinds of Life which Men lead, and the different

F 4

Places

* Θύρα τις μικρά, καὶ ὁδὸς στενὴ ἣ δύρας ἦτορ ἐπὶ πολὺ ὀχλοῦται, ἀλλὰ πάντες ὀλίγοι περιέουσι, &c.

† Νόμιζε δὴ καὶ τὸ βίον ὁδὸν τινα εἶναι, &c. Dissertat. 23.

|| Μία δὲ ἡ περὶ τὴν σὴν, καὶ ὁδὸς στενὴ καὶ ἱερὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πολλοῖς πάντες ἀδύσμητος, &c.

Places and Ends they tend to, by naming one of them the *wide and broad Way*; and the other, the *narrow and streight one*.

And if the Life of Man be a *Way*, then he is a *Traveller*; which invites me to speak of another Moral Notion, viz. that we are all *Travellers* and *Pilgrims* in this World: we are upon our *Journey*, and must behave our selves as those that are so. *Epictetus* and *Arrianus* use this Metaphor, and apply it handsomly to the Life of Man, especially to the Life of a Good Man, which is a Journey from Earth to Heaven. We are told that *Anaxagoras* pointed with his Finger to Heaven, and cried out, * *That is my Country*. And *Socrates* professed himself to be a † Citizen of the City above: and every Man is to reckon himself to be such, he said. *Tully's* Words are most admirable, || “ I go out of this World as
 “ out of an Inn, not a Mansion-house; for Nature
 “ hath not given us here a Place of long Continu-
 “ ance, but of a short Diversion and transitory En-
 “ tertainment. And he had arrived to this Noti-
 on, and expressed it most bravely when he said,
 (*) “ Let us lift up our Eyes to Heaven as to our
 “ Country, to which we must think of returning
 “ some time or other. And such kind of Lan-
 guage you meet with in *Antoninus* and other select
 Moralists. I will conclude with the Words of *Se-
 neca*, (†) “ Our Life is a Pilgrimage, (saith he;)
 “ when

* Laert. in *Anaxag.* † Πολίτης πόλεως ἢ ἀνωτάτης. Stob.

|| Ex hac vitâ ita discedo tanquam ex hospicio, non tanquam ex domo: commorandi enim diverforium natura nobis, non habitandi dedit. Cic. de Senect.

(*) Erigamus in Cœlum oculos tanquam in Patriam, in quam nobis aliquando redeundum est.

(†) Peregrinatio est vita; multùm cùm deambulaveris, domum redeundum est. De Remed. Fort.

“ when we have travell’d and walk’d about a considerable time, we must return home. This is the very Language and Notion of the Sacred Writers, and of the Holy Men whose Lives they record. The Old Patriarchs owned themselves to be *Pilgrims*; Gen. 47. 9. *The Days of the Years of my Pilgrimage*, &c. And that you may not think it is meant only of their travelling from Place to Place in those Days, you will find this was said by some of their Posterity after they were possess’d of the Promised Land, and were no longer in the unsettled Condition of their Predecessors. *We are Strangers before thee, and Sojourners, as were all our Fathers*, saith the Pious King, 1 Chron. 29. 15. And in the next Words he lets us know what he means; *Our Days on Earth are as a Shadow, and there is no abiding*: so that the whole Race of Mankind are all equally *Pilgrims* and *Sojourners* in this World: they are * *Strangers in the Earth*, as the same devout Man often acknowledgeth: and this World is stiled by him † *the House of his Pilgrimage*. After the same manner St. Peter speaks, calling this Life || *the time of our sojourning here*: and he exhorts the converted Jews, to whom he writes, to deport themselves as *Strangers and Pilgrims*, 1 Pet. 2. 11. which I confess may have a more particular Reference to their being expell’d out of *Judea* their native Country, and dwelling in a strange Place, (whence he stiles them *scattered Strangers*, in the beginning of the Epistle) but notwithstanding this the Apostle might apply it to them in the more general Notion, and as they (with all other Christians) are *Pilgrims* travelling to another World. With respect to which the other great Apostle saith,

* Psal. 39. 12. Psal. 119. 19. † Psal. 119. 54. || 1 Pet. 1. 17.

faith, *Here we have no continuing City, but we seek one to come*, Heb. 13. 14. We have no fix'd Habitation; we have no settled Place of Abode; we (with other holy Men before us) must *confess we are Pilgrims*, Heb. 11. 13. We belong to another Country, we are Citizens of the *Jerusalem* that is above; *We look* (as all the holy Pilgrims heretofore did) *for a City which hath Foundations, whose Builder and Maker is God*, Heb. 11. 10. We are passing through this World to that Heavenly Metropolis; we are travelling with our *Caravan* to that *New Jerusalem*, that *Holy Land*; and our Thoughts, our Wishes, our Desires, our Conversation, are there already.

Again, that it may appear that Heathen Writers and the Holy Scripture have the same way of Expression, I will shew that they both agree to say, *the Life of Man is a Warfare*: Thus it is called in the ancient Book of *Job*, ch. 7. 1. for the word *Tjaba*, though it be rendred by us *an appointed time*, is as capable (if not more) of being translated a *Warfare*: And so St. *Jerom* renders it, *The Life of Man is a Warfare on Earth*. And again, *cb. 14. 14. The Days of our Warfare are the Term of Man's Life*. Such Holy *Job* found it to be. The War was warm, the Service was hot, the Battel was furious, and he was set in the Front of it. Though this great Heroick Warrior fainted in the Conflict sometimes, yet his Valour was very eminent, and he fought it out resolutely, and won the Day, and was signally rewarded by the great Arbiter of Battel, *the Lord of Hosts*. It cannot escape our Observation, that several *Military* Expressions are used by the Holy Ghost in Scripture, to set forth the Duties and Offices of Man's Life, and to let us know that it is a continual Combate and Fight. Yea,
Tjaba,

Tzaba, *militare*, is applied to the Ecclesiastick Function and Ministry of the Levites in the Tabernacle: their Service or Waiting is call'd a *Warfare*, Numb. 8. 25. and in the Verse before, a *marring a Warfare*, if we render it exactly according to the Hebrew. Especially this way of Speaking is applicable to the troublesome and afflictive Part of Man's Life, which is rightly call'd by St. Paul, *the Fight of Afflictions*, Heb. 10. 32. And with regard to this, without doubt, those comfortable Words were spoken to Jerusalem, *Her War is accomplished*, Isa. 40. 2. But more eminently in the New Testament this Mode of Speech is observable, where Christianity is represented as a *Warfare*, and the Christian Church as *Militant* here on Earth. St. Paul is pleased to stile our Saviour, * *the Captain of our Salvation*; and himself and all his Fellow-Christians † *Souldiers*; and those especially who were assistant to him in the sacred Ministry of the Gospel, his || *Fellow-Souldiers*: He exhorts Timothy (*) to war the good *Warfare*; and (†) to fight the good *Fight of Faith*; and that in imitation of himself, who (||) *had fought this good Fight*; though these latter Expressions refer more peculiarly to the Olympick Combates, as you shall hear afterwards. You read of the ||| *Weapons of Righteousness*, (as well as of *Unrighteousness*) belonging to this Spiritual War. And these *Weapons* (which are call'd *the whole Armour of God*) are particularly enumerated by the Apostle, Eph. 6. 13, 14. I could observe to you in that Exhortation of St. James, (a) *Submit your selves to God; resist the Devil, and he will flee from you*, that there are three Military Terms: 1. ὑποταγήν, be subject to

* Heb. 2. 10. † 2 Tim. 2. 3. || Phil. 2. 25. Philem. 2. (*) 1 Tim. 1. 18. (†) Chap. 6. 12. (||) 2 Tim. 4. 7. ||| Rom. 6. 13. (a) Jam. 4. 7.

to your Commander, observe his Orders, look for the Signal of Battel from him, keep the Station that is set you, be obedient to the Discipline of War, in all things be ruled by your General; for (as St. Paul saith very appositely when he is speaking of the *Christian Souldier*) † *He that warreth must concern himself in nothing else but the pleasing of him who hath chosen him to be a Souldier.* 2. *Ἀνίστη*, withstand, oppose, engage the Enemy; be sure you give him Battel, make a resolute and vigorous Onset, charge through his whole Body, make a Lane through his thickest Troops. 3. *φεύγει*, he shall be put to Flight, he shall certainly be routed and defeated, and never be able to rally again; and so Victory at last crowns the Combate. But St. Paul more briefly tells us what is the Employment of a *Christian Souldier*, when he saith, || *Indure Hardness as a good Souldier of Jesus Christ*: for in that one word *κακοπαθεσον*, he lets us understand that he is one that is to fare hardly, that he is to be inured to Difficulties and Perils, to tedious Marches and continual Watchings, to Hunger and Thirst, and infinite Fatigues, and that he must converse with Dangers and Death: *Every Battel of the Warrior is with confused Noise, and Garments roll'd in Blood.* The Life of a *Christian Souldier* is painful and laborious, because he is to be exercised in denying himself, in crossing his sensual Appetite, in submitting to the hardest Duties, and undergoing the greatest Sufferings, Temptations and Persecutions: He must be continually sweating, toiling, striving, fighting, grappling with Foes of all kinds, and encountring all sorts of Hardships. Thus a *Christian* is a *Spiritual Souldier*; thus Christianity is

† 2 Tim. 2. 4. || 2 Tim. 2. 3.

is a *Holy War*; thus the Life of Man is a *Warfare*. And this is that which all the Great Masters of Morals inculcate in their Writings. One of the chiefest of them (who calls the Life of Man *the Pilgrimage* or *Sojourning of a Stranger*) gives it also the Denomination of a * *Warfare*. *Arrianus* very excellently descants on this Aphorism, that † every Man's Life is a kind of *Militia*; and that we are with all Diligence and Faithfulness to discharge the Office of *Souldiers*, the chief Part of which is to do all that our Commander bids us. Another famous Moralist adorns this Subject with noble Reflections upon it; || Reckon upon this, saith he, that God is our Commander and Chief Captain, that this Life is a Military Expedition, that every Man is to be an Armed Souldier, &c. *Seneca* hath the same Conceptions of Humane Life, and once and again resembles it to (*) the State of War, and the Exploits of Martial Men. As soon as we come into the World we open the Campagne, and in a short time after we draw into a Line of Battle, and we are continually making use of our Ammunition and Artillery, till at length Death raises the Camp, and discharges us from our Warfare. Several Passages might be produced out of other Pagan Writers, who frequently fall into this Comparison, and use this Excellent Metaphor, and very finely illustrate it: but what I have said is sufficient to shew what I aim at, viz. that there are the same Phrases and Expressions in the Holy Scriptures that there are in other Authors.

This I will further make good in another Excellent

* Ὁ δὲ βίῃ πόλεμος, καὶ ζῆνός ἐστιν αἰμα. Antonin. πρὸς ἑαυτῶν.

† Στρατεία τίς ἐστιν ὁ βίῃ ἔχον. Lib. 3. cap. 24.

|| Νόμι μοι, &c. Max. Tyr. Dissert. 3.

(*) Vivere, militare est. Epist. 96.

lent Notion and Maxim, viz. that *Good and Vertuous Men are Free, but that all Vicious Persons are Slaves.* The Stile of Scripture runs this way, not only in the Old Testament, where *David* desires to be * upheld by the free Spirit of God, i. e. by such a Divine and Generous Principle as would make him act with the greatest Freedom in the ways of Religion; and where Sinners and Ungodly Men are stiled Prisoners and Captives once and again; as in *Zech. 9. 11. Isa. 42. 6, 7. ch. 49. 8, 9. ch. 61. 1.* Nor is it to be doubted whether these Places speak of such Persons, seeing our Saviour himself alledges one of them (which is of the same Nature with the rest) to this Purpose, and tells us, it is his Office to proclaim Liberty to these Captives, *Luke 4. 18. i. e. to offer Pardon to Sinners.* But in the New Testament also (and there chiefly) this is the Language of the Holy Ghost: the Freedom that accompanies Honnests, and the Servitude of Sin, are expressly declared in those Words of Christ, *The Truth shall make you free, John 8. 32. Whosoever committeth Sin, is the Servant of Sin, ver. 34. If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed, ver. 36.* The whole sixth Chapter to the Romans treats of this very thing, the Service of Sin, and the Freedom from it by Christ. *The Servants of Sin* mentioned here by *St. Paul*, are the same with † the Spirits in Prison whom *St. Peter* speaks of, as I have proved in another Place, and have shewed the Inconsistency of other Interpretations. Whilst Men continue in their Sins, and addict themselves to their Vices, their Spirits, their Souls are deservedly said to be in Prison; their Persons are in Custody; they live in Durance and Thralldom; they are continually in Bonds

* Psal. 51. 12. † 1 Pet. 3. 19.

Bonds and Chains; they are fetter'd Slaves and Vassals: They may perhaps flatter themselves, and vaunt of Freedom, but they are Prisoners still; * they promise Liberty, but are themselves Servants of Corruption. Whereas, on the contrary, True Religion enstates Men in a real and substantial Freedom; Christianity is † the perfect Law of Liberty: || Where the Spirit of the Lord is, where Evangelical Sanctity is, there is Liberty. In short; no Man that loves to be vicious, and lives in the practice of Sin, can be said to be a Free-man; for he is wholly at the command of his Lusts: There is not a greater Slave in Algiers or Tripoli than such an one. This not only the Sacred Scriptures but Heathen Writers inculcate. Tully defends that Maxim, *Quod omnes sapientes, liberi; & stulti, servi*: and enlarges on it most admirably. This Zeno and all the Stoicks maintain'd, as we learn from (*) Laertius: and Isocrates more than once in his Orations to Demonicus and Nicoteles, speaks thus. So doth (†) Epictetus, who expressly asserts that Vice and Immorality are the greatest Drudgery and Slavery. So doth Arrianus, who tells us, that (||) he is a Free-man who lives as he willeth, i. e. who makes the Rational Dictates of his Will the Rule of his Life; which none but a Good Man doth. Horace's admirable Character of a Free-man is worth the consulting;

*Quisnam igitur Liber? Sapiens, sibiq; imperiosus,
Quem neq; pauperies, neq; mors, neq; vincula terrent:
Responsare cupidinibus, contemnere honores
Fortis, & in seipso totus teres atque rotundus.*

And

* 2 Pet. 2. 19. † Jam. 1. 25. || 2 Cor. 3. 17. (*) Μόνος ὁ θεὸς, ἡλευθερία οἱ δὲ σκλάβοι, δούλοι. In Zenone. (†) Cap. 20. (||) Ἐλεύθερος ἐστὶν ὁ ζῶν ὡς ἐβέλτεται. Lib. 4. c. 1.

And more he hath to the same purpose, which acquaints us what Apprehensions the Moralists had of *Freedom*. * Free-men, saith *Euripides*, are very rare in the World; for there is scarcely a Man to be found who is not a Slave to his Wealth or Fortune, or some other thing. A Man that extremely loves his Money is † a *Golden Slave*, in *Socrates's* Language. || That is the worst kind of *Servitude*, saith *Boethius*, when the Souls of Men are given up to Vice, and are fallen from the possession of their own Reason. (*) There is no Man, saith *Seneca*, can be said to be Free, that is a Slave to his corporeal and sensual Part. (†) You see, saith he in another Place, what a base and pernicious Slavery that Man hath brought himself into, who suffers unlawful Pleasures and Sorrows, those unconstant and impotent Mistresses, to domineer over him by turns. Thus 'tis the Stile of the Pagan as well as ~~Inspired~~ *Inspired* Writers, that Goodness is the true *Freedom*, and that Vice is real Bondage and *Slavery*.

So that Other Notion, that *Good Men are only Wise*, and that *Sinners are Fools*, is the Language both of Scripture and Profane Writers. *Moses* assures the Israelites, that to keep and do God's Commandments is their *Wisdom and Understanding*, *Deut.* 4. 6. with which is parallel *Job* 28. 28. *The Fear of the Lord, that is Wisdom; and to depart from Evil is Understanding*. But on the contrary, he that is

* Φεύ, ἢ ἐκ ἐστὶ θνητῶν ὅστις ἐς' ἐλευθέρῳ,

† Ἡ χερμαύτων γὰρ δ' ἐλθ' ἐστὶν ἡ τύχης, &c.

† *Stobæ. Serm.* 22. || *Extrema est servitus cum animæ humanæ vitiis deditæ, rationis propriæ possessione ceciderunt. De Consolat.* l. 5. c. 11. (*) *Nemo liber est qui corpori servit. Epist.* 82. (†) *Vides quàm malam & noxiam servitutem serviturus, sit, quem Voluptates & Dolores, incertissimæ dominæ impotentissimæque æternis possidebunt. De vit. beat. cap.* 5.

is destitute of the true and saving Knowledge and Fear of God, is a Fool, in the Stile of Holy Writ ; * *The Fool hath said in his Heart, There is no God.* And the following Words acquaint us that this Fool is one of a Vicious and Corrupt Life ; † *This their Way is their Folly,* saith the same Pious King. And his Royal Son had learn'd to speak the same Language ; whence in the Book of *Proverbs Wicked Men and Fools* are Synonymous, they are such || *Fools as make a mock of Sin.* So in the New Testament, the Man that studied nothing but his Unlawful Gain and Pleasure, is pronounc'd a (*) Fool by Him who thoroughly understood the right Measures of Wisdom and Folly. This is agreeable to the Language of the Moral Philosophers in their Writings, especially of the *Stoicks*, whose *Wise Man* (it is well known) is no other than the *Vertuous*. In *Cicero's Paradoxes* this is expresly maintain'd and proved. Goodness and Integrity are (†) a ~~stable~~ *and solid Wisdom*, saith *Maximus Tyrius* : and others of the *Platonick School* talk after that manner. (||) He that lives as without God in the World ; he that is irreligious and profane, is a Person void of *Understanding*, saith another Excellent Man. Nay, the *Stoicks* went further, and pronounc'd all Vicious Men to be *Mad*. The Founder of that Sect was wont to say, as *Diogenes Laertius* informs us, that |||| *all Fools are Frenetick*, i. e. all Wicked Men are so. A Man given to Vice is compared by (a) *Maximus Tyrius* to one whose Brain is disorder'd with Drunkenness or Madness : and though (as he saith) he hath his Intervals, and

VIEW OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES. NOW
* Psal. 14. 1. † Psal. 49. 13. || Prov. 14. 9. (*) Luke 12. 20.
(†) *Zophar* *psalm* 2. 13. Dissert. 13. (||) *Toravon* *avon* *avon* *avon*. *Hicod*. || *Psalm* 14.
|| *Psalm* 14. *avon* *avon*. In *Zenone*. (a) Dissert. 23.

now and then makes use of his Reason, yet his Head is extremely disorder'd. And Abrice, who hath as many Excellent Moral Axioms as any of the Antients, speaks after this rate:

————— *Quid avarus?*
Stultus & insanus. —————

Which is the very Stile of the Holy Scripture likewise: *Madness is in in their Heart*, Eccles. 9. 3. which is explain'd in the words immediately foregoing, *The Heart of the Sons of Men is full of Evil*. And from the ensuing Texts you may see this made good, Eccles. 2. 2. Jer. 50. 38. and 51. 7. Acts 26. 11. where Excess of Wickedness bears the Name of *Madness*. Conformably to which it is said of the Debauched Squ in the Parable, that *he came to himself*, Luke 15. 17. which manner of Expression lets us know that he that runs into Excess of Riot is *besides himself*, and that an extravagant Sinner is a *Bedlam*.

And here I will make bold to interpret another Text to this purpose, (altho all those Commentators upon it that I have seen are pleased to be of another Mind) John 20. 10. which in Greek is thus, *Αὐτῶν δὲ πολλοὶ πρὸς οἶκον*, and hath this Translation in English, *Then they went away again to their own home*: but it seems not to be rightly translated: For first, *δὲ* is not *then* but *therefore*, and gives a Reason of what went before. 2dly. There is not any word in the Text that denotes *Home*, and therefore we cannot put that word into the English Translation. *ἑαυτοῖς*, which is the Greek Word, signifies *themselves*, not *their own Home*. It should have been *ἑαυτῶν δὲ τοῦ οἴκου*, if it were to be translated *they went to their home*, as you find the Greek rendered.

rendred in *Mark* 3. 19. *Luke* 15. 6. 3dly. We do not read that the Disciples or Apostles, of whom these words are spoken, went before to their Home, or that they came from thence: How then can it be said that they *went again*? Wherefore I render it thus, *They therefore came again to themselves*, i. e. were reduced to a sober Mind. It is the same Phrase with εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐλθεῖν, which is spoken of the Prodigal; *he came to himself*. For sometimes ἀπελθεῖν is the same with ἐλθεῖν *venire*, as is clear from * *Plato* and other Writers. And so here, ἀπελθεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτὸς is *to come to themselves*, i. e. to be of a right and sound Mind. It is a way of speaking used by very good Authors: In † *Arrianus* and others εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐρχεσθαι bears the same sense. Yea, the word ἀπερχεσθαι, or ἀπελθεῖν, is as much as ἀνέρχεσθαι, or ἀνελθεῖν *redire*, as we may inform our selves from ‖ *Suidas*, who tells us that *Thucydides* takes the word in this sense. And so πρὸς ἑαυτὸς ἀπελθεῖν answers exactly to *ad se redire*, which is a Phrase among the (*) *Latins* that signifies to come to a right Mind or Understanding. Or if you take ἀπερχεσθαι for *venire* only, yet the Adverb πάλιν being join'd with it, directs us to this very sense which I offer; for ἀπελθεῖν πάλιν πρὸς ἑαυτὸς, *iterum ad se venire*, is all one with *ad se redire*, to return to himself. So the Apostles *Peter* and *John* (of whom this Text speaks) returned to themselves, or came again to themselves, i. e. to a sound Mind and Understanding, which they had lost for some time. For notwithstanding Christ had

G 2

so

* Καὶ ὃ μοι τοιαῦτ' ἄρ' ἐλ' ἀπέρχεται πρὸς τὸ λέγειν, hujusmodi quidam in mentem mihi veniunt ut eloquar. In *Gorgia*.

† Comment. in *Epictet. lib. 3. c. 1.* ‖ In verbo *Ἀπελθεῖν*.

(*) *Cicero's Ver. Terent. in Adelph.*

so frequently * told them, when he was alive, that he would rise again after his Death, yea and had set the time of his Resurrection, viz. within three days; yet when they saw he was dead, they had no belief of any such thing, but utterly despair'd of it. Herein they shewed themselves very Discomposed Persons, this argüed them to be besides themselves, and that Conduct of Reason and Faith which might have been expected from them. But when they went into the Sepulchre, and saw the Linen Clothes lie by themselves, v. 6, 7. which was a plain sign that the Body was not stolen away, for then the Clothes would have been taken away too, because they would not have staid to strip the Body: When the Disciples saw this, they believed, v. 8. tho (as it follows) as yet they knew not the Scripture, that he must rise again from the Dead, v. 9. The meaning is, they were not induced to this Belief by considering the Prophecies in the Old Testament concerning Christ's Resurrection, but they believed because they saw. The sight of the Linen Clothes and the Napkin left in the Sepulchre, cured them of their former Unbelief, and convinced them that Christ was really risen, and had thrown off those Ensigns of Mortality, and left them behind him in the Sepulchre. Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν τῷ λινῷ, &c. therefore the Disciples came again to themselves. This word ἐν gives a Reason of what is here spoken of from what is said before. St. Peter and St. John were heal'd of the former Distemper and Malady of their Minds which they laboured under, by descending into the Grave, and seeing what was there. Now their Ignorance and Infidelity vanish, now they are brought to a due Composure of Thoughts,

which
 * Mat. 12. 40. & 16. 21. & 17. 23. Mar. 9. 31. Luk. 9. 12.

which they wanted before. And indeed this is not the first time that these very Apostles were disordered in Mind. They knew not what they said (Mat. 9. 6.) when they were on the Mount at Christ's Transfiguration: one or both of these discovered how disordered they were in their Practice as well as Notions, when they call'd for Fire from Heaven upon the Samaritans, Luke 9. 54. and at several other times they acted contrary to sober Reason and the right Apprehensions which they ought to have had of things. But they afterwards recovered themselves, and had better Notions of things, and acted more conformably to the Dictates of a Composed Intellect. Thus here, they recollected themselves, *they came again to themselves.* And thus ἀπελθεῖν πάλιν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς, or πρὸς ἑαυτόν, is of the same import with ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν πάλιν ὑπεσπείλαι in * *Philo*. I conceive this may be the plain sense of the Evangelist's words: however I propound it only by way of Conjecture, and am willing in this (as in other things) to submit to the Arbitration of the Wise.

I will mention another Instance of this Agreement of the Stile of Pagan and Inspired Writers. It is usually among the former to honour a Good Man with the Title of *the Friend of God*. Δὴ φίλος is usual in *Homer*; and among the Philosophers, *Plato* especially, it is very frequent. Who are the *Friends of God*, is excellently discoursed of by this brave Man in his *fourth Book of Laws*. A Religious Man is a *Friend of God*, saith † *Max. Tyrius*, with whom concurs another || Eminent Moralist, directly asserting that Good Men are the Friends of the Deity. *Epictetus* and *Arrianus* speak of God as

G 3

* De Somniis. † Dissert. 4. || Plutarch. contra Epicur.

a Friend, and the Best Friend. *Cambyses's* Advice to his Son *Cyrus* was, *Be thou the Friend of God*, as * *Xenophon* relates. In short, it was the common Stile and Language of the best Moralists, as *Socrates*, *Antoninus*, *Seneca*, *Plotinus*, (besides those before named) to call a Vertuous Person a Friend or one Beloved of God. Especially this Epithet was given him if he prospered in his vertuous Enterprizes, if he found Success in his laudable Endeavours. Yea, *Epictetus* (that Excellent Stoick Philosopher, and Great Master of *Ethicks*) was honoured with this † Title, as the highest that could be, when he left the World, as we learn from his Epitaph. The same Expression we meet with often in Scripture; the same honourable Epithet is vouchsafed there to Holy Men. *Abraham* the Father of the Faithful is particularly signalized by it, and that no less than thrice, 2 *Chron.* 20. 7. *Isa.* 41. 8. *Jam.* 2. 23. Of *Moses* 'tis said, that God spake to him as to his Friend, *Exod.* 33. 11. *Solomon* was named *Jedidiab*, i. e. the Beloved of the Lord, 2 *Sam.* 12. 25. In that Mystical Book of the *Canticles* this Name is attributed to both those entire Lovers, *Christ* and the Church. || Eat O ye Friends, drink O Beloved, saith the former: (*) This is my Beloved, this is my Friend, saith the latter. In which places *Rang* and *Dod* are the like endearing Titles with *Obeb*, which was the word used in the Texts before-mentioned. And this further I could observe to you, that the words *Obeb* and *Obebini*, which are translated Friend and Friends in those places, might be rendred so in many (†) others where our Translators english them him, or those that love God. In the Evangelical Writings

* De Cyri Institut. l. 8. † — φίλος ἀγαπῶν. || Cant 5. 1. (*) Ver. 16. (†) Deut. 5. 10. Neh. 1. 5. Psal. 122. 6. Psal. 145. 20. Prov. 12. 17. Dan. 9. 4.

Writings the same Stile is observable: thus those words in *Luke 12. 4.* are spoken by our Saviour, particularly to his dear Companions and Disciples, where he calls them his *Friends*. And in three Verses together these his faithful Followers and Associates, and with them all True Believers and Holy Men are stiled his *Friends*, *Joh. 15. 13, 14, 15.* And hear what an Honourable Epitaph our Saviour bestowed on *Lazarus*, *John 11. 11. Our Friend Lazarus sleepeth.*

What is more usual in the Language of the New Testament, than to say, a Wicked Man is *dead*? *This my Son was dead*, saith the Father of the Prodigal Son, *Luke 15. 24.* giving us to understand, that the Profligate and Debauch'd are morally dead. And so some think this Term is to be understood in the former part of those words, *Let the Dead bury their Dead*, *Mat. 8. 22.* Of the Widow given to Luxury 'tis said, *she is dead while she liveth*, *1 Tim. 5. 6.* And to be *dead in Sin* is in Scripture-Phraseology applied after the same manner, *Ephes. 2. 1, 5. Col. 2. 13.* And in several other places the like mode of Speech is observable. To which the Antient Philosophers were no Strangers, in whose account Vicious Men were reputed as *dead*. Hence an * Antient Writer of the Church observes that even in the Barbarick Philosophy they were wont to call those *Dead* who abandon'd the right Sentiments of things which they had, and made their Souls slaves to the Animal Passions. Not only *Pythagoras* himself was wont to place a *Coffin* in the room of his outcast Scholars, as if they had been dead, but his Followers (and the Platonists in imitation of him) had the same Practice among them.

G 4

For

For it was an acknowledg'd Notion that Vertue makes us live, and consequently that wicked Men do not properly live, but that in true Morality they are rightly said to be dead. * *There is wanting in them an inward Principle of Life*, as the Spartan said after all his trials of erecting a dead Body into a living Posture. Hence Vice is deservedly stiled † the Death of the rational part of Man, and || the Mortality of the Soul. With relation to which guise of Speech *intermortui mores* are in Plautus, *Corrupt and Vicious Manners*. And the like Phrase is used by the Jews; the Wicked (say they) are Dead while they live: and again they tell us, that (*) a Dead Carcase is better than a Disciple that is void of Knowledge and true Wisdom. And other such like Expressions there are not only among the Hebrews but the Arabians.

Once more I will observe how the Scripture speaks as the best Moralists do, viz. when it calls Death a Sleep. The Hebrew Verb *Shacab* signifies to lie down to sleep, Gen. 19. 4. and likewise to die, 2 Sam. 7. 12. Isa. 14. 8. whence to sleep with their Fathers is an usual Phrase in the Historical Books of the Old Testament. Thence the Grave is call'd a Bed, Isa. 57. 2. *Gneres* is both *lectus* and *feretrum*, the Bed of those that sleep, and the Bed or Bier of those that are dead, (as perhaps our Saxon word *grave*, or *grab*, as other Germans write it, is from *grabatus*.) The Psalmist mentions the Sleep of Death, Psal. 13. 3. And it seems this was the Stile of the Antient Arabs, as appears from Job 7. 21. *I shall sleep in the Dust*. If we descend to the New Testament, we shall read there that *Lazarus sleepeth*, Joh. 11. 11. and

* *Δὲν ἔστιν ὄντος*. Plut. † *Λογικὴς ἐστὶν θάνατος*. Hierocl. || *Τὸν ἀνθρώπου*. Arrian. in Epictet. (*) Talm. Vajik. Rab.

and of St. Stephen 'tis said that * *he fell asleep*, and of other holy Men that † *they sleep in Jesus*, and || *are fallen asleep in Christ*. When a good Man dies, he lays himself down to Rest, he betakes himself to his Repose: bidding the World good night, he shuts his Eyes, and opens them no more till the Morning of the Resurrection. The like Expression is in use among the Pagans: *to sleep* and *to die* are synonymous Terms with them. With the Prince of Poets *Sleep* is not only (*) *the Brother of Death*, but it is the very word to express (†) *Death it self*. *Nox est perpetua dormienda*, saith Catullus. *Perpetuus Sopor* is Horace's Language: *Nox perpetua* is Propertius's; which is the same with Virgil's *Nox aeterna*. Alluding to which Phrase is that of (||) Tully and other good Authors, *decumbere* to lie down, to betake himself to sleep, i. e. to die. Accordingly the Poets feign the Palace of Sleep to be bordering on the Infernal Regions of Hell and Death. Thus I have let you see in several Particulars (and many more might have been produced) that there are the very same Expressions in Scripture that we meet with in other Writers: and certainly it is some Satisfaction to intelligent Minds to observe the handsome Agreement between both.

* Acts 7. 60. † 1 Thess. 4. 14. || 1 Cor. 15. 6, 18.
 (*) καθύπνισεν θανάτω. Hom. Il. 14. (†) κοιμήσατο
 χαλκον ὕπνον. Il. 7. (||) Tusc. 2. & Philip. 1.

C H A P. III.

There are in the Sacred Writ the same Grammatical Figures which are found in other Writers; as an Enallage of Person, of Number, of Time. One Bodily Sense is mentioned instead of another. There is an exchange of the Positive, Comparative and Superlative. A Negative is put for a Comparative: this shew'd in a great number of Instances in the Writings both of the Old and New Testament. An Hendyadis is usual in Scripture. So is a Prolepsis. And an Hysterolisis. The reason which Monsieur Simon gives of this latter is refuted,

1. *By proving the Antiquity of Parchment-scrolls used in writing.*
2. *By shewing that they were well fastned together, so that they could not easily be misplaced and transposed, much less be lost, as this Writer imagines. Josephus's remarkable Testimony produced to confirm both these. The true reason and occasion of some Transpositions in the Old Testament assigned.*

IN the next place I will shew you that there are in the Sacred Writ the same Grammatical and Rhetorical Figures which are found in Other Writers. It will be very useful to insist a while upon these, because we cannot attain to a right understanding of the Scriptures unless we have some insight into them; yea we shall sometimes miserably mistake the sense and meaning of this Holy Book if we are not acquainted with the nature of the Scripture-Stile as to this very thing. I know these Figures (some of them especially) are

are observed and taken notice of by * several Writers: but my chief Design is to give some Instances of them which are not taken notice of by Others, and yet are very necessary to be known in order to the right understanding the Holy Scriptures. There are several of these I shall produce. You must know then that those *Grammatical Figures* or Defective Modes of speaking which are found in the Bible, are such as these. First, there is an *Enallage of the Person*, i. e. it is usual to put one Person in Grammatical Construction for another. Thus *we* is instead of *they*, Psal. 66. 6. *your Heart* for *their Heart*, Psal. 22. 26. *They* for *he*, Eccles. 7. 29. *they have sought out*, which refers to *Man* in the preceding Clause. *They* instead of *ye*, Isa. 61. 7. *They* for *she*, as in 1 Tim. 2. 15. *if they continue*, i. e. if *she*, viz. the Woman spoken of before, *continue in Faith*, &c. and *she* is expressly mentioned in the Clause immediately foregoing. So in Gal. 5. 1. *thy self* should be *themselves*, for it refers to *ye* in the preceding words. But the Instances are almost numberless, wherein I might shew you this Change of Persons. It is enough to have hinted this at present, that you may continually take notice of this in the Stile of the Sacred Writers, and that you may direct your selves in the understanding of some places, which cannot rightly be interpreted unless we observe this Grammatical Alteration, and thereby guide our Thoughts to the sense of the words. And this also might be suggested, that this way of Speech is used then generally, when there is a sudden *Transition* from one thing to another, or when there is a *Distribution* of the Matter treated of, and sometimes when there is

* Glassius, Joach. Camerarius, Westhemerus, &c.

is a Familiar and Easy expressing of things; yea at other times, when a near Concernedness of the Persons spoken of is to be taken notice of.

Next you may observe the *Change of Number*; you will find it common in Scripture to express one Number by another, especially the Singular by the Plural. As 'tis said *the Ark rested on the Mountains of Ararat*, i. e. on one of those Mountains, Gen. 8. 4. for it could not rest on them all. *The Graves are ready for me*, Job 17. 1. instead of *the Grave*, and so in ch. 21. v. 32. according to the Hebrew, tho not in our Translation. A *single River* is meant when *Rivers* are named, as you read of *the Gates of the Rivers*, when *Tigris* only is meant, Nah. 2. 6. That *Sacrifices* is put for a *Sacrifice* in Heb. 9. 23. is plain; for the Apostle there speaks of the Sacrifice and Death of Christ. In these and many * other places the Plural Number supplies the room of the Singular. And in some other Texts the Singular is mentioned instead of the Plural, as in Job 37. 6. *Cloud* for *Clouds*. Psal. 9. 20. *That the Nations may know themselves to be but Man* (for so 'tis in the Hebrew) instead of *Men*. Isa. 3. 12. *Child* (for so you have it in the Original) for *Children*. Ezek. 31. 3. *Branch* (as the Hebrew hath it) for *Branches*. A *Sheaf* for *Sheaves*, Amos 2. 13. And the like is observable in the New Testament, *that they may shave their Head*, (so 'tis in the Greek) Acts 21. 24. for *Heads*: *Loin* for *Loins*, Heb. 7. 5. *Body* for *Bodies*, Phil. 3. 21. *Heart* for *Hearts*, Rom. 1. 21. and the same Enallage is in 1 Cor. 4. 2. Thus it is the usual way of the Sacred Writers (who in this, as in many other

* Σαββατα for οὐββατον, Mar. 12. 1. Luke 4. 16. τὰ δὲ ἑξῆς for ἡ δὲ ἑξῆς, Mar. 26. 64. Mar. 10. 5.

other things are followed by the best Greek and Latin Authors) to exchange one Number for another; and it will be requisite for the Inquisitive Reader to observe this manner of speaking, because otherwise sometimes he will miss of the true Sense of the Place where this kind of Stile is made use of.

I pass to the *Enallage of Time*, which is very frequent in the Holy Writ. In the Prophetick Writers especially this is observable; there the Present, or rather the Præterperfect Tense (for the Hebrews have no Present Tense) is used very commonly for the Future, as in 1 Kings 13. 2. *A Child is born* (according to the Hebrew) for *shall be born*. Isa. 9. 2. *The People that walked in Darkness have seen a great Light*, prophetically for *shall see*. Ch. 9. 6. *Unto us a Child is born; unto us a Son is given*, instead of *shall be born, shall be given*. So in the New Testament, in that Prophecy of Enoch quoted by St. Jude, ver. 14. *The Lord cometh* (or *hath come*) *with ten thousand of his Saints*; ἡλθε supplies the place of ἐλθουσιν. I come unto you, John 14. 18. (for so 'tis in the Greek) should in Propriety of Speaking be, *I will come unto you*; and therefore it is so translated in our English Bibles. In such like Places things are spoken in the Present or Præterperfect Tense, to signify the Reality and Certainty of them, to let us know they shall as surely be fulfill'd as if they were so already. And as the Present or Præterit is put for the Future, so this is sometimes used instead of that, as in Exod. 3. 14. *Ebjeb, ero*, is instead of *sum*; and accordingly the 70 Interpreters render that Place ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἀν; and we after them, *I am that I am*. The like Enallage you will find in Isa. 30. 32. And sometimes the Præterit is used where the Present Time is understood, as in

Rev. 3. 20. *Ecce, I have stood*, which therefore we rightly translate *I stand*. Nothing is more common than this way of speaking in the Old and New Testament, inasmuch that I need not have taken notice of so frequent a thing, unless I had undertaken to give a short Specimen of all or most of the Observables relating to the Scripture-Style.

And as one *Person*, *Number*, and *Tense*, is put for another in the Holy Writings, so it might be remark'd that one *Bodily Sense* is mentioned instead of another; especially the Use of the *Sight* is frequently put for *Hearing*, as in *Isa. 2. 1. The Word* that *Isaiah the Son of Amos* saw, i. e. the Prophecy which he immediately heard from God's Mouth, and which he delivers in express Terms in the next Verse. To see the Voice, Rev. 1. 12. is to hear it, unless you will say, that seeing of the Person, whose Voice it was, is meant. Other Places might be produced where these two Senses are exchanged, but I will only here note, that this is common among Profane Writers:

* *Sex etiam & septem loca vidi reddere voces
Unam cum jaceres.*

And another;

† — *Nec quæ sonitum idet causa videmus.*

And *visa loqui* is instead of *audita loqui* in *¶ Claudian*.

Sometimes you will find a Change of the *Comparative* for the *Positive*, as in *Matth. 18. 8.* according to the Greek, *It is good for thee*, i. e. it is better for

* *Lucret. l. 4.* † *Virgil. Æn. 3.* ¶ *In Rufin.*

x^o
120:20.18
The people
Saw & Noise
of the Trumpet
p. 18.

for thee to enter into Life halt and maimed, than having two Hands, &c. And in *Mark* 14. 21. Good i. e. Better were it for that Man if he had never been born. So in *1 Tim.* 3. 13. They that have used the Office of a Deacon well, purchase to themselves a Good Degree, i. e. a Better or Greater Degree, viz. of a Presbyter or Bishop. Sometimes the *Positive* or *Comparative* is mentioned when the *Superlative* is understood, as in *Matth.* 22. 36, 38. The great Commandment, i. e. the greatest; and is explained there by *second*, the first. Those Words in *Luke* 7. 28. are generally reduced by Expositors to this Head, and therefore our English Version is [He that is least in the Kingdom of God is greater than he]: but I do not see any Reason to bring it under this way of speaking. For according to the Greek it should be, *he that is lesser*: and this is the true and natural Translation, the meaning of our Saviour's Words being this, I am lesser, i. e. in Age, I am Younger; than John the Baptist, and am Lesser in the Estimation of the People than he is; but yet I am far Greater than he, for he was but my Fore-runner, my Messenger, as he saith in the foregoing Verse. So *Theophylact* interprets the Words; and our own Translators in another Place favour this Exposition, when those Words in *Rom.* 9. 12. which according to the Greek are [*the greater shall serve the lesser*] are rendered by them thus, *the elder shall serve the younger*. So that you see the lesser is interpreted the younger; and there seems to be good Ground to understand it so in this Place. And indeed this is according to the Style of the best Latin Authors, among whom, *major* and *minor* natu, are the elder and younger. Nay, * *minor*, absolute-

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* Sed video herilem filium minorem huc venire. Ter. in Eubuch.

ly and without any Addition, is as much as *junior*. But in *Phil. 1. 23. Having a Desire to depart, and to be with Christ, which is far better*, it is not to be questioned, I think, that the *Superlative* is changed for the *Comparative*; *far better* is instead of *best of all*. And so in *Matth. 13. 32. the lesser of all Seeds* (according to the Greek) for *the least*; and accordingly we translate it so. Other Examples of this you have in *Luke 9. 46. John 10. 29.* These are the Grammatical Changes which are observable in the Holy Book; and any one that hath perused the Writings of Other Authors, especially of the Greek and Latin Poets, is not ignorant that the very same occur in them, and that very often; so that I thought it needless to present you with Parallels out of those Writers.

But among the several Enallages, i. e. Changings of one thing for another in the Stile of Scripture, I will in the last Place mention this, viz. that a *Negative* oftentimes is put for a *Comparative*. The due observing of this will help us to reconcile many Places of Scripture, which seem to jar with some others. I will begin with *Numb. 23. 21. He hath not beheld Iniquity in Jacob, neither hath he seen Perverseness in Israel*: Which is a Text that the *Antinomian* Party lay great Stress upon; for hence they say 'tis evident that God sees not any Sin in his own People, and consequently that he is not displeased with them for it: whence it will follow that they need not be displeased neither; their Sins (be they never so great and flagitious) are not to be the matter of their Sorrow, seeing God is not offended with them: which Doctrine soon opens a Door to all Licentiousness and Profaneness; but it is easily shut again by applying this Rule, that Scripture oftentimes, and here particularly, speaks

speaks Absolutely, but is to be understood in a Comparative or Limited Sense. *God beholds not Iniquity in Jacob*, in his Chosen, as he doth in profligate Persons, and such as are given up to their Lusts; *i. e.* he beholds it not so in them as to reject them utterly, and to punish them eternally for their Misdoings. Thus if we compare God's beholding Sin in the one, with his beholding it in the other, he may be said *not to behold* it in the former, *i. e.* in his own People and Servants. But God hates and punisheth Sin in both sorts of Persons, and more particularly in those that are his, according to what he declares in *Amos 3. 2.* *You only have I known of all the Families of the Earth, therefore I will punish you for all your Iniquities.* Thus God did not behold Iniquity, did not see Perverseness in *Israel*; for we are assured by the Prophet * *Habakkuk*, that *he is of purer Eyes than to behold Evil; and cannot look on Iniquity.* He cannot look on it long without punishing it, as well as he hated it always. Why then do some confidently aver, that God neither punishes nor hates Sin in his People, nor is displeased with them for it? Thus by making use of the foregoing Rule, we see what is the plain and natural Meaning of the Words. In a Comparative Sense, not in an Absolute and Unrestrained one, it is said; *He beholds not Iniquity in Jacob*: which is so far from favouring the Antinomian Doctrine, that it clearly baffles and confutes it. I will pass to another Text; *They have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me; 1 Sam. 8. 7.* They did reject *Samuel* from being Judge, in that they chose a King over them: yet God saith, *They have not rejected thee*, *i. e.* Comparatively

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ratively they have *not* : they have *not so much* by this Action of despising *Samuel* their Judg, rejected him, as they have manifested their Rejection of Me, who am their Chief Judg and Ruler, and who set *Samuel* over them as my Deputy. They may be said to have rejected Me *rather than* him. The Psalmist saith, *Against thee, thee only have I sinned, Psal. 51. 4.* But though he speaks Exclusively, and in a manner Negatively, (for it is as much as if he had said, *Against thee have I sinned, and not against any one besides*) yet he is to be understood Comparatively, for it is certain that he sinn'd against Others, namely, against *Uriah* in a signal manner, whom he made drunk, and whose Blood he shed, and whose Bed he defiled ; yea, as he was King, he notoriously sinn'd against all his Subjects and People : But because he *Chiefly* and *Principally* sinn'd against God who had raised him to the Throne, and done such wonderful things for him ; because he had *most of all* offended God, he confesses that he had sinn'd against Him, and Him *only*, Him and *none* else. A Negative is used for a Comparative. And so it is in *Hos. 6. 6. I desired Mercy and not Sacrifice ;* which is explained in the next Clause of that Verse, *and the Knowledge of God more than Burnt-offerings.* *Not* is interpreted by *more*. God values Acts of Mercy and Charity, and such indispensable Duties of the Moral Law, *more than* all the Performances of the Ceremonial one. So that the *Antithesis* here is but in way of *Comparison*, as we may see in *1 Sam. 15. 22. To obey is better than Sacrifice.*

The New Testament speaks after this manner, there you will frequently observe that our Saviour and his Apostles pronounce many things simply and absolutely, which yet we ought to understand and

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interpret with a Limitation. * *She is not dead, but sleepeth*, saith Christ of *Jairus's* deceased Daughter. She was dead, that cannot be denied; therefore this Negative must be expounded so as to qualify the Sense: She rather sleepeth than is dead: Her Departure is a Sleep to her, and I will soon awaken her out of it, as you shall see. Thus our Saviour must be supposed to have spoken. Again, he saith, † *When thou makest a Dinner or a Supper, call not thy Friends, nor thy Brethren, neither thy Kinsmen nor thy rich Neighbours; but call the Poor, the Maimed, the Lame, the Blind.* The meaning is, rather call these than them; yea, rather wholly omit these Feasts and Invitations, than forget to be charitable to the Poor. If the Necessitous be not excluded from your Charity, you may feast your rich Friends and Relations: but you must not feast Them, and neglect These; yea, you must chiefly and most of all take care of these. So is that other Passage of our Saviour to be understood, *Labour not for the Meat which perisheth*, John 6. 27. i. e. labour more for that Meat which endureth unto Everlasting Life (which he immediately after speaks of) than for this. You may labour for the perishing Meat, but let your greatest Care and Indebour be for that which never perisheth. Still you see the Negative is to be explain'd by a Comparative. And so it is in John 16. 24. *Hitherto ye have asked nothing in my Name*, i. e. ye have asked little, which is comparatively Nothing. Thus the Apostle is to be meant when he saith, 2 Cor. 2. 5. *He hath not grieved me*, that is, me only, as is clear from the following Words, *but in part all*, for so it should be rendred according to the Greek, and a Parenthesis should be made.

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* Mark 5. 39. † Luke 14. 12.

In *part* (saith the Apottle) he hath brought Grief and Trouble to you all; I say, in *part*, that I may not overcharge him, that I may not aggravate his Fault too much. But, to speak Comparatively, and with respect to the whole Church, *he hath not grieved me*, because I am inconsiderable in comparison of all of you. The following Texts of St. Paul are to be explained thus: *1 Cor. 5. 4. We that are in this Tabernacle do groan, being burdened; not for that we should be unclothed, i. e. not for that only, or Comparatively not for that. Charity seeketh not her own, 1 Cor. 13. 5. i. e. not solely and chiefly. In respect of her generous Designs of Good for Others, she may be said not to seek her Own Good and Advantage. From which Sense of the Words we may know to interpret those other Texts; Let no Man seek his own, but every Man another's Wealth, 1 Cor. 10. 24. All seek their own, Phil. 2. 21. When this Apostle saith, We wrestle not against Flesh and Blood, but against Principalities, &c. Eph. 6. 12. the Sense certainly must be this, We wrestle not only or chiefly against those, but rather, yea most against these. Though we combate with our selves and our corrupt Natures, and with evil Men, yet our main Conflict is with the Spirits of Darknes, the Apostate Angels, who are hourly tempting and soliciting us to Vice, that they may bring us into the same State of Condemnation with themselves. So when we are told that the Law is not made for a righteous Man, but for the lawless and disobedient, for the Ungodly and for Sinners, &c. 1 Tim. 1. 8. we must not with an Antinomian Gloss upon the Words exempt righteous and godly Men from their Obligation to the Moral Law; for the Negative here hath not the Import of an Absolute Denial, but signifies only that the delivering of the Law,*
and

and especially the Commination of it, were not *primarily* and *chiefly* designed for the Righteous, for those that by the Grace of God observe the Precepts of it, but for those notorious Offenders particularly enumerated in the following Words; the Comminatory Part belongs to them. Women are bid to *adorn themselves not with troidered* (it should be *broided*) *Hair, or Gold, or Pearls, or costly Array, but with good Works,* 1 Tim. 2. 9, 10. With which we may join that of another Apostle, *Whose adorning let it not be the outward adorning of plaiting the Hair, and of wearing of Gold, or of putting on of Apparel, but let it be the bidden Man of the Heart,* 1 Pet. 3. 3, 4. None can imagine that all outward adorning and wearing of Gold, or putting on Apparel or costly Array, are utterly unlawful, and consequently forbidden here; wherefore the Words are to be taken with some Restriction; they are spoken Comparatively, that is, the *Inward Adorning* is *far better*, and *much more* to be look'd after than the Outward and Bodily one. Christian Women must adorn themselves *rather* with Humility and Sobriety than with these. They ought not to be so solicitous about Apparel, as about the Inward Ornaments of the Soul. Nay, whatever Apparel is light and vain, and any ways administers to Lust, or Pride, or Wantonness, is wholly to be laid aside, as sinful and unlawful. In the same Chapter of the fore-named Epistle to Timothy you read, that *Adam was not deceived, but the Woman*, ver. 14. We know that *Adam* was deceived, but yet in a Comparative way of speaking he was *not*, that is, his Deception was not so gross and inexcusable as that of the Woman. It is said of the faithful Patriarchs, that *they received not the Promise*, Heb. 11. 39. *i. e.* in comparison of what we have since received. They

received it not in the full extent; else you cannot make sense of the following words, *God having provided, &c.* In the foresaid Chapter of St. Peter 'tis said, *Baptism doth also now save us, not the putting away the Filth of the Flesh, but the answer of a good Conscience towards God, ver. 21.* This not seems to be Exclusive and Negative, and thence some have made use of this Text to null the sacred Ordinance of Baptism, which in Contempt they call *Water-Baptism*. But they err, not knowing the Scriptures, and particularly not attending to the sense of this place, where *not* is no Absolute Negative, but a Comparative. *Not the putting away the Filth of the Flesh, i. e.* not the Outward Baptism simply and only, or not that in Comparison of the other, *viz.* the Inward washing and purifying by the Spirit. And many other places it is impossible to understand aright, unless you make use of this Observation which I have here exemplified, namely that a *Comparison* is commonly in Scripture express'd by an *Antithesis*, or, which is all one, that a *Negative* is put for a *Comparative*.

In the next place, I might observe to you that an *Hendyadis* is very usual in Scripture, that is, two things are put severally to signify but one, as *Let the Lights be in the Firmament for Signs and for Seasons, Gen. 1. 14. i. e.* (as some Expositors think, tho I am not satisfied about it) Let them be for Signs of the Seasons. And they who read *Psal. 17. 13, 14.* thus, *Deliver my Soul from the Wicked by thy Sword, from Men by thy Hand,* tell us here is *ἐν δὲ δυνάμει*, the *Sword* and the *Hand*, for a *Sword* handled or drawn, as if the Psalmist called upon God here to be his *Champion*, and to deliver him by fighting for him. That in *Mat. 3. 11.* is of the nature of an *Hendyadis*; for baptizing with the Holy Ghost

Ghost and with Fire, is the same with baptizing with the Holy Ghost, who is as Fire; and so here One thing is express'd as if it were Two. Some think there is the same Figure in *John 3. 5.* Except a Man be born of Water and of the Spirit he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God. Water and the Spirit, i. e. say they, the Spirit that is like Water, cleansing and purifying the Soul. But I conceive it may be doubted whether this and the former way of speaking be the same; for if Water in this place signifies Baptism, as the Antients interpreted it, then 'tis not the same thing with the Spirit, but distinct from it, and consequently here are not two things put for one. But doubtless there are in *Mat. 24. 31.* He shall send his Angels with a Trumpet, and a great Sound, i. e. with a Trumpet that hath a great Sound, that makes a great Noise, or, as our Translators render it, with a great Sound of a Trumpet. To this way of speaking may be referr'd *John 11. 33.* He groan'd in the Spirit and was troubled, i. e. he groan'd in his troubled Spirit. And of this kind is *Acts 14. 13.* The Priest of Jupiter brought Oxen and Garlands, i. e. Oxen crown'd with Garlands, as was usual when they sacrificed to Jupiter. One thing is here intended, tho 'tis express'd by two. To this Figure appertains *Acts 15. 28.* It seemeth good to the Holy Ghost and to us, that is, to us directed, moved and guided by the Holy Ghost. I doubt not but an *Hendyadis* gives the best account of *1 Cor. 2. 4.* My preaching was in Demonstration of the Spirit and of Power, i. e. of the Spirit who was Powerful, and enabled me in an extraordinary manner to demonstrate the Truth of the Gospel, and to convince Gainfayers; and who also enabled me to work Miracles for the confirming of what I preached. This is the same with *Rom. 15. 19.*

the Power of the Spirit of God, by which (as he there tells us) mighty Signs and Wonders were effected. The like mode of Speech is observable in the Apostle's words, in *1 Thess. 1. 5. Our Gospel came unto you in Power and in the Holy Ghost, i. e. the Holy Ghost shew'd himself Powerful in the Apostles Preaching and Miracles.* Lastly, under this Head may be rank'd *Col. 2. 8. Philosophy and vain Deceit,* that is, Philosophy which is both vain and deceitful.

To proceed, a *Prolepsis* is another usual Figure in Scripture, especially in the Old Testament. Such is that in *Gen. 4. 16. Cain went and dwelt in the Land of Nod,* where it seems to be implied that *Nod* was the Name of that place which he went to, and that it was named so before he went to it; whereas it is most probable that that Place was not call'd by that Name at that time, for it had its Name of *Nod* given to it from *Cain's* going thither, who was a * *Vagabond*. So there is a plain *Prolepsis* or Anticipation in *Gen. 14. 7. They smote all the Country of the Amalekites,* tho at that time there were no *Amalekites*, and therefore the Country could not be named from them. In *1 Sam. 4. 1.* it is said *Israel pitched beside Eben-ezer,* but there was no place of that Name then, for you will find it given afterwards. Those words in *Gen. 29. 20. Jacob served seven Years for Rachel,* are spoken *Proleptically*, not as if he did not marry *Rachel* before the seven Years were expired. We read in *Gen. 35. 19. and ch. 48. v. 7. that Rachel was buried in Bethlehem,* but it is well known that that was not the Name of the Place till after *Moses*. So *Hebron* and some other Names of Cities are mention'd in the

* *Nod* *Gen. 4. 12.* from *Nud* *vagari,* errare.

the Pentateuch, and yet the Names were not given till after *Moses's* Death. In *Jos. 4. 19.* the Israelites are said to *encamp in Gilgal*, but that place is called so by Anticipation, for it had that Name afterwards, *ch. 5. v. 9.* And other Instances there are of this nature in the Book of *Joshuah*; the Names of several places mentioned in it are of a later Date than *Joshuah's* time. The Jews conjecture is very probable that *Ezra* after the Captivity, (when he collected the several parts of the Bible, and set them in order) left out some of the antient Names of Places, and inserted some modern ones; that is, he added the Names of Places which were unknown, and not used in the days of *Moses* or of others who writ those Books: whence it is that we now read of the Names of Places which were not given at that time when they are mentioned, but are only by way of *Anticipation* inserted into the History.

Near of kin to this is *Hysterosis*, another Usual Figure in Scripture, which is when the proper and genuine Order of the Words is not kept. And this is observable either in some single Words and Verses, or in some Chapters. Of the former sort is *Gen. 10. 1.* where the Sons of *Noah* are reckoned in this order, *Shem, Ham* and *Japheth*; yet *Japheth* was the Eldest Brother. It is true *Scaliger* holds the very order of the Generation which this Verse sets down, and saith *Shem* was *Noah's* First-born, and *Japheth* his youngest. But 'tis generally agreed on by the Learned that this is not the right order: for first, the Septuagint expressly say *Japheth* was the Elder Brother of *Shem*, *v. 21.* Again, *Josephus* in his * *Jewish Antiquities* reckons them thus,

Japheth

* Lib. 1. cap. 7.

Japheth the eldest Son, *Cham* the next, and *Shem* the youngest of all. Moreover, according to the *Chaldee Paraphrast*, who is of good Repute, this is the true Order. Lastly, you will find it observ'd in the following Parts of this Chapter; the Generations begin first with *Japheth*, then pass to *Cham*, and end with *Shem*. All which shews that there is a *Transposition* in the first Verse, and that the true ranking of them is not there kept. We read in *Gen. 11. 26.* that *Terah* begat *Abram*, *Nahor*, and *Haran*; but the naming of *Abram* first of the three Brethren, doth not prove that he was eldest; but there is some Ground to believe that he was not. And as the true Order of Words in some Verses is not always exact, so neither is the true Series of History observ'd in some Chapters. Thus in *Gen. 2.* after God's resting on the seventh Day, v. 1. you read of God's forming *Man and Woman*, v. 7. & 18. which was the Sixth Day's Work, and therefore according to the True Order of things should have been part of the Contents of the First Chapter. So the *Division of the Earth*, which is the Subject of the 10th of *Genesis*, is set before the *Confusion of Tongues*, spoken of in the 11th Chapter, notwithstanding this was before that, and was the occasion of it. And some Instances of this Nature are in those Historical Books of *Samuel*, the *Kings*, and *Chronicles*. The seventh and eighth Chapters of *Daniel* are misplaced; they should of right have been inserted before, viz. immediately after the 4th Chapter; for they speak of what happened in *Belshazzar's* time, although the foregoing Chapter relates what was done by *Darius* after *Belshazzar* was slain, and the Kingdom of *Babylon* became his. And in many other Places of the Sacred Writings there is a *Transposing* of things, and sometimes that

that is placed first which was done last To which purpose the Hebrew Doctors have long since pronounced, that *there is neither Before nor After in the Law*. A ||| late Author tells us that the Reason is, because the Books of the Pentateuch and some others were written upon little Scrolls or Sheets of Paper, not so well fastned together as our Books now are, and so the Order of these Scrolls was changed. But this is an upstart Invention of this Gentleman's Brain, and hath no Foundation but his own Fancy; for as he mistakes *Paper* for *Parchment*, (there being perhaps no such thing as the former in those Days) so he is mistaken in his Conceit about *fastning* those Parchment-Writings together.

First, I say, he proceeds upon a wrong Foundation, because he asserts the antientest Books of the Bible to have been written on *Paper*, whereas it doth not appear that this Invention is so old: and on the other side, there are undeniable Proofs of the great Antiquity of *Parchment*, and that it was made use of for Books to write upon. That which hath occasioned some Learned Men (and 'tis likely our present Author, who is most justly rank'd in the Number of the Learned) to think otherwise, was that Passage in *Pliny's* * Natural History, where he reports that *Ptolomee Philadelph*, King of *Egypt*, forbad the exporting of the *Papyrus* (of which Paper was made at that time) out of his Territories. Whereupon *Eumenes*, King of *Pergamus*, found out another way of making Paper, of the inmost *Skins of Beasts*, which was call'd *Pergamena*, because 'twas invented in *Pergamus* first. But this was a great Oversight of *Pliny*, for that was not
the

the first Use of them; they were much antienter than that time. † *Diodorus* the Sicilian tells us, that the Persian Annals were writ in *Parchment*; which is a great Proof of its being very Antient. *Salmuth*, in his Commentary upon || *Pancirof*, thinks the Antiquity of this *Membrana* is proved from *Jovis diphthera*, the Skin of the Goat that suckled *Jupiter*, in which the Antientest Memorials of things in the World were thought to be written. And out of *Herodotus*, the great Father of History, he hath a very considerable Quotation, who relates that some of the *Old Grecians* made use of the Skins of Goats and Sheep to write in; and therefore * they call their Books *Skins*. And he adds, that (†) many of the *Barbarians* write in such *Skins*. Now we know who they were that the Pagans used to call *Barbarians*, viz. the *Jews*; and therefore it is probable these are meant here. It may have relation to their writing the Books of the Old Testament in *Parchment*. But if This, concerning the particular Reference of these Words to the *Jews*, be a Conjecture only, yet the other things which have been suggested, are a clear and evident Proof of the Antient Use of the *Membrana*, and we have no reason to question that the Bible it self was written in it. That it was so, we learn from *Josephus*, who assures us, that *Eleazar* the High Priest sent away the 72 Elders or Interpreters to *Ptolomee*, with the Bible written in fine *Parchment*; and he tells us in (||) the same Place, (which is very remarkable, and to our purpose) that *King Ptolomee* was astonished to see the *Parchments* so fine and delicate, and to observe the whole Form of them so exactly joined together,

† Lib. 2. || De Chartâ. * Τὸς βίβλος διφθέρας καλέουσι. In Terpsichore. (†) Πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς τοιαύτας διφθέρας γράφουσιν. (||) Antiq. Jud. l. 12. c. 2.

ther, that no one could possibly discern where the Seams
 were. From which Testimony of this Learned Jew
 it is evident, that there was Parchment found out and
 used in Writing before the time that Pliny talks of, i. e.
 before Eumenes's time. And as for this Eumenes,
 (who is by some Writers also call'd Attalus, for it
 appears plainly that 'tis the same Man, the same
 King of Pergamus) he was not the Person that in-
 vented it, nor was it in his time invented; he on-
 ly procured a great Quantity of it to be made, and
 so it became common in Greece and Asia: whence
 some (and Pliny among the rest) thought he was
 the first Inventer of it. This was the Rise of the
 Mistake: But the Truth of the Matter is this,
 (which the Learnedest Men now agree to) that
 Parchments which were made of Sheepskins dress'd,
 were long before the Emulation between Ptolomee
 and Eumenes, (who both at the same time were
 ambitious to procure an Universal Library;) but
 when this Quarrel arose, Ptolomee forbid Paper to
 be sent out of Egypt, whereupon Eumenes caused
 Parchments to be made in greater Abundance than
 before, that so there might be no need of the Pa-
 per. Again, 'tis evident from this Testimony of
 Josephus, that the Books of the Old Testament were
 written in Parchment. And seeing we have proved
 that Parchment was long before, it is credible that
 the Bible was copied out at first into it. That Pro-
 verbial Saying, *Ἀρχαῖοι τεταρταῖοι διφθέραι*, shews the
 great Antiquity of this sort of Writing-materials;
 for *διφθέραι* is *Membrana*, and it is also a Book
 made of the same, which they of old used to write
 in. I might take notice of the antient Practice of
 the Jews, viz. their wearing of Phylacteries, which
 were pieces of Scrolls of Parchment, whereon they
 wrote some part of the Law, and bound it to their
 Heads

Heads and Hands: whence we may probably gather, that the Books of the Old Testament were first of all *Parchment-Writings*; for the Jews were strict Observers as well as Admirers of Antiquity, and therefore their writing some Sentences of the Law in Parchments shews that the Bible it self, from whence they were taken, had been usually and of old transcribed into those very Materials. Much more might be said, but I will only add, that the Jews *Rolling up* their Sacred Writings (whence their Books were call'd *Megilloth*, *Volumina*) is a plain Argument that they were not composed of *Egyptian Paper*, which was thin and weak, and consequently was not capable of this *Rolling*. But a Long and Broad Skin or Parchment would endure this without tearing, and therefore it is not to be doubted that this was made use of. The Sense of which (besides the common Report and Notion among the Jews) caused the Famous Rabbi *Jonathan* to say in his *Targum* on *Deut.* 31. 24. that *Moses writ the Law upon Parchment*: Which shews, that it was the Opinion of the Learned Jews, that the Bible was originally written in Parchment, not on Paper. And the *Talmud* often mentions this Parchment-Writing as a known thing. It is rational then to believe and assert, that these Holy Records were written in Parchment: and though we are informed from sufficient Authors, that other Materials of old were used, as the Egyptian *Papyrus*, *Leaves*, as also the *Inward Bark* or *Coat of Trees*, &c. when they wrote but few Words, yet Parchment was the old and usual Matter on which they wrote when they had occasion to compose a whole Book: which confutes *F. Simon's* Notion, that the Old Testament was written in Paper; which, upon serious Reflection, so searching a Person

son as he is cannot but discern to be a Mistake : and he knows that *Charta*, Writing-Paper was not generally used till *Alexander* the Great's time, as **Pliny* himself acknowledges, who quotes *Varro* for this, that the first use of Paper, made of the Cortex of the Egyptian Papyrus, was found out in *Egypt* in that Monarch's Reign ; and that before that time they wrote upon Leaves of Trees, on Wax, &c.

Then in the next Place, it were easy to disprove this Ingenious Author's Conceit about the *fastning*, or, rather as he would have it, the *not fastning* of these Parchments together, whence he fancies it was that the Transposition and Misplacing of some Parts of the Bible happened. He tells us, that heretofore they wrote upon Sheets or Leaves rolled together one over another, round a piece of Wood : and these being not well joined together, there was sometimes a misplacing of what was written in them, because their Order was altered. This may be partly true, and I cannot deny that it so happened sometimes, that is, when there was no Care taken to sow, or other ways to fasten the Leaves or Sheets to the Stick of Wood about which they were rolled, or to one another. But it was not so in the present Case ; for you may be sure that they took all the Care imaginable to secure the Order of the Sheets, and they were not destitute of a particular way of doing it ; so that their Books were sufficiently fastned. But if he means that they were not bound as our Books are now adays, then his new Discovery is only this, that the Trade of Book-binding was not set up in *Moses* or *Exra's* Days. Or, if he means that the written Sheets and Scrolls

were

* Nat. Hist. l. 13. c. 11.

were loose, and not well tack'd together, he wilfully speaks against his own knowledg of this Matter; for he knows very well that the Jews wrote in Rolls or continued Sheets or Skins, which were not liable to be separated, as our Writings are now. He is Antiquary enough to confute himself from what he hath read concerning their manner of making their Books or Volumes, their fixing the Sheets of Parchment at one end, by sowing or fastning the first Sheet between two Sticks or Pieces of Wood, their joining the several Sheets together, (as appears from the forecited Testimony of the Jewish Historian, who saith, the *Parchments in which the Bible was written, were so closely and firmly joined together, that 'twas not possible to discern the Seams or Places where they were joined*) their Rolling them up close, and their keeping them in safe Repositories, (for they had places on purpose for all Valuable Books) so that it was not likely; yea scarcely possible, that any of these Scrolls or Sheets (which were not *little ones*, as he suggests, but of a considerable size) should be *put out of their places*, much less *lost*: for he goes so far as to assert, that many of these Scrolls were embezzel'd and lost, and thence the Scriptures of the Old Testament are so maimed and imperfect. But we know the Man and his Design, which is to deprettate and vilify the Scriptures, thereby to advance the Credit of *Tradition*, and by that means to exalt the Church of *Rome* (though this is not so forward to exalt him): This was it which made him give us this Specimen of his Wit and Invention (of which, it must be confessed, he hath no small Stock); this made him attempt by these *Paper-Proofs* to lessen the Authority of the Bible: Otherwise it is certain this *Parisian Critick* is a Person of great Worth
and

and Learning; and it is his singular Commendation that he is no Furious Bigot, but is Moderate and Discreet in many things, and is one that does not on the Opinions and Assertions of the Catholick Doctors. But if you would know the true Reason or Occasion of that *Transposition* which you sometimes meet with in the Holy Writings; not only of the Old but New Testament, it is chiefly this, as I conceive; The Holy Writers study not Exactness; they are more Intent upon the Thing and Matter which they write, than upon the due Order and Marshalling of it: they are not Nice and Accurate in giving every Occurrence or Event its right Place; whence it is that you meet with some things in these Writings that are transposed and out of Order: and it is left to the Diligent and Inquisitive Reader to amend and reform those Dislocations. Those who would see farther Reasons of that frequent *Metathesis* and *Misplacing* which are in the Sacred Books, may consult the Learned Dr. Lightfoot in his *Chronicle of the Times of the Old Testament*.

C H A P. IV.

There are not only Grammatical but Rhetorical Figures in the Sacred Volume. The Psalmist's Words, Psal. 120. 5. are Hyperbolical, though not generally interpreted to be such. So are our Saviour's Words, Matth. 13. 32. though commonly expounded otherwise. Luke 19. 44. rejected from being Hyperbolical. John 21. 25. proved to be an Hyperbole. This way of speaking in Scripture is no Lie. Ironies are frequent in this Holy Book, of which several Examples are produced. Luke 22. 36. is shew'd to be of this sort. And so is Acts 23. 5. I wist not that he was the High Priest. This manner of speaking is not unworthy of the Sacred Penmen: Synecdoches frequent in Scripture; proved from several Instances; Metaphors also common. Solomon's Metaphorical Description of Old Age in Ecclef. 12. expounded in all its Parts.

THere are not only *Grammatical but Rhetorical Figures* in this Sacred Volume, the chief of which I will briefly speak of, not to say that I have mentioned some of them already. And though (as I said of the former) they have been observed by several Writers, yet one Reason why I mention them here is, because I shall have occasion to reduce some Texts to these Figures which have not been so interpreted by other Authors. First, *Hyperboles* are not unusual in these Holy Writings; these are such Speeches as seem to surpass the bare Truth, either by augmenting or diminishing it. Thus a *Great Caldron*, one of the Vessels of the Temple

ple that held a vast Quantity of Water, is call'd a *Sea*, a *molten Sea*, 1 Kings 7. 23. a *brazen Sea*, 2 Kings. 25. 13. It is said, that the *Cities were walled up to Heaven*, Deut. 1. 28. and that *Solomon made Silver in Jerusalem as Stones*, 1 Kings 10. 27. and that at his being anointed King the *People rejoiced with great Joy, so that the Earth rent with the Sound of them*, 1 Kings 1. 46. Upon which Places, and some others, the Jews found that Saying of theirs, *The Law sometimes speaks Hyperbolically.* The Description of *Behemoth* is full of this sort of Language; *He moveth his Tail like a Cedar; his Bones are as strong pieces of Brass, and Bars of Iron; he drinketh up a River, he trusteth that he can draw up Jordan into his Mouth*, Job 40. 17, &c. *Xerxes's Army* was said * to drink whole Rivers dry, in that Hyperbolical Sense in which this is spoken of *Behemoth*: which proves what I have asserted, that the Scripture symbolizeth with other Writers, or rather they with it. The like Hyperbolical Description you have of the *Leviathan*, Job 41. 18, to the end. And such is that of the *Locusts*, Joel 2. 2—12. all which is indeed one Continued Hyperbole, wherein he elegantly and pathetically describes them as a well-formed *Army*, as *Virgil* in his *Georgicks* loftily doth the *Ants*, *It nigrum campis agmen.* So all is Poetical and Hyperbolical in *Psal.* 18. 7—16. As for *Psal.* 120. 5. *Wo is me that I sojourn in Mesech, and dwell in the Tents of Kedar;* few Expositors take it to be of this kind. Because *Mesech* signifies *protracting* or *prolonging*, some interpret the first Clause thus, *I have a LONG time dwelt*: and because *Kedar* signifies *Blackness*, they

* Diodor. Sic. l. 11. Juvenal. Sat. 10.

understand it of the Sadness of his Condition. Others would translate the pious King to those Places and Countries which bear the Name of *Mefech* and *Kedar*, thinking that he was for some time confined to those Places. And there are other Conjectures about the Words, but the true Import of them in my Apprehension is this; *David* being banished from home, expresseth it as if he were among the barbarous Scythians, as if he were in the wild Deserts of *Arabia*. Or, if you take *Mefech* and *Kedar* to be both of them in *Arabia*, (as some do) then still the Sense is the same; I sojourn, I dwell, I inhabit among the inhospitable People of *Arabia*, call'd *Scenitæ*, because they lived in Tents, or in that part of the Wilderness where the Israelites pitch'd in Tents when they travell'd to the Land of *Canaan*: There is my Abode at present; I am no longer one of *Judea*. This is an Hyperbolical Speech to set forth the Nature of those Inhumane and Malicious People into whose Hands he was fallen, and with whom he was forced to converse at that time. To this sort of Speech we may refer *Psal.* 97. 5. *The Hills melted like Wax.* *Isa.* 34. 3. *The Mountains shall be melted with their Blood.* *Ezek.* 32. 6. *I will water with thy Blood, &c.* I will make the Blood of the slain so abundant, that it shall reach up to the very Mountains, and all the Rivers shall be fill'd with Blood; which is to be look'd upon as an Hyperbolical Description of *Egypt's* Destruction. So *Ezek.* 39. 9; 10. [They shall burn the Weapons with Fire seven Years; so that they shall take no Wood out of the Field, nor cut down any out of the Forests] is an elevated Strain of speaking, to express the Multitude of the Weapons and Spoils taken from the Enemy, and the vast Slaughter of them. At the first View those Words in *Obadiab,*

diab, ver. 4. *Though thou set thy Nest among the Stars,* must be acknowledged to be highly Hyperbolic.

Neither is the New Testament without this kind of speaking; as to instance in *Matth. 13. 32.* which I grant is not reckoned by Writers among the Hyperboles of Scripture, but I appeal to the Learned, whether it ought not. Of the *Mustard-seed* there in the Parable Christ saith, *It is indeed the least of all Seeds;* (for though *μικρότερον* be the Greek Word, yet (as hath been noted before) it is here put for *μικρότερον*, as is plain from its being joined with *πρόντων*, and so it is rightly rendred *the least of all Seeds*;) but this is not exactly true, for the * Seeds of Sweet-marjoram and Wild Poppy are far less; and the Seeds of Tobacco are so small, that a thousand of them make not above one single Grain in Weight: but all must give place to the Seed of Moon-wort, which certainly is a Seed of the least size that is. And † another reckons among the *smallest* Seeds of Plants those of Reed-mace, and of Harts-tongue, and of some sorts of Mosses and Ferns. And of these latter I have read that some of them are so small, that they cannot be seen without the Help of a Microscope. But our Saviour, to set forth and magnify the wonderful Power of the Word of God, and the Increasing and Spreading of his Kingdom, though from very small Beginnings, compares them to a *Grain of Mustard-seed*; and by a Lessening Hyperbole calls this *the Least of all Seeds*, though in exact speaking it be not so. But if this way of interpreting Christ's Words, which I now offer, be not approved of, then you may expound them thus, that this Seed is *one of the least of all Seeds*; or you may understand

* Dr. Power. † Mr. Ray's *Wisdom of God in the Creation*, p. 100.

them spoken Respectively, that is, it is the Least of all such Seeds as extend to large Productions; no Seed so little sencerth forth Branches so wide, or bringeth forth its Fruit after that plentiful manner. Thus you may understand the Words, but in my Judgment the resolving them into an *Hyperbole* is the best way, though it be not made use of by Expositors. And how indeed could it, when they took the Seed of *Mustard* to be Absolutely the least of all Grains whatsoever? That of our Saviour in Luke 19. 44. *They shall not leave in thee one Stone upon another*; which is spoken of the Last and Final Devastation of *Jerusalem*, is generally supposed to be an *Hyperbolical* Expression, and consequently not true in Strictness of Speech: for can we think, say some, that the Roman Armies had nothing else to do but to pick out all the Stones in the Foundations, and throw them away? Those who talk thus, do not remember what was done at several times towards the compleat and total Destruction of that Place. This Passage of our Blessed Lord seems to refer particularly and signally to the digging up the Foundations of the City and Temple, and the very ploughing up the Ground by *Titus's* Command, (which the Jews themselves do not deny) and also to that Prodigious Earthquake in *Julian's* time, whereby the remaining Parts of the Foundations were wholly broken up and scattered abroad. Here was an Exact fulfilling of Christ's Prediction without any *Hyperbole*.

As for that Close of *St. John's* Gospel, *Even the World it self could not contain the Books that should be written*, chap. 21. 25. * *Eusebius* and *St. Augustin*

both in their Commentaries on this Place, and in their Histories, of

* Οὐκ ἔν τε το χωρεῖν τῶς π τὴν αὖ χεῖρ πῶς ποτε ἂν παραστῇ
 ἡ ἀποκάλυψις ὁ μακάριος ὁ ἀποκάλυψις τοῦ βιβλίου. Eccl. Hist. 1. c. 3.

of old, and * others more lately understand it thus; *The World*, that is, *the Men of the World* could not contain, that is, conceive, comprehend and digest the Books that should be written concerning our Saviour's Deeds: Their Understandings are weak, and must needs have been oppressed with so many Books on that Subject. So $\chi\alpha\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$, the word here used, is to be taken in *Matth. 19. 11.* All Men cannot receive (or contain) this Saying: and in this Sense it is used by *Philo*, who, speaking of the Knowledge of the Nature of God, and how unsearchable it is, saith, that neither Heaven nor Earth are able to contain, i. e. to comprehend it. But a || modern Critick thinks: $\chi\alpha\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ here signifies to entertain and approve of; and accordingly his Gloss on the Words is this, *The whole World would scorn, reject and slight all the Books which should be writ of Christ, it having despised these that are already writ. The World hath other Employment, it would not read and peruse such Writings. This seems to be the meaning of the Verb in 2 Cor.*

7. 2. $\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\sigma\alpha\tau\epsilon\ \eta\mu\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, receive, entertain, approve of us. And ||| *Dionys. Halicarn.* uses the word thus, saying, $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\varsigma\ \delta\ \chi\alpha\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\alpha\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{o}\varsigma$, the City admits not of, i. e. scorns good Men. But though this and the other be the meaning of the Word sometimes, yet it is very Rare and Unusual: besides that it is Improper and Metaphorical; and in such a case it is more reasonable to choose and embrace that Sense of the Word which is common and usual, as also genuine and proper; and then the meaning is, that the World, as capacious and wide as it is, is not able to hold or contain all the Books that might have been written concerning

I 4. Christ
* *Lyra, Tremellius.* † 'Οὐδ' ὁ σύμπας κόσμος τὸ χρονον
ἀνέχεται χωρῆσαι. De Monarch. l. 1. || *Heins. Exercit. Sacr.*
||| *Idem.* 8.

Christ and his Works. But this cannot be the Sense here, you will say, because then our Saviour's Words would not be true; for the World is able, is wide enough to contain, to hold those Books, and many more besides. I answer, I grant this to be true in the strict way of speaking, but the Evangelist St. John had a mind to conclude his Book with some Great Word concerning his Dear Master and Saviour, and therefore expresseth himself thus in a High and Hyperbolical manner, *The World it self could not contain the Books that should be written of him.* As if he had said, Though I and others have recorded the Sayings and Doings of the Blessed Jesus, yet this is nothing in comparison of what might be said on this vast Subject. There is unspeakably much more remaining than hath been told you. What he said and did was so Great and so Admirable, that Innumerable Volumes might be filled with enlarging on that copious Matter. I may say to you, *the Whole World*, as wide and ample as it is, is not able to contain those Immense Treatises, those Infinite Discourses which might be written in relating all the Passages that concern'd our Blessed Lord, and in commendation of them. Observe it, the Evangelist saith, *the World it self, i. e. this Material Local World*, therefore it can't be understood of the *Men* of the World, as those of the former Opinions fancied. Besides, it is observable that he speaks not Absolutely here, but in a Qualified Manner; I suppose, I think, I conceive *the World it self cannot contain*, &c. which plainly shews that the Words cannot be meant in the former Senses. For what Sense can you make of this; I suppose, I think that all the Men in the World cannot comprehend the Books which should be written; or, I suppose all the Men in the World cannot enter.

entertain and approve of them? Whether he supposed it or not, it would be so: and this is a thing not to be supposed, but really believed and directly asserted, if it be true. But if you admit of the plain Sense of the Words, which I have propounded, then his *supposing* may be very pertinent and consistent here; for it is but a kind of a *Supposition*, not an Exact and Strict Truth which he here uttereth: it is a Lofty Strain or Hyperbole, which he shuts up his Gospel with; I think in a manner, saith he, that the *Whole World* it self cannot contain the Books that might be composed and written on this Glorious Theme, which is so Various, so Voluminous. Thus you see the Words must be understood in this way, for the others are not reconcilable to good Sense. And indeed this manner of Style is but parallel with other Passages in Scripture, as *Gen. 13. 6. The Land was not able to bear them*, viz. Lot and Abraham, and their Flocks; which expresses how exceeding Numerous they were. So some understand *Luke 2. 1. There went out a Decree that all the World should be taxed*: which sets forth the Largeness and Vast Extent of the Emperor's Dominions; not that all the World (strictly speaking) was to be tax'd, for 'twas not all in his Power. It was said of our Saviour, *The World is gone after him*, *John 12. 19.* which only expresses the Vast Numbers of People that flock'd to him wheresoever he went. Such is the Style here, *The World it self cannot contain*, &c. The Evangelists and Apostles must in a manner have fill'd the World with their Writings concerning Christ; the Books would have been so Numerous, that even the Whole World could scarcely have held them, that is, in plainer terms, there must have been an Incredible Number of Books to have contain'd

tain'd all these Matters. There are many other Instances of this Hyperbolical Manner of speaking in the Holy Writings, but my Design is only to give you a Taste of these and the like Figurative Expressions, in order to your being better acquainted with the *Stile* of Scripture. There is a || Learned Modern Divine, who thinks there is no such thing as an *Hyperbole* in Scripture; he will by no means grant that this way of speaking is to be found in the Sacred Writings, because it is a *kind of Lie*. But all that is to be said in answer to him, is this, that it is impossible to give any other Account of some of the forenamed Instances, and several others, than by resolving them into an *Hyperbole*; which is no *Lie*, nor a *kind of one*, because it is not contrary to the Mind of him that speaks it, nor is it spoken to impose upon them that hear it. Yet it is to be granted, that there is a Moderation to be observed by us, as there is in Scripture, in using this sort of speaking. You meet with but few *Hyperboles* in the Holy Writers; and as they are rarely and sparingly used, so it is done in a fit and convenient Subject; and where there is no likelihood of their degenerating into a *Lie*; and where the Story or other Subject Matter is not thereby falsely misrepresented. But it is otherwise where Writers immoderately affect an *Hyperbolick Strain*, for they make use of it in Matters where it is not fit to be used, and where the Truth and Reality of the Subject are endangered, and where it administers to Falshood. Thus it is in the Poems of that Historical Poet *Lucan*, who is a Prodigious and Unsufferable *Hyperbolizer*. And thus it is in Monsieur *Balsac*: An Extrayagant *Hyperbole* goes all over him words and expressions along

|| *Parus* in Comment. in Epist. ad Roman. & Corinth.

along through his Letters, though to the Greatest Persons, and Men of profess'd Gravity. A great Fault certainly it is in those Ingenious Pieces of his. But there is no such thing in the Sacred Writings, there is nothing there Romantick and Extravagant; the Hyperbole is seldom used, and when it is, it is Modest and Becoming, Fit and Convenient, and doth not in the least administer to Levity, or impair and endamage the Truth.

Again; in this Holy Book, as well as in Other Writings, there is that sort of Speaking which is call'd an Irony, *i. e.* when something is said in way of Derision or Scoff, contrary to what is meant; as in that commonly observed Place, *Gen. 3. 22. Behold! the Man is become as one of us; to know Good and Evil:* which refers to Satan's Words to Adam, *Ye shall be as Gods; knowing Good and Evil,* ver. 5. And so Man is here upbraided with his Belief of the Devil before the God of Truth. Look you now, is not Man become a God? Yes, this mightily appears indeed from what hath befallen him; he hath lost the Divine Image wherein he was created, and is become a Wretched Sinner and Apostate. Is not this Creature then *become as one of us?* or, now * *he hath been as one of us;* he hath already experienced what it is to be like God: Hath he not? Thus he is justly derided for his wilful Folly by the Sacred Trinity. And if they think fit to speak after this manner, it will not unbecome the Sons of Men. This Ironical way of speaking you meet with in *1 Kings 18. 27. Cry aloud, for he (that is, Baal) is a God:* either he is talking, or he is pursuing, or he is on a Journey, or peradventure he sleepeth, and must be awaked. Thus the Prophet *Elijah* mocks

* *Hajah, suit.*

mocks those deluded Priests of *Baal*, he makes himself pleasant with them. Even *Grave* and *Austere* *Elijah* laughs at the *Baalites* invoking of a Deaf Deity: he plays upon their serious but idolatrous Devotion. Whence I gather, that it is not light and unbecoming to scoff at Superstition, and jeer Idolatry. Those Words of the Prophet *Micaiah* to King *Abab*, 1 Kings 22. 15. *Go and prosper*, are a plain Ironical Concession. In this Sense those Words are to be understood, *Job* 5. 1. *Call now, if there be any that will answer thee: and to which of the Saints wilt thou turn?* And chap. 12. 2. *No doubt but ye are the People, and Wisdom shall die with you.* And that of *Solomon* to the Youthful Sinner, *Rejoice, O young Man, in thy Youth, &c.* *Eccles.* 11. 9. Which manner of speaking is more particularly suited here to the Humour and Genius of the *Young Man*, whose Fashion is immoderately to scoff, and to entertain himself and others with Pleasantry and Drollery. But that he might see that this was intended as a Rebuke to him, and that he might be sure that *Solomon* was serious and in good earnest, notwithstanding this way of speaking, 'tis added in the Close of the Verse, *Know that for all these things God will bring thee to Judgment:* And he that considers that will have no Reason to rejoice, i. e. to be loose and inordinate in his Mirth, but rather to be sober and retired, and to be preparing for Judgment, and to set about so great a Task betimes, and not fondly presume on Health, and Length of Days. No Man need question whether those Words of *Isaiah*, ch. 8. 9. *Associate your selves, O ye People, be not spoken Ironically:* (which are parallel with *Joel* 3. 11. *Assemble your selves, and come all ye Heathen, and gather your selves round about, &c.*) And those in *Isa.* 50. 11. *Walk in the Light of*
your

your Fire, and in the Sparks that you have kindled, i. e. trust in those things that cannot help you, Sparks that give a short Light, and soon vanish. That is a terrible Biting Taunt in Jer. 22. 23. How gracious shalt thou be when Pangs come upon thee, the Pain as of a Woman in Travail? And so is that other, Lam. 4. 21: Rejoice and be glad, O Daughter of Edom, the Cup (viz. of Vengeance) shall pass through to thee. Who doubts whether Ezek. 20. 39. be not Sarcastical? Thus saith the Lord God, Go ye, serve ye every one his Idols. The like Command we read in Amos 4. 4, 5. Come to Bethel and transgress, at Gilgal multiply Transgression, &c. That also in Mic. 5. 1. must be reckon'd as spoken Ironically; Now gather thy self in Troops, O Daughter of Troops, &c. i. e. O Assyrians, come and do your worst, with your joint Forces invade us, and most severely treat our Prince and People; yea, by all means destroy, extirpate, and even annihilate the Church of God: whereas the Prophet, who speaks this, intimates in the whole Chapter afterwards, that the Church shall flourish, and that it shall be impossible for its Enemies to do it harm. So that in Nab. 3. 14. Draw thee Waters for the Siege, fortify thy strong Holds; is said in way of Derision to Niniveh, whose unavoidable Ruine is foretold in that Chapter.

And besides many such Sarcasms in the Old Testament, there are several in the New, as that of our Blessed Lord to his drowzy Disciples, *Sleep on now, and take your Rest*, Matth. 26. 45. This is a downright Irony, because Christ here intends a different thing, nay contrary to what he saith: His meaning is, not that they should sleep, when both he and they were in so great Danger, but his Intention rather was, that they should *watch and pray*, as you read, *ver. 41.* By this way of speaking he

corrects

corrects them for their unseasonable Drowlines, that they could not watch at such a time as that, when he had just before foretold them that he was to be betrayed. That is another clear Text, *Full well* (καλῶς, fairly, as Sir Nort. Knatchbull renders it) *ye reject the Commandment of God*, saith our Saviour to the Pharisees, *Mark 7. 9.* Ye do very well and laudably in preferring the Traditions and Constitutions of Men before the express Commands of God. This is a commendable piece of Religion indeed: Is it not? Do you think that this will be acceptable to God? There is another Passage of our Saviour which seems to me to be perfectly Ironical, though Commentators generally carry the Sense another way: *But now* (saith Christ) *he that hath a Purse, let him take it, and likewise his Scrip: and he that hath no Sword, let him sell his Garment, and buy one*, *Luke 22. 36.* Which is thought by Expositors to be a plain and direct Exhortation to the Apostles to furnish themselves with Money, Provision, and Swords. But this cannot be meant here, because, 1. Christ had declared against Fighting, for he tells *Pilate*, (*John 18. 36.*) that *if his Kingdom were of this World, then would his Servants* (i. e. his Apostles and Disciples) *fight, that he should not be delivered to the Jews.* Swords then were to no purpose. 2. When they brought two Swords to him, his Answer is observable, *It is enough.* If he had meant *real Swords*, he would not have said that two of them were *enough*, for those could serve but two Men: They should all of them be appointed with that sort of Weapons, and have stood on their Guard. When therefore he saith, *It is enough*, he doth as good as say, I do not mean Carnal Weapons: You mistake me, as you have often done, and dream of a Temporal Kingdom of the Messiah.

3. It

3. It is evident that Christ meant not *Swords* in the usual Signification of the Word, because afterwards he sharply blamed *Peter* for making use of this Weapon, *Matth. 26. 52.* It appears that he had no Commission from our Saviour to draw his Sword. I cannot therefore subscribe to those who interpret these Words of our Lord in the direct and obvious Sense. But if we understand them to be spoken Ironically, they are very intelligible, and are consistent with what Christ saith at other times. And let no Man wonder that our Blessed Master uses this sort of Stile here, for I have shewed you before, in two undeniable Instances, that he made use of it, yea even when he was approaching to Death, as when he said to his Apostles, *Sleep on, and take your Rest.* And so he speaks after the same manner here, upbraiding his Apostles, who he knew were afraid of Suffering, and had so often been talking of Christ's Kingdom on Earth, and of the Prosperous Times that were to accompany it. He now in a Sarcastick way chastises their fond and groundless Conceit, and bids them *go and buy Swords*, and lay in Provisions. If you are for a Temporal Reign, saith he, then fight for it. You are specially well skill'd in your Weapons without doubt, you are excellent Sword-men. This I take to be the Sense of the Words: and truly a Man might gather it from that one Passage before mentioned; *It is enough*, said our Saviour to them, when they brought him a couple of Swords. This it self is an Ironick Quip; it is as if he had said, This is brave Armour indeed! Now you are well appointed surely. You are like to defend me and your selves against all that come against us. Two Swords amongst you all are a very great Armory. This plainly shews what our Saviour's meaning

was,

was, when he bid them *buy Swords*, he handsomly check'd them for their Cowardice and Fear of Suffering. But yet I will not deny that something more may be included and comprized in these Words: he bids them make the best Provision they can against the Calamitous Times that were coming: he exhorts them to be provided with Spiritual Weapons, Faith and Patience, and the Sword of the Spirit, yea with the Whole Armour of God. This higher and spiritual meaning may be contained in what Christ here uttereth. But if you take the Words as they sound, and in the more direct and literal Tendency of them, I do not see that they can be interpreted in a better way than I have offered.

And as our Blessed Saviour himself, so the Apostle St. Paul sometimes uses this Figure which I am now speaking of. I am enclined to think that those Words in *Acts 23. 5.* *I wist not that he was the High Priest*, are to be taken in this Sense: He makes use of an Irony, and is to be understood as if he had said, Is this the High Priest? Alas, I did not know that this was that Reverend Gentleman. I should have shewed my self more civil to him, if I had been acquainted that this was that Worshipful Man, that Gay Pontiff to whom you pay so great Veneration: But who would take this Person to be the High Priest, the Great Leading Officer of the Church, who is to be an Example of Mildness and Gentleness to all Men? His furious way of speaking and acting towards me, doth not discover him to be one of that High Character and Order: He doth not shew himself to be a Spiritual Man: Surely this cannot be He: This Behaviour speaks him to be another Person. So it is spoken in a jeering way. Nor is this Sense of the Words (as some
may

may think) too light and jocular for the Apostle, though he was before the Sanhedrim, the most Grave and Solemn Council of that Nation: For in several of the Instances before mentioned, we see this way of speaking hath been made use of before very Great and Venerable Persons, and in Causes that were exceeding Serious and Weighty. And whereas the Apostle immediately adds, *For it is written, Thou shalt not speak Evil of the Ruler of thy People*; which may make it seem incredible that St. Paul spoke in a Sarcastick way, which is speaking one thing, and meaning another: for is it likely he would back this with a serious Text of Scripture? I answer, It is likely, for hereby he lets them see, that there is Substantial and Real Truth at the bottom of this Sarcastm. He lets them know, that he is very Grave and in good earnest whilst he speaks to them after an Ironick rate: You are, saith he, very well vers'd in Scripture, I know; you are ready to quote that Place against me in *Exodus, Thou shalt not speak Evil of the Ruler of the People*. This it is, Sirs, to be so well skill'd in the Law, you cannot but be very Good People certainly, and particularly you must be very Obedient to your Rulers, and are never heard to use any irreverent Language towards them. It is therefore an unpardonable Crime in me that I call'd your High Priest (your Painted Piece of Justice) a *Whited Wall*. Yea, 'tis an unsufferable Fault not to know that this Person (among all those that sit on this Reverend Bench) was the *High Priest*, especially when there are two of them at a time. O! by all means every Man and Woman is bound to know that this individual Person is the Jewish Pope, the Supreme and Infallible Head of your Church. What a dull ignorant Creature was I that I wist not this? that I should

not know that this was the Prince of this Reverend Senate, even this Worthy Gentleman, this Simoniacal Merchant that bought his Place of the Roman Governour? How should I understand that this Person is my *Judg* at this time? This, I conceive, may be the meaning of the Apostle's Words: he prudently orders them, and jirks his Adversaries, but with Safety to himself. And this *Ironical* way seems the rather to be that which the Apostle here chooseth, because you presently find (in the next Verses) that he pursues this prudential way of speaking, and cries out in the Council, *Men and Brethren, I am a Pharisee*, though he was none at that time; only he held the Doctrine of the Resurrection, which the Pharisees maintain'd, and so might be said to be of that Sect, if of any. But there is an *Ironical* Strain in it, and so his Discourse is all of a piece. This is the Apprehension which I have of these Words, but I am not very forward to urge it upon any; only I will say this, that I had not pitch'd upon this Interpretation, if some of those that are usually propounded had not displeased me. This Sense of the Words is certainly preferable to that of *Oecumenius*, who tells us in plain terms, that the Apostle * *dissembled*. And *St. Jerom* blames him for his Conduct in this Business. Nor is there any Ground (so far as I see) for *Dr. Lightfoot's* Account of these Words, viz. that the meaning of them is either, 1. That *St. Paul* owns not *Ananias* for a lawful High Priest. Or, 2. He owns not any lawful High Priesthood now, *Ananias* being an Usurper, getting the Place by Money and Fraud. For though all this is true, yet it is utterly inconsistent with what follows; for it is written,

* Περσπικτὴ ἀγνοία. Comment. in Acts 23. 5.

written, *Thou shalt not speak Evil of, &c.* where there is an Acknowledgment of his being the *Ruler of the People*. Besides, *I wist not*, and *I own him not to be the High Priest*, are two different things: So that this cannot be the right Import of the Words. Others therefore say, the Apostle is to be understood in the most plain and obvious Signification, viz. that he really *knew not* that *Ananias* was the High Priest, because it is probable, say they, this Great Man appear'd not at that time in his Pontifical Habit, coming to the Council perhaps in haste, which might incline the Apostle to think it was not He who sat there to judg him. But no Man can prove that the High Priest came to the Sanhedrim in haste, or that he was not in his Robes proper to his Office; and therefore this Answer is not satisfactory. But they tell us, that in those Days there were two High Priests, one bought the Place, and the other executed the Office; therefore it was no easy Matter to know which of the two was the High Priest indeed, which made St. Paul profess before the Council, that *he wist not* that the Person who commanded him to be smitten on the Mouth, was the High Priest. If he had known him (say they) to be Him, he would not have spoken as he did of this Great Ruler of the People. But granting there were two High Priests at that time, yet it is likely that one (who executed the Office) was distinguish'd from the other in some manner that was easily discernible: So that St. Paul could not pretend he had no notice of him. However, St. Paul knew that this very Person who ordered him to be smitten, was one of his Judges, (for he expressly saith, that *he sat there to judg him after the Law*) and on that account was a *Ruler*, and consequently he was not to speak Evil of him, much less

to curse him, for he was not to use Malediction towards any, as himself acknowledgeth, *Rom. 12. 14.* This Interpretation therefore is not to be admitted. But if the Sense which I have before offered be disliked, then I know no other but this, that when St. Paul saith, *he wist not that he was the High Priest*; the meaning is, that he remembered not, he considered not that he was such a Person, and so was unawares surprized and precipitated into Passion, and spoke unbecomingly of this Great Man. It was want of Considering and Attending that betrayed him to that passionate and unseemly Language: or, being moved and exasperated, he did not consider that he was before so Great a Person. This is no improbable Interpretation, if you can be sure that these two Words, *to know* and *to consider*, are sometimes equivalent in the Stile of Scripture. But if you cannot satisfy your selves as to this, I think you may safely recur to the first Interpretation, and look upon St. Paul's Words as an *Ironical* Speech, especially if you consider that his Stile is very full of them.

This I shall make good to you from several Instances in his Epistles; as that in *1 Cor. 11. 6.* *If the Woman be not covered, let her also be shorn*: If she lays her Vail aside, and appears in the publick Assemblies without a Covering, then I say, let her also be shorn or shaved, let her Hair be cut close to the Skin, let her go like some of the Cropp'd Philosophers among the Stoicks. Not that he would have her do so, but only by this Sarcastick way of speaking he signifies that one is as decent as the other. It is as disgraceful to be Uncovered as to be Shaved: for 'twas the laudable Custom then in the Christian Churches for the Women to be veiled, and it was disgraceful and reproachful for
any

any of that Sex to appear bare-fac'd in the time of
 Worſhip. Again, thoſe Words in 2 Cor. 10. 12.
*We dare not make our ſelves of the Number, or com-
 pare our ſelves with ſome that commend themſelves, &c.*
 are ſpoken meerly in Deriſion of the Falſe Apo-
 ſtles and Teachers, who had gain'd upon the Corin-
 thians and other Churches by their confident Boaſt-
 ing and vain Brags. I dare not preſume, ſaith the
 Apoſtle, to think my ſelf as worthy as they are,
 and ſo rank my ſelf with thoſe high-flown Tea-
 chers. Yet we know he commends himſelf in the
 beginning of the 11th Chapter; and again in ch. 12.
 11. which ſhews that theſe Words are ſaid in an
 Ironical way. This is that which he ſeems to ſay
 in ch. 11. 17, &c. *That which I ſpeak, I ſpeak not af-
 ter the Lord, but as it were fooliſhly in this Confidence of
 Boaſting. Seeing many glory after the Fleſh, (brag
 of their Parts and Attainments) I will glory alſo.
 For ye ſuffer Fools gladly, ſeeing ye your ſelves are
 wiſe.* Which is all of the ſame biting Strain, and
 is as much as if he had ſaid, You that are ſo great
 Admirers of the falſe Apoſtles, and are Men of
 ſuch wiſe Heads, and of ſo profound Capacities, I
 know it is below you to censure ſuch a ſhallow Fool
 as I am, who cannot forbear prating of my Gifts
 and Abilities, of my great Feats and Exploits for-
 ſooth, which alas are nothing in compariſon of
 what your famous Teachers and new Evangelists
 may glory in, and value themſelves upon. But
 then in the following Verſes he leaves off (and
 'twas time to do ſo) this looſer ſort of Stile, and
 in a plain and cloſe manner vindicates his Reputati-
 on and Dignity by vying with thoſe bragging Im-
 poſtors, *Are they Hebrews? ſo am I, &c.*

That is a plain downright Irony in 2 Cor. 11. 4.
If he that cometh preacheth another Jeſus, ye might well

(καλᾶς, fairly and honestly) *bear with him.* As if he had said, Yes indeed you Men of *Corinth* are a civil easy sort of People; if a new upstart Teacher should bring another Gospel to you, you would do very well to receive him and bid him welcome. Thus he in an Illusory kind of way rebukes their shameful Inconstancy and Levity. In the same Vein is that in 2 *Cor.* 12. 13. *Forgive me this wrong.* He had told them in the same Verse, that *they were inferiour to no Churches in any thing, i. e.* in any Privileges or Excellencies whatsoever, *except it was in this, that he was not burdensom to them;* that is, he put them to no Charges for his Preaching, he preach'd the Gospel *gratis*: For which great Wrong and Injury done to them he hopes, he saith, they will pardon him. A very smart and pleasant Irony. Thus it appears, that this Figurative way of Speech is frequent in the Holy Writings. Some perhaps would scarcely believe that there are so many *Ironical* Passages in this Holy Book; they may think it is below the Gravity of the Sacred Stile to use Expressions of this kind: But herein they are mistaken, for the Holy Spirit in the Scriptures uses several different ways of dealing with Mankind, and sues himself to the various Dispositions, Genius's and Inclinations of Men: and therefore among other ways of Address and Application he disdains not This in particular, because it may be made serviceable to very good Ends, and be fitted to the Purposes of Religion. Even in the Holy Tongue * the same Word signifies to *Deride* and to *Argue* or *Ratiocinate*: Both these may go together when there is a fit occasion for them. A Man may use his Rational and Ridible Faculty at once.

Riden-

* ————— *Ridentem dicere verum*
Quid vetat?

A Man may laugh and speak Truth at the same time. This Urbanity may sometimes be very useful. Very excellent things may be suggested in a Scommatick way. For this Reason it is not unworthy of the Holy Ghost, it is not unbecoming the Gravity and Seriousness of the Holy Prophets, Apostles, and even Christ himself, to use this nipping sort of Raillery sometimes.

A *Synecdoche* is another common Figure in the Holy Writings, whereby the Whole is mentioned instead of a Part, and a Part instead of the Whole. Of the former, which is but rare, there are some Instances in *Glassius*, and such other Writers as treat of the Grammatical and Rhetorical Part of the Bible, which the Reader may consult if he please. Of the latter (which is most observable) there are various kinds, but it will be sufficient to mention these which follow. Sometimes the *Soul*, which is but one half of Man, is put for the whole Person: *All the Souls that came with Jacob into Egypt were threescore and ten*, Gen. 46. 26. *i. e.* so many Men and Women came with him: And there are abundant Examples of this sort, both in the Old and New Testament. Sometimes the other Moieity, the *Body*, is expressive of the Whole Man, as *Rom. 12. 1. Present your Bodies (i. e. your selves) a living Sacrifice.* And *Phil. 1. 20. Christ shall be magnified in my Body, i. e. by me, my whole Person.* There is another Text which I will name, *Luke 21. 34. wherein there is this kind of Synecdo-*

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* Horac. Scrm. 1,

che, though I find not that it is observed by those that comment on it: *Take heed to your selves lest at any time your Hearts be overcharg'd with Surfeiting and Drunkenness, and Cares of this Life*; your Hearts, i. e. your selves. It must be meant of the Whole Man, Body and Soul, because not only *Surfeiting and Drunkenness* (which belong to the Body only) but *Cares of this Life* (which belong to the Soul and Mind) are expressly mentioned. Again, *some Parts of the World* are mentioned for the whole, as in *Zech. 8. 7. I will save my People from the East Country, and from the West Country, i. e. from all Regions and Parts of the World.* And in other Places two or three of the Cardinal Points stand for them all. To the Synecdochical way of speaking belongs the using of an Even Number for an Odd one; or a Round Number for one that is lesser or greater. So * some think the Year of *Jubilee* is call'd the *Fiftieth Year*, *Lev. 25. 10.* meerly for the Evenness or Roundness of the Number, and not because full Fifty Years go to every Jubilee; for they hold that Forty nine Years make a Jubilee, or rather that the forty ninth Year is the Year of Jubilee. And truly it is adjusted to Reason and the Discovery we have concerning this Matter: for the *Jubilee* is the Great Sabbath of Years, and is composed of seven times seven Years, which is exactly forty nine, the last of which is the Jubilæan Year. Odd Numbers are not regarded sometimes. The Scripture is not so minute and critical as always to reckon precisely. It is not unusual to omit a small Number of Years in a greater and bigger one. In *Numb. 11. 24.* the *Elders* are said to be *seventy*, though two of the Number be wanting, as is plain from *ver. 26.* But others

* Cunzus, Jac. Capellus, Beroaldus, &c.

others solve this by saying, the full Number of them was *seventy two*. It is recorded that the Persian King reigned over a *hundred and twenty seven* Provinces, *Esth.* 1. 1. But in *Dan.* 6. 1. the odd Number *seven* is omitted, and so in other Places the imperfect Number is left out. Some Parts only of the Twelve Tribes are call'd the Twelve Tribes; *Acts* 26. 7. *Our twelve Tribes instantly serving God Day and Night.* And St. James directs his Epistle to the *Twelve Tribes*, whether there were that Number extant at that time or not. So a Round Number is used for an odd one in *John* 20. 24. where *Thomas* is call'd *one of the Twelve*: yet there were but Eleven Apostles then. But because the Number of the Apostles was twelve before *Judas's* Apostacy; and afterwards, when *Matthias* was chosen in his room, the Number was filled up, therefore they are call'd *the Twelve* by the Evangelist, but 'tis in a way of Synecdoche. *He was seen of the twelve*, saith St. Paul, *1 Cor.* 15. 5. Yet there were not above Eleven at that time. The true Account of this is, that the Greatest Part hath the Name of the Whole. And sometimes an Uneven Number is put for an Even one, as in *Mark* 16. 14. *He appeared to the eleven*, when there were but *ten* present, for *Thomas* was not there, and *Judas* had hang'd himself. Thus the strict Number of Persons and Things is not made use of sometimes in Scripture. It was generally believed by the Antients, that *the seventy Disciples* mentioned *Luke* 10. 1, 17. were in strict speaking *seventy two*: and indeed some Greek Copies have it * so, and the Vulgar Latin renders it † accordingly. So the famous Interpreters of the Old Testament were *se-*
venty

* Εβδομήκοντα δύο. † Septuaginta duo.

venly two, (six out of every Tribe) but are generally known by the Name of the *Septuagint*. This is not unfrequent in Profane Authors, and in our Common Discourse, as those that are call'd the *Seven Stars* are according to some Astronomers but *Six*. Yea, this was taken notice of long ago by * *Ovid*:

Quæ septem dici, sex tamen esse solent.

So we call them the *Cinque Ports*, which are more in Number; for the Privileg'd Ports in *England* were three at first; afterwards two were added, and then they were call'd the *Cinque Ports*. Yet after that, when two more were added, still they retain'd the former Name: nay, another was added, which made eight, and yet they are to this Day call'd the *Cinque Ports*. And several other Instances there are of this sort of *Synecdoche*, but my Design is not to enumerate all of them, nor of any Others that belong to the rest of the Figures, but only to give you some few Examples of them, that you may thence know how to discern the rest, and by all together understand the Nature of the Scripture-Stile.

But of all the *Figurative* ways of speaking in Scripture, there is none so common as the *Metaphorical* one, which is when the Words are translated from their proper and genuine Signification to another. Thus you read of *trusting in the Shadow* (*i. e.* the Protection) of *Egypt*, *Isa.* 30. 3. Thus the Psalmist complains that *the Plowmen plow'd upon his Back, and made long their Furrows*, *Psal.* 129. 3. *i. e.* they exceedingly troubled, vex'd and plagued him.

* In *Faith*.

him. So the Jews are call'd *the threshing, and the Corn of the Floor*, Isa. 21. 10. i. e. a People that had been extremely harassed and persecuted by their Enemies. And that is another Metaphorical Description of Affliction; *Psal. 42. 7. All thy Waves and thy Billows have gone over me.* And a great Multitude of such like Expressions there are every where in the Old Testament. Sometimes there is a double Metaphor, as in *Psal. 97. 11. Light is sown for the Righteous.* The Joy, the Comfort which is promised to Good Men, is here in a borrowed Stile called *Light*; and not only so, but *Seed*, precious Seed which is covered for a time, (hid under Ground) but shall in due Season sprout forth: and *they that sow in Tears shall reap in Joy*; which is still a farther Instance of this kind of speaking. Sometimes there is a Continued Metaphor, as in *Hof. 10. 12, &c. Sow to your selves in Righteousness, reap in Mercy; break up your Fallow-ground: for it is time to seek the Lord, till he come and rain Righteousness upon you. Ye have plowed Wickedness, ye have reaped Iniquity, ye have eaten the Fruit of Lies.* Here is a Heap of Metaphors taken from the Field and Husbandry. Throughout the whole 23d Psalm, the Metaphor of a *Shepherd* is carried on with relation to all the Particulars of his *Pastoral Charge*, as I may have occasion to shew at another time.

But at present I will choose to insist upon that excellent Description of *Old Age* which *Solomon* gives in the 12th Chapter of *Ecclesiastes*, and which is made up all along of an admirable *Chain of Metaphors*. This is that Time of a Man's Life which is rightly called his * *Evil Days*, ver. 1. and that both in regard of his Mind and of his Body. The Wife
Man

* *Ætas mala.* Plaut.

Man here begins with the former, deciphering that black and dismal State of Mankind by such Expressions as these, *The Sun, and the Light, and the Moon, and the Stars are darkned*, ver. 2. That Noble and Illustrious Part of Man, the Soul, is the Glorious *Sun* and *Light* of this Little World: and the *Moon* and *Stars* fitly denote the several bright and shining Faculties of it, which are all *darkned* and clouded by Age. The *Intellectual Part* is miserably obscured and impaired by the Clouds of Ignorance, Prejudice, and Mistake, which insensibly increase upon those who are much declined in Years, especially if they had not laid in a considerable Stock of useful Notions before. The *Memory* becomes weak and faithless, so that they let slip many Notices and Observations which they were once Masters of, and they cannot Retain those which are now daily administered to them. The Imagination, another Radiant Power of the Soul, is corrupted: they are grown Conceited and Fantastick; they are (as the Philosopher observes of them) * *suspicious of Evil, and backward to believe any Good*. They nourish wrong Apprehensions, and have a false View of things. Notwithstanding this they are not desirous to correct their Errors and Misprisions, and to be better taught:

† *Vel quia nil rectum nisi quod placuit sibi ducunt,
Vel quid turpe putant parere minoribus, & quæ
Imberbes didicere, senes perdenda fateri.*

Thence it was a kind of Proverb with *Diogenes*,
|| To cure a Dead Man and instruct an Old one, are
the

* *Κακότροι καὶ ἄνιστοι*. Aristot. Eth. † Horat. de Art. Poet.
|| *Νεκρὸν ἰατρῆειν καὶ γέροντα νοσίσσειν ταυτὸν ἐστίν*. Diog. Laert. l. 6.

the same. The Reason is, because their *Wills* (another Mental Endowment) are strangely perverted and distorted. Where the Divine Grace hath not the Predominancy, they generally are wayward and testy, froward and stubborn; they are displeased at what others (especially their Inferiours in Years) say or do, and nothing scarcely is acceptable but what they speak and act themselves, because they will it, and because they affect it; which reminds me of the gross *Darkness* which hath invaded another Faculty, viz. that of their *Affections*: This is wholly spent in Self-Love, in an Eager Desire of lengthning out their Days, and in an Extravagant Doting on the things of this Life. They must soon die and leave the World, (which they detest so much as to hear of) and yet they do as 'twere hug it the more. They are shortly to bid adieu to it, and therefore they more earnestly desire and pursue it, as we are most busy in saluting and imbracing those Friends that we must part with presently. Though there is a Period to all their other Labours, yet * they are not wearied with getting Gain. In nothing else but this do they seem to possess their Youthful Vigour again. In brief, all their former Passions are swallowed up in Avarice and Concernedness for the Profits and Advantages of this present World. The longer they are here, the more enamour'd they are with it; for as † One hath observed, The more a Man drinks of the World, the more it Intoxicates. Thus the *Sun, and Moon, and Stars* are darkned: Thus the *Minds* of Aged Persons are vitiated and corrupted: These are the particular Defects and Failings which they are generally liable to, (and therefore

* Μεγέθυνοι τες καὶ οὐ κοπιῶσι. Plat. † Lord Bacon's Essays.

fore are made part of their *Character* here) I mean when a Divine Principle and a Lively Sense of Vertue and Holiness do not actuate them, when Religion hath not had its due Operation on their Hearts, and their Lives are not reformed by the Influence of the Holy Spirit. For otherwise it is certain that Years administer to Vertue, and are an excellent Help to Religion. The bravest and noblest Actions that have been atchieved, have been from the Counsels and Directions of Men of Long Experience in the World; for now their Minds and Judgments are arrived to the utmost Maturity: like *Old Wine*, they are the more Generous and Refined. *This Stage of Life* (of all others) is most calculated for the serious Practice of Goodness and Piety, and the very Height and Perfection of all Vertues, when it is season'd with Divine Grace, and assisted by the supernatural Aids of the Holy Ghost. But the Wise Man here speaks of it under another Capacity, and as this part of a Man's Life is generally and most commonly incident both to natural and moral Defects of the Soul. This is the *darkning* of this glorious *Sun*: these are the unhappy *Clouds* that obscure its Light. Yea, (as it follows) *the Clouds return after the Rain*; for this belongs to what was said before, and so refers to the *Soul*, which so frequently in the Close of Mens Days is overwhelm'd with Ignorance, Dotage, Forgetfulness, Conceitedness, Wilfulness, Self-Love, and other Distempers which cast a Scum over this Sun, and hinder it from shining forth. And accordingly as the Unhealthful and Sickly Years of their Lives come faster upon them, these *Clouds* increase, and grow thicker and darker, and so the Sun is overspread at last. One Mental Evil succeeds another in this Concluding Stage of
Mens

Mens Pilgrimage : There is a Circle of these Maladies ; as Clouds produce Rain, and Rain falling on the Earth begets new Vapours, and from these proceed Clouds again : So it is here, there is a continued Succession of Evils ; thus *the Clouds return after the Rain*. Hitherto you have the Character of *Old Age*, as it hath respect to the *Soul* of Man, for so I understand it, though Expositors are pleased to go another way. But I would ask this, Is it not most unlikely that *Solomon* undertaking here the Description of *Old Age*, would give so lame and imperfect an Account of it, as to relate some Inconveniences and Defects which have reference to the Body, and wholly to pass by in silence those that appertain to the Other and more Considerable Part of Man ? Again, I would ask whether there could be any Words in the World that are fitter and apter to express the Defects of the Mind, the Nobler and Brighter Moiety of Man, than these which the Wise Man here useth ? Wherefore I doubt not but this first Part of his Character is to be understood as I have represented it to you. And indeed since my finishing this Part of my Discourse, I have found that some others, as * *Glassius*, and an † Ingenious Person of our own Nation, interpret *Solomon's* Words after this manner.

From the *Soul* he passes to the *Body* and *Outward Man* : and that it may appear the better that this is a distinct Partition from what went before, he inserts these Words, [*in the Day when*] *ver.* 3. and doth not repeat them any more afterwards ; which shews he begins a New Head, and that these Words are only to mark out here to us this Division which I am speaking of: which Commentators not attending

* Rhetor. 1. 20. † Dr. Smith his *P. of Old Age*.

tending to, have mistaken the Sense of the second Verse, (which I have been explaining) and have applied it to the Evils of the Body: Whereas Those are now in the next Place enter'd upon, and I will endeavour to give you a particular Account of them. First, he tells us, that *the Keepers of the House tremble*, ver. 3. where the Body is compared to a *House*; and what more fitly can be said to be the *Keepers* of it than (as *Castalis* and *Grotius* expound it) the active *Hands* and *Arms*, which were made on purpose to guard and defend the Body, and therefore on all Occasions officiously bestir themselves, and are lifted up or stretch'd forth to preserve it from harm, to keep and secure it from Danger? But even these Nimble *Guards*, these Stout and Brawny *Keepers*, shake at the Arrival of *Old Age*, and with a Paralytick Trembling confess their Inability to discharge their Office, to keep and defend the *House* (the *Tabernacle of the Body*) from Assaults and Injuries. Yea, these once-Trusty Guardians, who were wont to make use of Staves and other Weapons for their Defence, now use the former only for a Support. With this they knock at the Earth at every Step, as if they call'd on their Graves: Or, as the Spanish Proverb hath it, The Old Man's Staff is the Rapper at Death's Door. And the *strong Man*, *i. e.* according to *Vatablus* and *Grotius*, the *Legs* and *Thighs*, which are placed in another Extremity of the House, to be its Security, and which are particularly taken notice of for their *Strength*, Psal. 147. 10. and which *Strong Men* so much glory in, these bow themselves, *i. e.* become weak and feeble with Age; yea, they really bend and give way, they are so far from being able to support the Body they belong to, that they can hardly sustain themselves. These bow, these

these stoop towards the Place where they are shortly to take their Rest. Next, it is said, that *the Grinders cease, because they are few*; i. e. the Teeth with which we grind and chew our Meat fail us at last, and are not able to do their Office, because not only the Strength but the Number of them is diminish'd: yea, sometimes the Toothless Jaws (as well as other Defects) shew that Aged Persons are a second time Children. It follows, *those that look out of the Windows are darkned*: for he had compared the Body to a House, and so here he continues that Metaphor, as well as goes on with several others. The Windows of this House are the Holes or Sockets wherein the Eyes are placed, (the two Bonny Cavities where these precious Lights are safely enclosed, to defend them from Hurt) which are said to look out of these Casements, i. e. there (as Drusus and Grotius well interpret it) they were appointed by Heaven to exert their *Visive* Faculty for the Use of Mankind. But Length of Years impairs or hinders their looking out: the Visual Nerves and the Spirits which are derived to them decay; the Humours dry up, the Coats wear out, the Muscles flag, and so 'tis no wonder that the Sight is dim and imperfect, and that there is a necessity of using some Artificial Helps to amend it. Whence Gejerus and some others have fancied, that *those that look out of the Windows* are such as are forced to use Spectacles: but this Gloss, I think, will hardly be admitted till it be proved that there was such an Invention in Solomon's Days.

The House of our Body hath a Door, and therefore 'tis said in the next Place, *the Doors are shut in the Streets*, ver. 4. And what can more properly be called the Door of this House than the Mouth, the Throat, the Wind-pipe, the Lungs, the Stomach,

all those Vessels that are to let in Air or Food? These Doors are *in the Street*, that Great Passage and Hollowness in the Body which is like a Street or High-way, and by which there are other Passages into several Parts of the Body. These *Doors are shut*, when by reason of Age they are obstructed, when they are clogg'd with excessive Colds and Catarrhs, when the Jaws and Throat are inflamed, when the Muscles of them are swell'd, whereby the Ways of Breathing and Swallowing are stopp'd; when the Lungs are impeded by Asthma's, and fail in their reciprocal Motion of Inspiration and Respiration; when the Chyle is not duly separated, and the Ferment of the Stomach is vitiated; and other the like Distempers, which the Aged are subject to, invade those Parts. But more especially and signally the *Mouth* is the *Door* of this House, which I confirm from what follows, *when the Sound of the Grinding is low*; that is, this Door is shut, or but seldom opened, when their great Weakness and Indisposition will not suffer them to take any Food, or but an inconsiderable Portion of it, then *the Sound of the Grinding is low*. And it is *low*, not only because of this Weakness of the Body, but because (as was said before) *the Grinders are few*, they have not a sufficient Number of Teeth for Mastication. Hence 'tis that there is none or little *Grist* brought to the Mill. I know some have thought, that *the Doors being shut in the Street*, signifies here, that those Persons who are of Great Age desire to keep up, and come not into Company, as before. The thing it self, I grant, is true; the Indispositions which some Aged Persons labour under, cause them to shut up their Doors, especially when the Winter approacheth, and they appear not till a very

very Warm Sun invites them to shew themselves. Then they get to the next Sunny Bank, and there lie basking in the comfortable Rays which they feel. But if we consider that the Royal Preacher had been comparing the Body of Man to a *House*, assigning its *Keepers*, yea its *Grinders*, (the most necessary Office of old in a Family) its *Windows*, its *Doors*, we must needs look upon this Interpretation as foreign and impertinent, and especially when we take notice of the Design of this Inspired Writer, in this Chapter, which is to insist upon those Evils and Maladies which belong to such and such particular Parts of the Body, as will appear in the Sequel. Yea, by looking into the very next Words we shall find that this Clause, which I have been now speaking of, is to be understood in this Sense, and no other; for it is to be joined with those Words, (because of its Affinity with them) *he shall rise up at the Voice of the Bird*: which I interpret thus; his Appetite declining, and his Stomach nauseating Food, especially all coarse Fare, all common and vulgar Sustenance, he will yet be desirous of Dainties, some * small *Bird* or Fowl; for *Tsippor*, which is the Word here used, signifies the *lesser* sort of Birds (and particularly a Sparrow) and also such as are † *pleasant* and *delicious*. This (if any thing) is most acceptable to his squeamish Stomach, *he rises up at the Voice of the Bird*, that is, at the very *naming* of it; for the Hebrew Word *Kol* (whence the Greek *καλεῖν*, and our English *Call*) denotes so much in this Place. Or at the very Word, the very *Sound* of that word *Tsippor*, the *small delicate Bird*, he rises up very cheerfully to

L 2

eat

* *Tsippor* aviculam significat, nec de majoribus avibus dicitur. Mercer. † *Tsippor*, avis quæ in deliciis est. Bochart. Hieroz: Par. 2. c. 22.

eat it, or some part of it at least. The Hebrew Verb *Kum*, which is used here, most frequently signifies to *stand up*, or *lift up one's self*. This the sickly Old Man is observed to do when some Delicious Fare is set before him, when some choice Dish, some delightful and savory Morsel is presented to him. This is part of the genuine Description which may be given of the Aged Persons Condition, and therefore 'tis no wonder that *Solomon* brings it in here. A little Food serves him, but he longs for that which is Uncommon, and may please his Taste, and provoke his Appetite at the same time: He rises up with Complacency at the very mentioning of some dainty Bird, some beloved Bit. This is my Conjecture on the Place, and I do not (I must needs say) see any Ground why it should be rejected. for I have shewed you that it is to the purpose which *Solomon* is speaking of; it exactly agrees with the preceding Words, but the Vulgar Exposition doth not so.

To proceed, our Royal Author having represented the Defects of Old Age, as to the Weakness of the chief *Limbs* and *Joints*, as to the Paucity of *Teeth*, Dimness of *Eyes*, and the Evils incident to those Parts which are call'd the *Doors*, he lets us know next, that this Portion of a Man's Life is as defective, in respect of Other Useful Organs of the Body, and particularly that of the *Ear*: *all the Daughters of Musick are brought low*: that is, the *Ears*, which were made for Hearing, and particularly delighting themselves in excellent Notes of Musick, whether Vocal or Instrumental, are now indisposed, and rendred incapable of that Pleasure which before they were so charm'd with: Now these *Daughters of a Song are grown deaf*, as the Vulgar Latin renders it. As Old *Barzillai's*

zillas's Complaint was not only, * *Can I taste what I eat or drink?* (which refers to the former Particular we just now spoke of) but likewise, *Can I bear any more the Voice of singing Men and singing Women?* Even these Daughters of Musick are brought low, their most exquisite and ravishing Harmony is no longer delightful, they are vile and of no account: for the Youthful and Mercurial Spirit is exhausted: in this Foggy Cloudy Weather of Expiring Age the Quicksilver subsides in these Old Weather-Glasses, and will never ascend again. I might add also, that the *Vessels and Organs* that properly belong to the forming of the *Voice*, those *Daughters of Singing*, are by Age disabled and weakened. Next, it is said, *ver. 5. They are afraid of that which is high*: The plain meaning whereof is this, that Aged Persons dare not ascend any high or steep Place; their Breath is short, and therefore they avoid climbing. And when they tread on low Ground, and walk in a smooth Path, yet even then *Fears are in the way*, i. e. they are afraid of stumbling and falling, because their Feet are infirm, and their Steps unsteady, which they therefore endeavour to fix with a Staff. To which the Hebrew Masters allude when they say, *Two are better than three*: that is, the Feet of Young Men are better to walk than those of the Old, though they are usually three. Another Member of this Description is, that *the Almond-tree flourisheth*, i. e. (as it is expounded by † *Grotius*, and by the Generality of Commentators) Gray Hairs, which are the usual Badg of Decrepid Years, appear; the Head now grows white and hoary, like the Blof-

L 3

soms

* 1 Sam. 19. 35. † *Albescit caput sicut flores amygdali.*
In loc.

soms and Flowers of the Almond-tree, whose Fruit was call'd *χάεννον*, the *Head*, saith *Athenæus*, as if it had relation to this Part. Again, 'tis added, *the Grasshopper is a Burden*, i. e. the least, the lightest thing (say Expositors generally) seems to be heavy and burdensom to the Aged, because of their Faintness and Weakness: Or rather, I should interpret it thus, (with reference to what was said before, and is so noted and common an Indication of Declining Years) the *Grasshopper*, as little as it is, lies heavy on their Stomachs; for you will find in *Lew. 11. 22.* that the *Grasshopper* is reckoned among the *Clean Meats*, and was commonly eaten in those Days. And this here mentioned is of that very Species, as the using of the same Hebrew Word both here and there lets us know. Even this light kind of Food was a Burden to their weak Stomachs. What can be more obvious and plain than this Exposition of the Words? especially when it follows, *Desire fails*; as all other Inclinations that were vigorous in them in their juvenile Years do now flag, so *this towards Food* more signally doth so. And that this was thought to be the meaning of this Clause of the Words, is apparent from the * Version of the LXX and the † Vulgar Latin, both which express *Desire* by *Cappars*, a known Fruit, whereby an Appetite is excited. So that this way of speaking is metaphorically used to denote the Defect of Appetite in Aged Men, whose Stomachs are depraved. And this is no wonder, because *they go to their long Home, and the Mourners go about the Streets*; they are hastning to the Grave, and shall in a short time be carried out by the Mourners to their Funerals.

But

* 'H *χάεννον*. † *Capparis*.

But yet before this Day arrives, they have farther Evils to undergo; For, saith the Wise Man, when this great Number of Years is gone over their Heads, they will find that *the silver Cord is not lengthned*; for so the Hebrew hath it; the word *Rachak* (which is here used) signifying *elongari, longè esse*: and then in the General this may be the Sense of this Clause, *the Thread of Life* (that is the Precious Cord or String of Silver) begins now to be cut short; they must not expect to stay many Days in the Land of the Living. But we may rather follow the Interpretation of * those who apply this Passage to some particular Part of the Body, (as the other Members of this Verse seem also to be restrained) and so *the silver Cord is loosed*, (as we translate it) *i. e.* the *Spinal Marrow*, which is white like *Silver*, and lengthned out like a Cord or Rope, decays and grows loose: and then the *Nerves*, which are derived from it, and consequently the whole Body, feel the ill Effect of it in Palsies and Convulsions, and an universal Weakness. Thus it is when the Body is worn out with Age; when these *evil Days* come, all things portend Ruine and a final Period. The *House*, as the Body is said to be, is falling; and all things belonging to it are hastning to their Destruction. Not only the *silver Cord is loosed*, but *the golden Bowl is broken*; by which some think is here meant the *Cranium*, or Pan, in which that choice *Viscus* of the Brain is contained and secured; or perhaps the Semicircular Membrane which is next to this Bowl, and is it self lined with a thinner Membranous Substance, is here designed. *Vatablus* and *Drusius*, and others, interpret the Words thus, and tell us, that these

L 4

Me-

* Munster, Vatablus, Drusius, Grotius.

Meninges are said to be of *Gold*, not only by reason of their Colour, but because of their great Worth and Value, in that they are a Guard and Covering to the noblest Part of Man's Body: Or the Brain it self may be here meant, the Seat and Throne of the Rational Soul, and the Origine of all the Nerves. And then observe here, that the *Golden Bowl* and the *Silver Cord* are fitly joined together by this Divine Writer, for the latter is but an Appendix of the former; the *Marrow* of the Back-Bone is but the *Cerebrum* extended, the Brain lengthned out; or it is according to *Solomon's Stile* here a *Rope*, a *Cord* of Brains. But the Head and Beginning of that *Medulla* is that which is properly called the *Brain*, the Great and Only Laboratory of the Animal Spirits, from whence they are diffused by the Nerves into the several Members of the Body, in order to all the Functions and Operations of Life. This *gullath bazahab*, this *Golden Bowl*, this *Lordly Dish*, this roundish Mass of choice Matter is at last *broken*: which is as much as to say, this upper and nobler Part of the Body shares in the Ruines which Old Age makes: whence it is that the Clogging of the Passages of the animal Spirits with indigested Humours, the Obstructions or Relaxations of the Nerves, Pains in the Head, Melancholy, Giddiness, Drowsiness, yea Lethargies and Apoplexies (which impair or wholly destroy both Sense and Motion) are the dangerous Maladies of this Part of the Body, and are more especially the mischievous Companions of the Aged.

And as the Animal, so the Vital Parts feel the Decays which a Long and Sickly Life brings with it, which the Wise Man means when he adjoins, *the Pitcher is broken at the Fountain*. The Pitchers
(for

(for the Plural is intended when the Singular is mentioned, as I have shewed to be frequent in Scripture-Style) are the *Veins* and *Arteries*, whose Office it is to carry and recarry Blood to and from the Heart, (that is the *Fountain*) as *Pitchers* or *Buckets* are first let down into the Well, and then convey Water thence. Through these Vessels the Blood continually passes, and that swiftly, beginning its Course from the right Cavity of the Heart, through the *Arterious Vein*, the Branches of which are dispersed through the whole Lungs, and joined to the Branches of the *Veiny Artery*, by which it passes from the Lungs into the left side of the Heart, and thence it flows into the *Great Artery*; the Branches of which being spread through all the Body, are united to those of the *Hollow Vein*, which carry the same Blood again into the right Ventricle of the Heart. But these Vessels by length of time become disordered and shattered, these *Pitchers* are broken at the *Fountain*; the Heart it self, as well as they, decaying and declining in its Office; whence proceed Faintings, Swoonings, Tremblings, Palpitations, and other Distempers, which are the Product of an undue Sanguification.

Lastly; 'tis said, *the Wheel is broken at the Cistern*, which an * Ingenious Person understands of the *Circulation of the Blood*, (for that he thinks is intimated by the *Wheel*) and its being obstructed by the Indispositions of Old Age. But it is much to be questioned, whether *Solomon*, as *Wise* a Man as he was, *knew* any thing of the Circular Motion of the Blood throughout the whole Body. I have no stronger a Belief of his Knowledge in this kind, than that his Ships went to the *East* or *West-Indies*,
though

* J. Smith, M. D.

though I find both of these asserted by different Writers. However, I conceive this Circulation is not meant in this place ; for the word *Bor*, *Puteus*, or *Cisterna*, baffles this Notion, for this Author makes the *Cistern* here to be the Left Ventricle of the Heart ; whereas the Heart, with both its Ventricles, is rather a *Fountain* than a *Cistern* : yea, he had himself applied this Word to the *Heart*, in his Exposition of the former Clause of the Verse ; and there was Reason for it, because the Waters do spring and flow in a *Fountain*, but they lie dead and moveless in a *Cistern* or Pit under Ground, which is the same thing. Wherefore I conclude that this *Cistern* must be something of another Nature ; and what is that but the *Urinary Vessels*, especially the *Bladder* ? This, without any fanciful straining, must be acknowledged to be the *Cistern* of the Body, it being a Vessel situated beneath, on purpose to receive and keep the Water that comes from the Ureters. And here, as in those Receptacles in the Ground, the Water gathers a Sediment, and grows muddy ; the evil Effects of which are too well known to Mankind. This *Vesica* then, which is made to gather and hold the Urine, is properly *Bor* (the word in this Place) *Puteus*, *Cisterna*. And the *Wheel* is said to be broken at this Cistern, when those Vessels and Organs which were appointed for the Percolation of the Blood, that is, the separating the serous Humour from it, and for the transmitting it through the Emulgent Arteries into the Ureters, and thence carrying it to the proper Vessel (the *Cistern*) which is made to receive it ; when (I say) these are put out of order, and disturb'd, then they cease to perform their proper Administrations in the Body ; whereupon immediately are produced, in these dark and narrow

Passages,

Passages the Painful Stone and Gravel in the Kidnies and Bladder, all other Nephritick Distempers, Ulcers, Inflammations, the Strangury, and sometimes a total Suppression of the Urine, together with the undue Evacuations of it. Thus *the Wheel is broken*; thus the whole Periodical Series of Operation in those Parts is spoiled and destroyed. And perhaps this particular Phrase is here used by *Solomon*, because the great Work at Wells and Cisterns (or Pits for retaining of Water for a time) was performed by *Wheels*. So much for this excellent Delineation of *Old Age*, which is it self a Disease, a constant and inseparable Malady, and is attended with many more. And as the Bodies of the Aged are the Scene of Weakness and Infirmities, of Pains and Languishments; so their Souls are usually decayed and distemper'd. Of both these *Solomon* gives us a particular Account, (and perhaps too much from his own Experience, for 'tis probable that the Miscarriages of his Youth had enfeebled Nature; and we read, that towards the Close of his Days, he degenerated from his former Piety;) and so we have here a Full and Compleat Description of the *Defects*, which too often accompany this Last Declension of Life, which are set forth by Variety of *Metaphors*, which I have made it my Business to explain to you.

CHAP. V.

The Writers of the New Testament are delighted with the Use of Metaphors. Here is sometimes a Complication of them. Ephes. 6. 13, &c. Take unto you the whole Armour of God, &c. largely insisted upon. The Olympick Games and Prizes administer religious Metaphors. The Antiquity, Names, Kinds, the Laws and Observances of these Grecian Combates, (before, in, and after them) the Judges, the Rewards, and all other things appertaining to these Athletick Enterprizes, distinctly consider'd; 'tis shew'd how they are all applied to Christianity in the Apostolick Writings. Hence is inferr'd the Gracefulness of the Sacred Stile: Notwithstanding which some have vilified it, whose Character is represented. Proverbial Sayings used by other Writers, especially the Jews, are frequently mentioned by our Saviour in the New Testament. To which is reduced his bidding the Apostles shake off the Dust of their Feet, Mar. 10. 14. concerning which the Author adds his particular Sentiment.

IF we pass to the New Testament, we shall there find that those Inspired Penmen are much delighted with the use of Metaphors. We have a Complication of them in John 15. 1, &c. *I am the true Vine, and my Father is the Husbandman, &c.* In 1 Tim. 6. 9, 10. the extreme Dangers which Men are expos'd to by the Sin of Covetousness, are expressed by a Snare, by drowning, by piercing through, as with Thorns and Briars. In those Words, Eph. 5. 14. *Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the Dead, and Christ shall give thee Light,* there are like-

likewise three *Metaphors* together, for Sin is call'd a Sleep, Death, Darknes: yea, if we be exact, we shall find three more; for if Sin be a *Sleep*, then Grace or Conversion is *Awakening* out of that *Sleep*, (and this is expressly mention'd in the Place) if the one be *Darknes* and *Death*, the other is *Light* and *Life*, and *Rising again*. But as before I chose out a remarkable Place of the *Old Testament*, to enlarge upon under this Head, so I will now do the like in the *New*, and insist upon that choice Passage in Eph. 6. 13, to ver. 18. *Take unto you the whole Armour of God, &c.* which under that one Great and General *Metaphor* of *Armour* comprehends several other particular ones. Christians are represented as *Souldiers* in other Places by this Apostle; and here he lets us know what is their *Armour*, what *Weapons* they must fight with: which are thus *metaphorically* expressed.

1. They must be careful to put on the *Girdle of Truth*, which some Expositors have thought is meant in opposition to *Error* and Heretical Perswasions: *To be girt about with Truth*, is the same, they think, with *holding fast the Form of sound Words*, or the embracing of the pure Doctrine of the Gospel. But this Exposition is not to be admitted, because it confounds this piece of Armour with another that is afterwards mentioned; it makes the *Girdle* and the *Sword* (which is the *Word* or Doctrine of God) the same. Therefore it is more reasonable to assert, that *Truth* here is synonymous with Faithfulness or Sincerity, and that it stands in opposition to Hypocrisy. Thus *Sincerity* and *Truth* are equivalent Terms, 1 Cor. 5. 8. and in several other Places. Wherefore when the *Christian Souldier* is commanded to have his *Loins girt about with Truth*; the plain Import of it is, that he ought to be

be established with Sincerity and Integrity of Conscience. Hypocrisy enervates and dissolves the Mind, renders it loose and unsettled; but Uprightness and Faithfulness keep it close and entire, make it firm and steady; yea, strengthen and confirm all the other Graces, as the *Girdle of War* was used to fasten their Clothes together, and to keep their Loins firm. It is not unlikely that this Place refers particularly to *Isa. 11. 5. Faithfulness shall be the Girdle of his Reins.* This Truth also implies Fortitude, Resolution and Constancy, that they will never revolt from the Captain of their Salvation, but fight under his Banner even unto Death; for he that is Sincere and Faithful will do so. This is the first Martial Accoutrement of the Christian Souldier, and 'tis of indispensable Use and Necessity in the Holy Warfare: as among the antient Warriors there was no fighting without the *Military Girdle* or Belt. Whence *Cinctus*, simply, without any Addition, is as much as * *Miles*. And we read that it was a † Punishment inflicted on delinquent Souldiers to expose them without their *Girdles*, to make them stand *Ungirt* in some publick Place. This piece of Warlike Furniture, *ζώνη*, was so considerable of old, that it was a word (as || *Pausanias* testifies) to signify all sorts of Weapons for War. It is often mentioned by *Homer* Synecdochically for the Whole Military Armour; and *ζώνηδαι* is as much as to be compleatly Armed. The *Girdle of Truth*, which this Great Commander here enjoins us, is as requisite in the Christian Warfare: there is no Fighting without it, because this fastens all the other Parts of our Spiritual Armour:

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* Marcell. de Test. † Alexand. ab Alex. l. 1. c. 20. Sueton. in Octavio. || In *Ætotic*.

a Sincere and Upright Heart is of universal Influence in the Life of a Christian.

2. The next Accoutrement is the *Breast-plate of Righteousness*, i. e. a Holy and Pious Conversation, Impartial and Universal Obedience to the Will of God. This guards the Breast against all Assaults, as we see in the Example of our Apostle, 2 Cor. 1. 12. for he had this as well as the foregoing piece of Armour on when he said, *Our rejoicing is this, the Testimony of our Conscience, that in Simplicity and godly Sincerity, not with fleshly Wisdom, but by the Grace of God, we have had our Conversation in the World.* And again, *I have fought a good Fight, I have finished my Course, I have kept the Faith,* 2 Tim. 4.7. And in other Places he defends himself against the malicious Cavils of others, by appealing to his own Innocency, his Sanctity and Exemplary Life. This perhaps may have particular reference to Isa. 59. 17. *He put on Righteousness as a Breast-plate.* But this *Breast-plate of Righteousness* must be covered with another, viz. that of our Blessed Redeemer, which is Compleat and Perfect, and will amply protect and secure us from all Dangers. The Inherent Righteousness of the best of Men is exceedingly defective, and cannot shelter them from the Divine Wrath; this Breast-plate is too narrow, too thin, too little, too mean to cover us; but that of the Meritorious Righteousness of Christ Jesus is great and large enough, and is able to hide all our Defects, and perfectly to defend us from the Anger of our offended God. This Evangelical Breast-plate must be put on by Faith, of which afterwards.

3. *The Shoe of the Preparation of the Gospel of Peace* is an Allusion to that Military Provision which the Infantry, among the antient Warriors, made for
their

their *Feet*, to defend them from what was offensive in their way. For the Armies heretofore (as appears both from Greek and Roman Authors) were wont to fix short Stakes, or cast Gall-traps in the way before their Enemies, to wound their Feet, and to cause them to fall. Wherefore it was usual to have Harness for their Legs and Feet: they wore a particular sort of *Shoe* or *Boot* to secure them from being hurt and gall'd. So the Christian Souldier ought to have his Feet shod, and that with the Preparation of the Gospel, i. e. he must be fitted and prepared by the preaching of the Gospel for all Hardships and Distresses. I do not much like St. *Augustin's* way of proving this Interpretation, viz. by telling us, that by the *Shoe* the Preaching of the Gospel was meant when the Psalmist said, *Over Edom will I cast out my * Shoe*, Psal. 60. 8. which he labours to confirm from *Isa.* 52. 7. *How beautiful are the Feet of him that bringeth good Tidings?* And this Pious Writer is so fanciful as to say, that when our Saviour bid the Disciples be shod with Sandals, *Mark* 6. 9. he meant the open and free Preaching of the Gospel. But waving this weak sort of Proof, yet I am satisfied, that in this place, the Christians *Military Shoe* is the Gospel, and the Preaching of it: he is then shod with the Preparation of it, when he is enabled to make his way through all Hindrances and Difficulties whatsoever, by virtue of those Excellent Principles which the Gospel hath discovered to him, by virtue of those Extraordinary Helps which this affords him. And 'tis fitly added, *the Gospel of Peace*, because the Consideration of that Peace and Reconciliation which the

* Cujus rei calceamentum nisi Evangelii? De Conf. Evang. l. 2. c. 30.

the Gospel tenders through the Blood of Christ, mightily influences upon his Spirit, and gives Courage and Valour amidst all the Hardships he meets with in his Christian Warfare.

4. *The Shield of Faith* is another necessary part of *Spiritual Armour*. And it is signally added, that we must take this *above all*, which it is probable is said with allusion to what was the sense of the Old Warriors, viz. That their *Shield* was their *Principal Armour*. This they prized above all the rest, and were most careful in keeping it : of which we have several Instances in Antient History : and there was a Remarkable Punishment inflicted on those (saith * *Plutarch*) who lost their *Shields* in Battel. Much more Valuable is this Evangelick Armour, our *Faith*, a Firm Assent to all Revealed Truths, a Steady Belief of the Promises of Eternal Life, through the blessed Undertakings of our Lord, a Hearty Compliance with the Gracious Terms of the Gospel, which enjoins Universal Obedience to the Laws of Christ, a Well-grounded Trust and Affiance in the Mercy and Goodness of God, a firm and unshaken Dependence on the Merits of our Redeemer and Saviour. This is that Hardned Shield wherewith we keep off and beat back all the furious Insults of the Evil Spirit, that Implacable Enemy whom we are to encounter with in our Spiritual Warfare. His Temptations are here call'd *Darts*, with allusion still to the antient way of fighting, which was with Darts and Arrows. And they are call'd *fiery Darts*, with reference perhaps to the Heat which those Weapons acquired by their swift flying : or they may be said to be *fiery*, because they are sent in an *Hostile* manner,

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* In Pelopid:

the word being as 'twere appropriated to *Fighting*, as among the Greeks *δαις* is both *fax* or *tæda*, and *pugna*; and *δαις* is both *ardens* and *pugnax*: and among the Latins *ardere* is particularly applied to *War* and *Battel*: as in *Virgil*, *Ardet in arma magis*.

— *Instant ardentēs Tyrū*. — And besides, these Darts, these Suggestions, when they are very fierce and raging, do as 'twere *inflame* the Heart and Conscience, they set the distracted Soul on fire. But by *Faith* the Christian Soldier is able to *quench* them, as the Apostle excellently phraseth it; by a vigorous exerting of this Grace he defeats the malicious Attempts of Satan, he stifles all his hellish Darts; alluding to the known use of the *Shield*, which was to repel the *Arrows* shot by the Enemy. And these were sometimes *Poisoned*, and thereby became *hot* and *inflaming*, to which some have thought the Apostle here might have glanced when he speaks of *fiery Darts*. This is certain that a *Shield* is for Defence, and such is our *Faith*, whereby we defend our selves from the inflamed Darts of the Wicked, which he flings at us with the utmost Indignation and Fury. We *quench*, we extinguish, we utterly frustrate all his Assaults by a firm Trust and Reliance on our Blessed Jesus, who baffled him himself, and will effectually teach us by the guidance of his Spirit to do the like. * *This is our Victory that overcometh the Devil* (as well as the *World*) *even our Faith*.

5. We are to take the *Helmet of Salvation*, i. e. (as St. Paul himself explains it) † *the Hope of Salvation*, the certain Expectation of the Everlasting Reward in another World, which is brought to light by the Gospel of Christ Jesus. The Christian Souldier

* 1 John 5. 4. † 1 Thess. 5. 8.

Souldier is unspeakably animated by this : he hath the Triumph in his Eye : this makes him fight with undaunted Valour and Resolution. He is safe whilst he is cover'd with this *Helmet* : nothing can hurt him whilst he is inspired with this Victorious Hope. Having this Armour of Defence, he defies his insulting Adversaries, he fears not their Blows, he shrinks not at the Batteries of his fiercest Enemies. This also seems to be borrow'd from *Isai. 59. 17. He put on an Helmet of Salvation on his Head.*

6. *The Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God,* is another part of the Christian *Panoply*, which every Spiritual Souldier ought to be appointed with. This is the *two-edged Sword* spoken of in *Heb. 4. 12.* and *Rev. 1. 16.* This our great Captain dexterously made use of when the Infernal Spirit assaulted him, *Mat. 4. 4, 7, 10.* And the same Weapon was brandish'd and managed by the whole Army of Martyrs and Confessors, by all the Servants of Christ in the several Ages of the Church. By this they have done great Execution, and put their Spiritual Enemies to flight. They have in their most pressing Straits repair'd to the Holy Scriptures, and thence furnish'd themselves with those Divine Consolations, and applied those Sacred Promises, whereby they soon vanquish'd their Ghostly Assailants. And this is that Weapon which we must all of us in our Holy War learn to wield : but let us be careful to make use of it *faithfully* and *sincerely*, remembering that the first Piece of Armour and This last must be joined together, for the Warlike *Girdle* or *Belt* is in order to wearing the *Sword*, which is to hang at it.

The last Weapon the Apostle mentions is *Prayer*, *Praying always with all Prayer, &c.* We must fight

on our Knees, we must constantly invoke the Divine Aid, and with importunate Cries sollicite the Eternal Father that he would teach our Hands to War, and our Fingers to Fight.

These are the Spiritual Weapons, which are called here πανοπλία, *The whole Armour*, because 'tis fitted for every part of the Christian Combatant. He is here armed at all Points, he is provided with Military Accoutrements for all Assaults. And you may observe, that the Spiritual Armour answers to the Bodily one, that is, it is both Defensive and Offensive. Our Weapons are both φυλακτήρια, such as defend and preserve our selves, and also Ἀμυντήρια, such whereby we beat off the Enemy: both which are exprest'd in those two Military words, *Standing* and *Withstanding*, ver. 13. The first sort are the Girdle of Truth, the Breast-plate of Righteousness, the Shoe of the Preparation of the Gospel, the Shield of Faith, and the Helmet of Salvation: of the Second sort are the Sword of the Spirit, and Prayer, which two likewise are both for *Defence* and *Offence*, not only to guard our selves, but to oppose our Enemies. This is the *Panoply* of the Gospel, *the whole Armour of God* which the Apostle here commends, and which I have briefly descanted upon in prosecution of what I propounded, *viz.* to give you some account of the *Metaphorical* Terms in Scripture.

In other places the *Olympick Games* and *Prizes* administer to the Apostle very Religious and Devout *Metaphors*: those *Greecian Combates* being made use of by him to set forth the Laborious Life and Undertakings of a Christian. I will in farther pursuit of this part of my Discourse concerning the *Stile* of Scripture, let you see what Excellent and Divine things are comprized under those *Agonistick* Phrases.

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We must know then, that the *Olympick Games* were of very great Antiquity, being instituted (as it is said) by *Hercules*, and restored by *Iphitus*, who at the same time began the Accompt of the *Olympiads*, that famous Epoche of the Greeks which commenced *A. M.* 3173. in the time of *Uzziah* King of *Judah*. They had their Name from *Olympia*, a City of *Achaia*, near to *Elis*, on the Plains whereof these Exercises were celebrated, and they were in honour of *Jupiter Olympius*. And there were Sports of the like Nature in other parts of *Greece*, as those that were call'd the *Isthmian*, because they were begun in the *Corinthian Isthmus*: and as the *Olympick Plays* were dedicated to *Jupiter*, so these were in honour of *Melicerta*; others say, of *Palæmon*. The like Exercises in other adjacent Towns of *Greece* were call'd *Pythian*, in memory of *Apollo Pythius*; and others *Nemæan*, (call'd so from the *Nemæan Wood*, near which they were) and these were in honour of *Archemorus*, the Son of *Lycurgus*. But all these were in imitation of the *Olympick* (as being the Antientest) Combates; and because they were so like them, they sometimes go by that Name. Great Numbers of People flock'd from all parts in *Greece* to these Solemn Diversions, either to try their Skill, or to be Spectators. And I question not but *St. Paul*, before his Conversion, had been present at these Exercises, and observ'd their Customs and Practices: whence it is that he so often in his Writings makes use of them. And these Games were very well known to the *Corinthians* particularly, as being celebrated in their *Isthmus*, not far from *Corinth*; whence it is that the Apostle speaking to these People, saith emphatically, *Know ye not that they which run in a Race, &c.* 1 Cor. 9. 24. and therefore the frequent

Metaphors taken from them by *St. Paul*, were the better understood by them. There were five sorts of these *Gymnastick Entertainments* in use among the Grecians, which * *Eustathius* reckons up in this order, ἄλμα, πάλιν, δίσκουμα, ἀκοντίον, & δρόμιον. And † *Simonides* comprehends them in this Verse, in the First Book of his Epigrams;

Ἄλμα, ποδσκελιν, δίσκον, ἀκοντα, πάλιν:

that is, 1. *Leaping*, or exercising the Legs and Arms by Jumping. 2. *Running* or Racing. 3. *Coyting* or hurling the Bar. 4. *Casting the Dart*, or throwing the Spear. 5. *Wrestling*: to which afterwards was added πυγμῇ, *Pugilatus*, *Fifty-Cuffs*: and after that they struck with *Battoons* and *Leaden Pellets*. These five Grecian Exercises were call'd by one name, πένταθλον; and he that was skill'd in them all, or won the Prizes at them all, was stiled πένταθλος, (though the Epithet is sometimes taken in another Sense, as when 'twas given to *Democritus*, because he was the Master of five noble Accomplishments). Of these several Olympick Conflicts, the chiefest and most renowned was their *Running* or *Racing*, for which the Grecians were so famous and eminent above all others; and therefore *St. Paul*, who had been a Spectator of their Races, principally borrows his *Metaphors* from this Manly as well as Applauded kind of Sport, as you may see in his *Epistles*, which abound with Expressions taken from this Athletick Exercise. But he sometimes alludes to *Wrestling*, and the other Agonistick Enterprizes which the Grecians in those days were celebrated for. He frequently
uses

* II, 4. † Jul. Poll. Onomastic. l. 3. c. 30.

uses the Terms which are proper to these Undertakings, as when he saith, * *He herein exerciseth himself to have a Conscience, &c.* where the word ἀσκεῖν is taken from those Combates among the Gentiles, and is applied to Sacred things. The same may be observ'd of ἀθλῆν, 2 Tim. 2. 5. and ἀθλησις, Heb. 10. 32. and ἀγων, 1 Tim. 6. 12. 2 Tim. 4. 7. and ἀγωνίζεσθαι, which is another Olympick word, and is used in very many places by our Apostle. So γυμνάζειν, Heb. 12. 11. is an Athletick word, and properly signifies that Exercise which Wrestlers or the like Combatants are train'd up to by long Use and Discipline. And this occurs again in 1 Tim. 4. 7. γυμναζε σεαυτὸν, *Exercise thy self unto Godliness*, i. e. be as eager in pursuit of Piety, as those who are train'd up to the Olympick Exercises, are in their Wrestling and other Strivings for Victory. And therefore I am of opinion, that those next words, *Bodily Exercise profiteth little*, are to be understood of those *Olympick Games*, which I find Expositors do not take notice of, but interpret them of External and Bodily Religion, some outward Austerities and Acts of superstitious Worship. But the Apostle (as I conceive) refers here to the immediately foregoing Expression which he had used, γυμναζε σεαυτὸν, which he was apprehensive was taken from the Olympick Combates; and accordingly he adds, σωματικὴ γυμνασica, *Bodily Exercise profiteth a little*, (for so I would translate it) i. e. as I apprehend the words, that Athletick Exercise of their Bodies is useful to *some ends*, they have some *small* advantage and profit by it, viz. as to Health, encreasing their Strength and Courage, gaining Repute and

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Credit,

* Acts 24. 16.

Credit, winning the Prize: But alas (saith he) these are mean and inconsiderable Things in comparison of that Solid Profit which accrues by Godliness, for *this is profitable to all things*, procuring all Benefits not only to our Bodies but our Souls, advancing both the Temporal and Eternal Interest of those who study and practise it. There are three Agonistical terms together, in *Rom. 9. 30, 31.* διώκειν, to pursue or follow after; καταλαμβεῖν, to attain to; προβαίνειν, to be foremost in the Race, to come first to the Goal; but our Translators render it to attain. And in several other places the Gymnastick words are made use of; especially in *1 Cor. 9. 24.* to the End of the Chapter, and in *Phil. 3. 12,* to the 17. v. which are a Continuation of the Metaphor of the Grecian Exercises so much in use at that time. By these the Apostle sets forth the Laws and Rules of an Evangelical Life, by which all the Followers of Christ are to direct themselves.

This then we are to take notice of, that there were certain *Laws* observ'd in the *Agonisticks*, there were peculiar *Rules* and *Orders* which they tied themselves to, which the Apostle means when he saith, *If any Man strive for Masteries, he is not crowned except he strive lawfully*, *2 Tim. 2. 5. i. e.* (as *S. Chrysostom* rightly explains it) except * he observe all the Laws of the Striving, and omit nothing required of him. This was νομίμως ἀθλῆν, and accordingly there was the κήρυξ, the Crier, an Officer on purpose to acquaint the Combatants with the *Laws* of the Place. So in the Exercise of a Christian Life we must *strive lawfully*, we must carefully act according to the Orders of our Holy Institution, for our Great Agonotheta hath pre-scrib'd

* Πάντα τ' ὁ ἀθλήσεως νόμον φυλάτταν. *HOM. 4.* in *2 Tim.*

scrib'd us certain *Laws* which we are to follow with all exactness. And these we shall find express'd according to the *Stile* of the *Athleticks*, who had *Laws* to direct them what they were to do before the *Combate*, what *in the time* of it, and what afterwards.

First, They had certain Observances which related to their behaviour before the *Combate*, and they were such as these, as you may find them briefly summ'd up by *Epictetus* (who compares the Life of a Good Man to these Bodily Exercises) “ * An Olympick Gamester, saith he, must order
“ himself aright before the Contest, he must some-
“ times force himself to take food, at other times
“ he must by force abstain from it, especially
“ from what is dainty and delicious: he must use
“ himself to his Exercises, though he finds himself
“ unwilling; and this at a set and fix'd time both
“ in Summer and Winter: he must not be permit-
“ ted to drink cool Liquor, or any Wine, as he
“ thinks fit. In short, he must deliver up himself
“ to the Master of Fences as to a Physician. *Galen*
on the 18th Aphorism of *Hippocrates* very well de-
scribes this *Abstinence* of the *Athleticks*. And
Tertullian gives this short account of their Austeri-
ties, † “ They are set apart, saith he, to a
“ strict Discipline, that they may be at leisure
“ to mind the building up of their Bodies (as
“ 'twere) and to make them strong according to
“ Art.

* Δεῖσ' εὐτακτεῖν, ἀναγκολοφεῖν, ἀπὶ χεῖρας πημάτων, συμ-
νέχεσθαι πρὸς ἀνάγκην, ἐν ὥρᾳ τήσασθαι, ἐν χεῖμασι, ἐν
ζυχαῖ μὴ ζυχρὸν πίνειν, μὴ οἶνον. ὡς ἐτυχεν· ἀπλῶς, ὡς
ἰαίρου πρὸς δεινότητα στασιδὸν πρὸς ὀπασίτη. Cap. 35.

† Athletæ segregantur ad strictiorem disciplinam ut robori
ædificando vacent: continentur à luxuriâ, cibis lautioribus, à
potu jucundiore. Exhort. ad Martyr.

“ Art. To which purpose they are kept from
 “ all Luxury, they are forbid all delicate Meats,
 “ and all sweet Drinks. But the Apostle hath
 contracted this into fewer words, yet as full and
 significant, 1 Cor. 9. 25. *Every Man that striveth for
 the Mastery is temperate in all things*; *πολύα ἐγκρα-*
τίζεται, he observes all the Laws of Abstinence
 and Continence which are prescrib’d him. And
 there was an Overseer for this purpose, one that
 took care of dieting them, and saw that they duly
 kept their other Rules. A Christian must herein
 imitate the Grecian Combatants and Racers, he
 must manage himself with great Caution and Cir-
 cumspectiōn, he must suffer himself to be order’d
 and disciplin’d, he must strictly observe the Laws
 of Sobriety and Temperance, and abstain from
 fleshly Lusts which war against both Soul and Body.
 Thus the Apostle pursues the Metaphor in the fol-
 lowing words, v. 27. *I keep under my Body, and
 bring it into subjection*: i. e. I am careful to get a
 good Temper of Body as well as of Mind: as the
Cuffers and *Wrestlers* labour to beat down and keep
 under their Antagonists Bodies, so I do with my
 own: for *ὑποτάσσειν* (which is the word here used)
 is a known Metaphor taken from the practice of
 the Grecian Combatants, who beat their Adversa-
 ries down with their Fists, and sometimes with
 Clubs, and will not suffer them to rise. In the
 same manner, saith he, I beat down and keep under
 my Body, I severely chastise it by Temperance
 and Sobriety. I am as exact as those Combatants
 were, who before the Contest dieted themselves
 for certain days, that they might attain to a good
 habit of Body. Again, they took care to rid them-
 selves of all Incumbrances whatsoever: they stript
 themselves of their Clothes, and generally came
 naked

naked to the Conflict, (whence they were call'd *Gymnastæ*) that they might be the more nimble and agile. To which the Apostle plainly refers, and applies it, *Heb. 12. 1. Let us lay aside every weight, and the Sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with Patience the Race that is set before us.* In this our Christian Race, we must throw off whatever we know will be an Impediment to us in our course, especially we must discard those Vices which we have been most accustomed to, and which have had the greatest Ascendant over us. And it is to be observed, that the word *ὄγκος* (which the Apostle here useth) is applied by *Galen* and other Greek Authors to the Corpulency, the weight of Flesh which the *Olympick* Strivers were to bring down and macerate.

In the next place, we are to order and manage our selves aright *in the time* of the Spiritual Combat: And here likewise the Apostle leads us by the same Metaphor. For,

1. The Combatants were careful to act, to strive, to labour to the utmost. * “There is a Force and “Violence put upon them by themselves, they are “cruciated and tormented, they are tired and “worn out: and (as the same Author adds) the “more they labour in their Combats, the greater “is their hope of Victory. This Excessive Pains and Labour are express'd in the Writings of the Apostle by several terms, as *following on* (for so *διώκειν* should be translated, and not *following after*, that being a bad word in Racing) and *reaching forth*, and *pressing on* (or following on) for the Apostle uses

* *Coguntur, cruciantur, fatigantur: quanto plùs in exercitationibus laboraverint, tanto plùs de victoriâ sperant. Tertull. Exhort. ad Martyr.*

uses the same Greek word again. These Agonistic terms, which are used particularly in *Running*, are in a Religious manner thus applied by St. Paul, that Eminent Christian Racer, * *Not as though I had already attain'd, but I follow-on: this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, (not looking back in the Race to see how much Ground I have ran already, but) reaching forth unto those things which are before, I still press on.* The meaning of which is, that he was extremely Industrious and Laborious in his Christian course, he not only *ran with Patience* (Patience of Body and Mind) *this Race that was set before him*, (as he speaks in an † other place) but he exerted all other Virtues and Graces whatsoever, he lived in a diligent and faithful discharge of all Christian Duties. Or perhaps δὲ ἀπολαύων τελευτῶν, imports all the hardship he underwent in his Christian Race; for ἀπολαύων is a word applied to the *Athletæ*, (as Peter Faber observes) and is expressive of all the Fatigues in that Exercise. So in their *Wrestlings* and *Fencings* (two other great Employments of the Grecian Agonists) they acted to the height of their Art, to the utmost of their Strength. Their Blows were directed with the greatest Skill, and laid on with the most lively Vigour: to which the Apostle refers, when he saith, *So fight I, not as one that beateth the air*, 1 Cor. 9. 26. *πυλῶ*, (which is a known word used among the Olympick Gamesters) *I fight, I fence, I cuff*, saith he, not as they that brandish their Weapons for Sport-fake, or to exercise their Limbs, or to divert the Spectators, as it seems was usual before they fell

* Phil. 3. 12, &c. † Heb. 12. 1.

fell on in good earnest. Whence * *Virgil* saith of
Dares, a Great Fencer,

*Alternaque jacat
 Brachia protendens, & verberat ictibus aurat.*

But I fight, saith the Apostle, as one that is actually enter'd into the Combate, and is used to the Olympick Combates, where there is no vain beating of the Air, but a serious falling on. The Champions there come not to flourish, but to fight with one another. Accordingly they were wont to cast Dust upon one another, that they might take the more sure Held: and the Place was strowed with Sand, that they might stand the more steadily to their Work. This Place therefore was called *stans*, their Station, as appears from † *Alian*. They stood here all the time they fought, and would not quit it whatever they endured. Thence ἀτρεπτοι and ἀκινητοι are Epithets given by *Philostratus* and *Pausanias* to the *Athleta*. This was the particular Commendation of the Olympian Combatants, that they never flinch'd from the Ground which they first stood upon, as *Alian* tells us. To which it is most probable the Apostle alludes when he exhorts the Christians to stand, Eph. 6. 13. and so again, ver. 14. and to stand fast, and quit themselves like Men, and be strong, 1 Cor. 16. 13. and to stand fast, — striving together, Phil. 1. 27. where συναθλόντες is an Agonick Term as well as σικετε. But this latter is a very noted Word among those that write concerning the Olympick Concertations. Further, I might remark, that it was a Rule with them generally in these Encounters, not to leave off till they were

* *Æn.* lib. 9. † *Var. Hist.* l. 4. c. 19.

were wounded on one side or other: yea, 'twas look'd upon as a shameful and base thing to yield before Many Wounds had been given and taken. This however was agreed upon among them, that they must draw Blood of each other: Whence that of the Apostle, *Heb. 12. 4. Ye have not yet resisted unto Blood, striving against Sin*: for both the Verbs ἀντιπαρίστημι and ἀνταγωνίζομαι belong to the Athletic Exercises.

2. In their Running they minded the *Mark* that was before them, and distracted not themselves with taking notice of any thing else. This is refer'd to in *Phil. 3. 14. ἤτις σπονδὴν δίδωμι, I press towards the Mark*, the Goal, where the Prize is set up to be seen: and in *Heb. 12. 1. Let us run the Race that is set before us, looking unto Jesus*. And again, in the next Verse, *Consider him*, have an Eye to him, who himself look'd unto the Joy that was set before him. Gaze not on the World, and what is tempting and alluring in it, but with an intense and vigorous Aspect look on that Inheritance which Christ hath purchased for you, fix your Eye on the *End of your Faith, even the Salvation of your Souls*: and thus you will rightly perform your Christian Course.

3. The Olympick Racers had certain *Limits* and *Bounds* set them, and these they very accurately observed. There was a particular Place where the Match was run, which was by those Greeks call'd στάδιον, and is so call'd by the Apostle, *1 Cor. 9. 24. οἱ ἐν στάδιῳ ἑγέρχοντες*, which we render *those that run in a Race*, are those that run in a certain Plot of Ground set out for that purpose, for that is the proper Notion of στάδιον; 'tis a certain measure of Ground, shorter or longer, as they were pleased to appoint it. This *Stadium* was mark'd out with a Line, from the Place where they set forth, to the

the End : and of this the Apostle makes mention three or four times in 2 Cor. 10, 13, &c. *We will not boast of things without our measure, but according to the measure of the Rule, or the Line, as 'tis rendered, ver. 16. κανών*, (which is the Greek Word here used, and was a common Athletick Word, as appears from * *Pausanias*, and † *J. Pollux*, and other Writers that speak of the Olympick Strivings : and *Linea* is a Term used by *Statius* in the same Sense) was the *White Line* that bounded or mark'd out the Path where the Greek Racers run : in Allusion to which the Apostle's particular Province is call'd by him μέτρον κανόνος, *the measure of the Rule which God had distributed him*. The Apostle had first converted the Corinthians, and therefore those he calls his Proper *Line*. And because each of the Racers had his particular Path chalk'd out to him, thence he speaks of ἀλλότριον κανόν, v. 16. *another Man's Line*. And *Phil. 3. 16.* is an unquestionable Reference to this Grecian Custom, *whereto we have already attained*, (in as much as we have gotten the Start, for so the Greek Word signifies, and *are before others*, and have attain'd some Degrees of spiritual Proficiency) *let us walk by the same Rule, κανόνι*, the *Line* we are to run by, the same Path : for tho there was but One Racer run in the same Track among the Grecians, yet 'tis supposed that many Christians run together in one and the same way. I question not but those Words in *Heb. 12. 12.* have a reference to what we are now speaking of, *Lift up the Hands which hang down, and the feeble Knees, and make streight Paths to your Feet, lest that which is lame be turned out of the way, but let it rather be healed*. The whole Period is perfectly
Ath-

* *Eliac. lib. 2.* † *Onomastic.*

Athletick; but more especially *Τετραὶ ὁρμαὶ* alludes to the Racers that ran right forward, a Line being drawn on both sides: so that their *Paths* were *straight* or *direct*.

4. The Wrestlers and Racers were to continue in the Combat *to the end*; otherwise they had no Advantage of it: which the Apostle hath respect to when he saith, *τὸ ἀγῶνα καλὸν ἠλέτισμαι*, I have fought a good Fight; *τὸ δρόμον τέτελεκα*, I have finished my Course, 2 Tim. 4. 7. I have fully Completed my Race, I have with Constancy and Perseverance accomplished that great Work, that is, (as I conceive) through a very strong Faith he was assured that he should do so; for when he writ these Lines, he had not done it. And here also I could observe that *τελεῖν* (which the Apostle uses here) and *τελεῖν* (which he makes use of in other Places) are borrowed from the Athletick Exercises, as we learn from those Writers who have occasion to speak of them, and express them in their proper Terms. Thus I have mentioned some of the Chief *Laws* and *Observances* among those who strove for Masteries in the Grecian Plains. And with respect to all these our Divine Author saith, *So run that ye may obtain*, 1 Cor. 9. 24. So, in such manner, and according to the *Laws* and *Orders* of that Exercise, see that you discharge this Duty.

Having thus spoken of the *Laws* and *Conditions* of the Olympick Games, I will add something concerning the *Judges*: for after the Combate was over, they proceeded to judg who had got the better. These Arbitrators, or Judges, were call'd *ἑμμοδοῖνται* and *ἀγωνοθέται*, and sometimes *βραβεύται*, whose Business was to determine whether the Agonists had observ'd the *Laws*, especially to order

order and appoint the Reward : which is taken notice of, and religiously applied in 2 Tim. 4. 8. where after St. Paul had with rejoicing professed that he *had finished his Course*, (which is, as hath been said, a palpable Allusion to the Athletick Enterprizes) he adds, *There is laid up for me a Crown of Righteousness* (of which I shall speak in the next Place) *which the Lord, the righteous Judg, shall give me at that Day* ; even that Judg, that Βερεδτης, who gives the Prize to those faithful Christians who persevere in their Course to the End. In the last Place, then this Prize, this Reward is to be considered ; which is called Βερεδιον, 1 Cor. 9. 24. Phil. 3. 14. the very same Name that was given by the Grecians to the Recompence of the Victors after the Athletick Strivings. This is call'd a *Crown*, 2 Tim. 2. 5. because the Olympick Conquerors were rewarded with *Crowns* or *Garlands*, made of the Leaves of Bays or Lawrel, or sometimes of Flowers. Generally they were deck'd with Wreaths of Olive in the *Olympicks*, of Pine in the *Isthmian Games*, of Palm-Branches or Oaken Boughs, or some such sorry thing in other Places ; and yet (as the Roman Orator observes) * these Masters of Exercise reckon'd one of these Prizes won at those Games, as honourable as the Roman Consulship was of old. These the Apostle well deciphereth when he tells us, that *they that strive for the Mastery do it to obtain a Corruptible* (a fading, withering) *Crown*, 1 Cor. 9. 25. To which another Apostle opposeth a *Crown of Glory that fadeth not away*, 1 Pet. 5. 4. i. e. such a Crown as is not made of these perishing Materials. This is the *Crown of Life* mentioned by St. James, ch. 1. 12. in contradistinction to the wi-

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ther'd

* Cic. Tusc. Quæst.

ther'd dead Crown of the Olympick Strivers. This is that Crown of Righteousness which the Righteous Judge, the Great Arbitrator of the Christian Combates, bestows at the great Day of Recompence, 2 Tim. 4. 8. This is that Prize which St. Paul pressed towards the Mark for, Phil. 3. 14. (alluding to the Crown, the Garland which hung over the Mark or Goal, and was given to the Victor by the Judges) and which he there calls the Prize of the High Calling of God in Christ Jesus, i. e. the Heavenly Reward to which he was call'd from above by God, through Christ his Saviour. It is a plain Allusion to the Judges of those Grecian Sports, who were placed on a high Seat to behold the Performance, and then the Crier or Herald, called the Combatants to appear before them, and receive their Sentence. And as soon as the Prize was adjudged to them, they used to snatch at it, and take it from the Place (where it was hung up) with their own Hands, as *Alian*, *Pollux* and *Cassiodorus* testify. The * last of these particularly saith, they did *vapere pramia*: which gives Light to 1 Tim. 6. 12. Fight the good Fight of Faith, ἀγωνίζου ἐν πίστει; and lay hold on eternal Life, ἑπιδραμεν; imitate the Victors at the Olympick Games, who presently lay their Hands on the Crown, and take it, and wear it. The gaining of this Prize is call'd in 1 Cor. 9. 24. *Obtaining*: and in Phil. 3. 12. *Attaining* or *receiving*, as 'tis in the Greek; and *Apprehending*, which is of the same Import, it being a laying hold on, or receiving the Reward: which all are Gymnastick and Agonick Terms.

And lastly, I might observe that ἀδουμιον, which is another Word used here on this Occasion,

1 Cor.

1 Cor. 9. 27. is so too: I keep under my Body, (saith he) I am always prepared for the Christian Combat, I run, I fight, I strive that I may not be a Cast-away, a Reprobate, one that loseth the Prize: for he that ran, or wrestled, or performed any other Exercise at the Olympick Games, and upon trial was rejected; he that fell short of the Victory, was ἀδύναμος: As on the contrary δύναντος is he that strives as he ought, and obtains the Victory. Accordingly St. James, speaking of the Blessed Man that endureth Temptations, saith, when he is tried (when he is δύναντος, approved of) he shall receive the Crown of Life; he shall have the Reward of a true Christian Combatant bestowed upon him, as the Olympick Strivers were rewarded with a Crown. Thus you see how this Sacred Author makes use of the Olympick Sports, to set forth the Life of a Christian, and the Eternal Rewards of it. A Good Man is stiled by the Royal Philosopher; * an Athlerick that is exercised in the greatest Conflicts. † Maximus Tyrius resembles the Life of Man to these. And || Epictetus compares the Study of Philosophy to the Hardships of the Olympick Agonies: and Seneca makes all Vertuous Men of the Number of the Athletes, and that very frequently. And even St. Paul (as I have shewed) resembles Christianity it self to these Encounters and Hardships, and calls the Christian Conflicts by the very same Names that are given to them. Yea, the Rewards laid up in Heaven for faithful Souls, after all their Pains and Labours here, are compared to the Βεβαίεια, the Garlands of those Grecian Combatants. And in the Close of all, to add one Place more, I am inclined to think, that that Pas-

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sage

* Ἀθλητής ἀθλῶν τοῦ σώματος. Antonin. † Dissertat. 35. || Cap. 35.

sage in 2 *Theff.* 3. 1. [*that the Word of the Lord may run and be glorified*, τελέχη ἡ δεξιάνηται] hath respect to the Applause, the Acclamation, the Glory, which were part of the Reward of those who got the Victory at the Olympick Exercises, and particularly the Racing. δεξιάνηται, as well as τελέχειν, is a Gymnastick Word. δεξα is used by * *Lucian* to express that great Honour and Applause which was the Recompence of the Victors in those Combates. And *Gloria* is the word used by † *Tertullian* when he speaks of these things. It is peculiarly applied and appropriated, as 'twere, to this purpose by Classick Authors, as || *Tacitus* and (*) *Seneca*. It is no wonder then that *running* and *obtaining Glory* are here join'd together by the Apostle. *The Word of the Lord*, i. e. the Preaching of the Gospel, is said to *run* when it hath its free and undisturb'd Passage; and it is *glorified* when it proves Prevalent and Victorious in the Hearts and Lives of Men. If I had been Curious in citing what those (†) *Authors* who have writ concerning the *Agonistics*, have delivered on the several Particulars above mentioned, I might have enlarged this part of my Discourse. And it might have been beautified and adorned from what occurs in those (||) *Fathers* who have spoken of the *Olympick Exercises*, and the Manners belonging to them. But I was rather desirous to be brief, and to suggest something of my own on this Subject, than to be beholden altogether to others. And in the whole I have endeavour'd to avoid the Fault of that Learned Frenchman

* In *Anacharsis*. † In *Scorpio*. || *Annal. lib. 12.* (*) *Epist. 89.* (†) *Pausanias, Athenæus, Plutarch, J. Pollux, Lucian, Philostratus, Ælian, Pindar, Virgil, Statius, Ovid, Lucan, Horace.* (||) *Dionys. Areop. Tertullian, Chrysostom, Greg. Nazian. Ambrose, Basil, Theodoret, Isidor. Pelus.*

man *Peter Faber*, and some others, who have stretched this *Metaphor* too far, and have persuaded themselves that the Apostles use it, when they never thought of it.

But this is certain, that both in the Old and New Testament, the *Metaphorick* manner of speaking is very usual, as it is also among all Writers: for indeed we may observe, that words in their Primitive and Proper Signification, are not so much used by the best Writers, as they are in their Metaphorical and Improper Sense. Our Business only is to discern the way of their Speaking, and not to mistake an Improper for a Proper Signification. In the Holy Writings especially we ought to take notice of this, and to observe when words are to be understood in their Primitive and Genuine sense, and when not. And with the like Caution we should observe when the other forenamed *Figures* are used by the Inspired Writers, (which was the Design of my mentioning them here) that we may carefully distinguish between a Proper and a Figurative Speech, and that (as * *St. Augustin* long since advised) we may not take one for the other.

There are many Other *Rhetorical Figures* in the Sacred Volume (as *Metonymies*, *Prosopopæias*, *Epanorthoses*, *Aposiopeses*, &c.) which likewise the choicest Authors abound with: but it shall suffice to have mention'd the foregoing ones, the explaining of which is sufficient to give us an account of the *Stile* of Scripture, so far as it is *Figurative*. And from what hath been said, we may gather that these Divine Writings come not short of the

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most

* Cavendum est nè figuratam locutionem ad litteram accipias.
De Doctr. Christ. l. 3. c. 5.

most Applauded Pieces of the Greek or Latin Orators; for here are those very Schemes and Modes of Speech which imbellish those Authors Works; here are all the Graces and Elegancies which enrich and adorn them. Therefore in that place beforementioned, where *Origen* saith, the Scriptures are not written *Politely*; his meaning is, that that is not the Scope and Design of those Writings, and that it is not the thing that is pursued generally, there being a Greater and Higher Design; yet in many places there are very Excellent Strains of Oratory, there are very Artificial Periods and Sentences, there are Words, Phrases and Expressions in a very Rhetorical Dress. But where you find others that are, as you think, Inartificial, Uncouth, and no ways Graceful, you must remember this (to take off your prejudice against the *Scripture-Style*) that the *Eastern* Eloquence is vastly different from ours in the *West*. The Mode and Guise of their Oratory were unlike that of the Greeks and Romans, and of Ours at this Day, and therefore we are not to expect that they should be fitted to it. It is certain (though we perceive it not) that their *Stile* was Graceful and Fashionable: which is clear from the considering the Persons that were the Penmen of some parts of Scripture; namely, *Moses, David, Solomon, Isaiab, Daniel*, Men of great Improvements and Accomplishments, and Masters of the Language they spoke. Neither are the Scriptures in some parts of them Defective in the *Western* Oratory: they abound with the Choicest Schemes of Speech, with the Greatest Ornaments of Language, with the Chiefest Elegancies which *Greece* or *Rome* were famous for.

Yet,

Yet, notwithstanding this, there are those who have vilified the *Stile* of Scripture. Some Pretenders to Criticism, but of debauched Minds, and loose Lives, have endeavour'd to render it very Mean and Despicable. You have heard of the Canon of *Florence*, who preferr'd an *Ode* of *Pindar* before the *Psalms* of *David*: though he could not deny, as *Caspar Peucer* tells us, that there were Excellent Sentences, Histories, Examples, and Figures of Speech in this Divine Poem. Yet such was the Sottishness of *Politian* (for that was his Name) that he profess'd he never spent his time worse than in reading this and other parts of the Bible: and at last he desisted from reading any further, because of the Barbarity of the *Stile*. But observe what Character * *Ludovicus Vives* (a Man of his own Religion) gives him: he represents him as a Person, who, though he had more Polite Learning than was frequent in those Days, made but ill use of it, and employ'd it wholly in the worst sort of Criticism and Playing with words. It was this Busy but Idle Critick that spoke so contemptibly of the Bible; where, because he met with some things unsutable to his Grammatical and Critical Genius, he censured and condemned all. Of the same Profane Disposition was *Domitius Calderinus*, who advis'd his Friends, especially those that were Youthful, not to read the Bible; for it would be of no use to them. But what it was that these two Persons were employ'd about, which wholly estrang'd their Minds from that Sacred Book, may be guess'd from the † Shameful *Epigram* which the former composed, and the || Obscene *Comment*

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which

* De veric. fid. l. 2. † In laudem Præposteræ Veneris.
|| In Virgilii Priapæa.

which the latter made, both which they publish'd to the World. It is no wonder such Men disrelish'd the Sacred Truths contain'd in the Inspired Writings, and found fault with the Language and Stile of them: this proceeded from their aversion to that Purity and Holiness which those Holy Writers urge upon the Practices of Men, and which these two Vile *Italians* knew were directly contrary to what they both loved and acted. Who would not think the better of this Holy Book, because it was despised and vilified by these Men? Who would not highly esteem those Writings which by such Dissolute Wretches as these were scorn'd and tramp'd under Feet? If it was an Argument that Christianity was Good because *Nero* persecuted it, then we may with as much reason infer, that the *Bible* is an Excellent Book, because this pair of Lewd Varlets disparaged it. This certainly was founded in the Wickedness and Profaneness of their Lives. They could not think or speak well of those Writings which contradicted their beloved Lusts and Vices. It was thus with *Jerom* and *Augustin*, whilst they were wicked and unreclaim'd Persons: the Scripture-Language seem'd very harsh and unpleasant to them; so far were they from discerning any Elegancy in it. The former of these tells his *Eustochium*, that he us'd, when he awaked in the Night, and could not sleep, to read *Plautus*: and if after that he read the *Prophets*, as sometimes he did, their Speech seem'd to be * horribly rough and unpolished, devoid of all Fineness and Eloquence. And the † latter of these Persons freely confesseth, that

* Sermo horrebat incultus. Epist. 18. ad Eustoch. † Confess. lib. 3. cap. 5.

that before his Conversion, the Stile of Scripture was deemed by him very Rude and Unstudied, and as having nothing Neat and Delicate in it. This is the apprehension which those Men have of it who are not Competent Judges : and they are not so, not because they have not Understanding enough, but because they have an Inward Abhorrence of the Sacred Verities which they find in that Book. This is the true Reason why so many in this Age, yea, within our own Borders, scoff at and ridicule the Language of the Bible. The Matter of this Volume makes them dislike the Stile of it. Nothing can be Eloquent which speaks against their Vices. But let it offend none that this most Excellent Book is depreiated by some Vicious, or by some Half-witted Men, for there are no other that ever spoke against it. In the Stile of this Book of God, there are no Blemishes but what are approved of in the Best Classsical Authors, as those who were of the greatest Skill in Grammar and Rhetorick have fully demonstrated : therefore the Bible is not a Book to be disparag'd, no, not by the greatest Grammarians and Rhetoricians. The Excellent and Choice Wording of the Scripture is commended by St. * *Chrysostom*. When I read the Bible, saith St. † *Augustin*, I find that as nothing is more Wisely said, so nothing is more Eloquently spoken than there. And particularly, I have shew'd that it is beautified and enrich'd with many *Figures*. Thus I have largely proved, that the *Stile* of Scripture is generally of the strain of Other Approved Writers as to its Phraseology, or manner of Expression. I proceed, and add,

3dly,

* Hom. 36. in Gen. † De doctr. Christ. l. ult. c. 6.

3dly. This Observation, that *Proverbial Sayings* and commonly received *Adagies* used by other Writers, are mention'd also in the Holy Scriptures. This is abundantly proved by * those who have Purposely writ on this Subject. I will remit you to them, and at present only confine my self to the New Testament, and there to the *Jewish Proverbs* only. Our Saviour in his excellent Sermon on the Mount, makes use of that Usual Saying among the Jews, which was used in a Proverbial way, *No Man can serve two Masters*, Mat. 6. 24. which he applieth to a higher purpose than they designed it, *Ye cannot, saith he, serve God and Mammon*, it is impossible you should be Servants to these two Masters. No Man can devote himself to God's Service as he ought, and yet at the same time prosecute with the utmost Zeal and Concernedness the things of this World; especially the Riches or Profits of it: *for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or he will hold to the one, and despise the other*: he cannot serve both with equal care and zeal. Again, it was a Common Proverb among the Hebrews, † *Measure against Measure*; and in the *Talmud* more than once it is spoken by way of Adage, || *With the Measure that a Man measureth, they measure to him again*. Which is applied by our Blessed Teacher, to Mens Censuring and Judging of others; *With what Judgment ye judge, saith he, ye shall be judged. With what Measure ye mete in this kind, it shall be measured to you again*, Mat. 7. 2. If you be rash and unadvised in the Doom which you pass on your Neighbours, you may expect that the like Sentence may pass on you. And in
Luke

* Scottanus, Delrius, Drusius, &c. † מדה נגר מדה
 || Sanhedrim: & Sota.

Luke 6. 37. this very Proverb is spoken with reference to *Giving* and *Forgiving*; as much as to say, if you withhold your Charity from others, either in relieving their Wants, or passing by their Offences against you, you shall one time or other experience the same your selves; you shall neither be relieved nor forgiven: thus with the very same Measure that ye mete withal, it shall be measured to you again. In this Sermon he useth again another Jewish Proverb, which was to this purpose, * *Pull the Beam out of thine Eye*, v. 5. applying it to the former Subject of Judging others. *Why beholdest thou the Mote that is in thy Brother's Eye, but considerest not the Beam that is in thy own Eye?* Why art thou so Sharp-sighted abroad, why so quick in discerning the least Fault in others, when at the same time thou art Blind at home, and canst not see those gross Miscarriages which thou thy self art guilty of? This is too Evident an Argument of *Hypocrisy*; therefore Christ adds, *Thou Hypocrite, first cast out the Beam out of thine own Eye*, abandon those Visible Enormities which are in thy own Life, and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the Mote out of thy Brother's Eye, i.e. then thou shalt be more fit to judge of other Mens Failings, and to correct them for them. Again, *ver. 6.* Christ useth this Common Saying which was usual among the Jews, *Give not that which is holy unto Dogs, neither cast ye your Pearls before Swine*: in which without doubt was included an Excellent Lesson, and such as was very seasonable at that time, viz. That his Disciples (for to them chiefly he speaks in this Sermon) should Prudently dispense the Gospel, and where they saw it was obstinately refused by any, there they should

* מרל סבין עיכך *tolle ab oculis tuis trabem. Talmud.*

should not expose themselves to Dangers, when they perceived that they could do no good among such Persons. They must not throw away *Pearls* among such *Swine* that would trample them under their feet, and turn again, and rend them, as our Saviour adds there. It was an Old Hebrew Proverb, near of Kin to the former, *It is not good to throw the Childrens Bread to Dogs* : which you find made use of by our Saviour in *Mat. 15. 26*. When the Woman of *Canaan* besought him in behalf of her Daughter, who was grievously vexed with a Devil, he put her off, by telling her, That he was not sent but unto the *lost Sheep of the House of Israel*; and she being an Alien from the Common-wealth of *Israel*, had no right to the Privileges which were to be dispens'd to these alone. *It is not meet*, saith he, *to take the Childrens Bread, and cast it to Dogs*. But this Woman would not be put off so, but wisely retorted his Proverb by another Common and Acknowledged Truth, that *the Dogs eat of the Crumbs which fall from their Master's Table*. If she might not have *the Childrens Bread*, she requested he would not deny her that *Common Allowance* which fell from his bountiful Hand, and which she firmly believed he would not keep from her. This great Faith of hers made her capable of receiving this, and a higher Blessing from our Compassionate Master. The Talmud uses that Proverbial Saying, *An Elephant cannot go through the Eye of a Needle*; but Christ instead of an *Elephant* (which was an Animal that few saw in that Country) mentions a *Camel*, which was a Creature well known; and he expresth himself after a Proverbial manner thus, *It is easier for a Camel to go through the Eye of a Needle, than for a rich Man to enter into the Kingdom of God*, *Mat. 19. 24.* which
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in plainer terms he had said in the Verse before, *A rich Man shall hardly enter into the Kingdom of Heaven*; which is explain'd further in another place, *It is hard for them that trust in Riches to enter into the Kingdom of God*, Mark 10. 24. It is hard, yea, it is impossible, for you may as well draw a Camel through the Eye of a small Needle. Those are said to be Jewish Proverbs, *The Disciple is not above his Master, nor the Servant above his Lord*, Mat. 10. 24. *They are blind Leaders of the Blind*, Mat. 15. 14. *Ye strain at a Gnat, and swallow a Camel*, Mat. 23. 24. *A Prophet hath no honour in his own Country*, John 4. 44. These and many other Proverbial Speeches among the Jews, are applied by our Saviour, he being pleas'd to conform to the Language as well as the Rites and Usages of his Countrymen. Any one that hath read the Books of the *Mishnah*, where the several Sayings and Sentences of the Jewish Rabbies are recorded, knows how near they come to sundry Speeches and Expressions used by our Saviour. That was an Old *Hebrew* Proverb, (though used sometimes by Pagans) *The Dog is return'd to his Vomit again*; and you find the same in *St. Peter* (1 Ep. 2. 22.) who had it originally from *Solomon's Proverbs*, Chap. 26. 11. where it is used to express a *Fool's return to his Folly*.

To the *Proverbial Sayings* among the Jews, I may refer that of our Saviour's bidding the Apostles *shake off the Dust of their Feet*, Mat. 10. 14. or *under their Feet*, Mark 6. 11. which I have reserv'd for this place, because I will more distinctly speak of it than I have of the rest. It was Christ's Injunction, that when they came into a House or City, and found not reception, they should behave themselves in this manner; and he further tells them
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what they must say, Luk. 10. 11. *Even the very Dust of your City which cleaveth on us, we do wipe off against you.* Some imagine, that this *shaking off the Dust of the Feet* or *Shoes* hath affinity with the Jewish Rite of *pulling off the Shoe*, mention'd Deut. 25. 9. Ruth 4. 7. which was a Ceremony of Disgrace, performed by the Relict of the Deceased Brother to the Surviving one who refused to marry her. But this Opinion hath but few Abettors, and indeed, 'tis a wonder it hath had any, for there is a vast difference between the *shaking off the Dust of the Feet*, and the *plucking off the Shoe*. Others think this Practice is of the same Nature with *shaking the Lap* or *Garment*, which was an usage among the Hebrews; and they would by this shew that they wish'd or pray'd that such an one might be shaken, removed, deprived of his Goods and Possession. Thus *Nehemiah* used this Rite against those that exacted Usury of their Brethren, Neh. 5. 13. And this *shaking of the Rayment* was practis'd by St. Paul against the blaspheming Jews, Acts 18. 6. But this is a quite different thing from what we are speaking of, unless we can prove that *Dust* and *Clothing* are convertible. But *Dr. Lightfoot refers this Passage to that particular Saying of the Jews, That the Dust of a Heathen Land defiles a Man and makes him Unclean. So that our Saviour bad the Apostles shake off the Dust from their Feet, to shew how they reputed those People, viz. as Heathenish and Profane, and consequently they were not to be convers'd with. The Apostles scorn'd to have any thing to do with them: and as a Sign of that, they

* Hor. Hebr. in S. Matth. And the Harmony of the New Testament, on Acts 14.

they would not carry away any thing that belonged to that Place, no not so much as the Dust of it. But, if I may be permitted to offer my Thoughts, there is something more in these Words than this. It is true, this is signified that they would not hold Correspondence with those unworthy Persons that rejected the Gospel, they would not suffer the very *Dust* of the Place to adhere to the Soles of their Feet: but that is not all. It is further and more particularly signified, that the Apostles were to *leave the Place speedily*. When they are commanded to *shake off the Dust of their Feet*, the more especial Meaning is, that they must stay no longer in the Place, but be gone from it with all the *Expedition* they can, and they must not carry so much as the Dust to burden them. It is something related (as I apprehend) to that other Counsel of our Saviour, in the very same Chapter; or rather, it seems to be the same, but mentioned again in other terms, (as is usual with our Lord) *When they persecute you in one City, flee ye into another*, ver. 23. with what *Speed* you can depart from the Place where you are so ill used. When you find that your Preaching is wholly despised, make no Delay, but hasten away, that you may be in a Capacity to do good in some other Places, where you may be kindly received. As soon as you see your Message is scorn'd and rejected, *shake the Dust off your Feet*, and be gone away immediately. This seems to be the genuine Tendency of the Words; for we must know that *Judea* (some part of it especially) was a dry, hot and dusty Countrey, whence it was a Custom among them to have their Feet wash'd as soon as they came into a House: this was part of the Welcome which they look'd for; and when this Ceremony was omitted, they gathered

thered thence that they were Unacceptable Guests. Therefore, saith Christ, if you find not this Welcome, if your Feet are not wash'd, and the Dust wiped off by some of the House, do this part yourselves, (that thereby you may be somewhat refresh'd) lightly shake off some of the Dust, and go your way, and leave the Habitation forthwith. So that these Words denote *Haste* and *Expedition*; which may be confirmed from that Saying of the Jews, which they used in Traffick, *Whilst the Dust is on your Feet* (before 'tis all wiped off) *sell what you have*, i. e. sell quickly. So *Pie-Powder-Court* among us, which is incident to every Fair and Market (as a Court Baron to a Mannor) is that where Causes are tried cursorily and in haste. This *Dusty-foot-Court* is so call'd to signify the Quickness of Dispatch in it. Thus among the Greek Lawyers *ῥημαδικοὶ* (rendred by the Latins *Pedaneus Judex*) was a sorry, mean, inferiour Judg, a *Pedant* in Law, that judg'd standing on foot on the plain Ground, and had not a Chair or Tribunal: he judg'd, as it were, *in transitu*, passing, going on foot. He was a Judg of the Court of *Pie Powder*, *pedis pulverisati*, as our Lawyers call it, because they came to it in haste, and had no time to wipe off the Dirt which they contracted in their Travels. Thus there is some Analogy between this way of speaking, and that which I am now treating of. Our Saviour adviseth his Travelling Apostles to use Prudence, to be gone, as fast as they could, out of those Cities and Towns where the Inhabitants were wholly averse to the Preaching of the Gospel, and especially when they saw it would be attended with Persecution. And we read that the Apostles put this in practice when they were at *Antioch*, where they were severely handled, and saw they should be expell'd

pell'd out of those Coasts, they shook off the Dust of their Feet against them, and came to Iconium in all haste, *Acts* 13. 50, 51. This was a Sign of Speed: and so the Meaning of Christ's Injunction was, that when they perceived the Gospel was rejected, and themselves were in great Danger, they should presently depart from the Place, and stay no longer among such vile People. But withal, I deny not that this was to be for a Testimony against them, as 'tis said, *Mark* 6. 11. it was to bear witness against the Despisers of the Gospel, and the Persecutors of the holy Professors of it. And moreover, it was a Token of Contempt and Abhorrence, and (with reference to a Jewish Saying before mention'd) might be spoken in a Proverbial way. Lastly, it might be shew'd here, that many of Christ's Parables (of which I have treated before) were borrowed from the Jewish Doctors. That of Dives and Lazarus is cited in the Gemara on the Babylonian Talmud. The Parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard is mentioned in the same Place, in the Title *Beracoth*: and that of the five wise and five foolish Virgins is spoken of in the Book of the Sabbath: and some others might be instanc'd in; but I will add no more under this Head.

C H A P. VI.

There is in Scripture a great and delightful Variety of Languages. Some Chapters and Verses of the Old Testament are in Chaldee. Here are Persian, African, Arabick, Syriac, Phœnician Words. In the New Testament there are some Hebrew and Persian, many Latin and Syriac Words. Hebraisms, i. e. Phrases proper to the Hebrews, are not only in the Old Testament, (where many Examples are produced) but in the New; where (besides many other Hebrew Modes of Speech) the Use of God's Name to augment and inbase the Sense, the Use of the word Sons or Children, not only applied to Persons but Things; the Import of the word first-born or first-begotten, and of those Expressions, the Son of Man, a Weight of Glory, are chiefly insisted upon. There are no Solæcisms in Scripture. St. Jerom, Erasmus, Calvin, Beza, Castellio, Dr. Hammond censured for asserting the contrary. Sir Norton Knatchbull saves the Grammatical Part of the New Testament, and clears it of Solæcisms. The same things which some call Solæcisms and undue Syntax, are found in the best Classical Authors. There are Chasms, Expletives, Repetitions, and at other times unexpected Brevity, seeming Inconsistencies and Incoherencies in the best Greek and Latin Authors. The Propriety and Excellency of the Sacred Stile may be justified from the Writings of the most celebrated Moral Philosophers, Orators, Poets, &c.

4thly. **I** Further offer this to your Observation, that there is in the Scriptures a great and delightful Variety of Tongues and Languages.

guages. There are in the Old Testament, besides the *Hebrew*, (of which it is composed) many Chapters written in *Chaldee*: as in *Ezra*, part of the 4th Chapter, all the 5th and 6th, with part of the 7th: in *Daniel*, the greatest part of the 2^d Chapter, and all the rest that follow till the 8th: in *Jeremiah*, one single Verse, viz. the 11th of the 10th Chapter. And besides these greater Portions, there are many *Chaldee Words* dispersed up and down in several Places, as *Chartummim*, Magicians, Astrologers, *Gen.* 41. 24. used also in *Dan.* 1. 20. *ch.* 2. 2. *Nishtewan*, an Epistle or Letter, *Ezra* 4. 7. *Pithgam*, a Word or Decree, *Esther* 1. 20. *Sethav*, Winter, *Cant.* 2. 11. *Saga*, to magnify, *Job* 36. 24. *Tiphsar*, a Captain, *Jer.* 51. 27. and some think *Macha*, *Numb.* 34. 11. is a Chaldaick Verb. Other Words are of *Persian* Extraction, as *Pardes* and *Pardefim*, *Eccles.* 2. 5. *Cant.* 4. 13. *Orchards* or *Gardens*; whence the word *Paradise*; for so the Persians call'd their Orchards, Gardens and Parks, saith * *Philostratus*: and we read the like in † *Jul. Pollux*. *Partemim*, Nobles or Princes, *Esther* 1. 3. is a Word borrowed from the Persians, and is proper to that Country. So is *Pur*, a Lot, *Esther* 3. 7. and *Achashdarpaim*, Lieutenants or Governours of Provinces, *Esth.* 3. 12. *ch.* 9. 3. and *Chiun*, *Amos* 5. 26. passes for a Persian Name among some Learned Men. From *Egypt* (with which the Hebrews had great Commerce) several Words are borrowed, as *Zaphnath Paaneah*, *Gen.* 41. 45. the Title of Honour which King *Pharaoh* conferr'd on *Joseph*, which some interpret a *Revealer of Secrets*, (as both *Jonathan* and *Onkelos* render it, and most of the Rabbies) but others, with *St. Jerom*, translate it the *Saviour*

* In vitâ Apollonii. † In Onomastico.

of the World. But whatever the meaning of it is, 'tis not to be doubted that 'tis *Egyptian*, for a Title given by an Egyptian King was certainly such. And some think the same of the word *Abrech*, Gen. 41. 43. the Term of Applause and Acclamation which the Egyptian People made use of when *Joseph* was advanced to be the Second Man in the Kingdom, and rid in Royal State through the Streets. *Zephardegnim*, Frogs, *Exod.* 8. 3. and *Zephardeang* a Frog, *Psal.* 78. 45. are of Egyptian Race: and such is *Ob* an Inchanter, *Deut.* 18. 10. if we may credit the * Learned *Kircher*: and *Manor* a Weaver's Beam, 1 *Sam.* 17. 7. and *Sarim* an Eunuch, 2 *Chron.* 18. 8. and *Saritim* Eunuchs, 2 *Kings* 20. 18. and several other Words were brought with the Israelites out of *Egypt*, or were learn'd by Converse. *Totaphoth*, Frontlets, *Exod.* 13. 16. *Deut.* 6. 8. is a compound Word (as † *Scaliger* thinks) from *Tot* and *Photh*; the first an Egyptian Word, the second used in some other part of *Africa*. *Atad* a Thorn, *Psal.* 58. 9. is also reckon'd an *African* or *Punick* Word. From *Arabia* others are fetch'd, as *Raphelingius* and *Golius*, and other great Linguists have observ'd: especially in the Book of *Job* they find several *Arabick* Words, for he was of that Countrey. *Leviathan* is of this sort, saith *Bochart*, and signifies a Dragon, and any Great Fish. *Seranim*, Lords, 1 *Sam.* 6. 18. and *Cabul*, 1 *Kings* 9. 13. and many others, are look'd upon as *Phœnician*. *Zamzumminim*, Giants, *Deut.* 2. 20. is purely an *Ammonitish* Word. *Gnerabon*, a Pledg, *Gen.* 38. 17. is *Syriac*: and *Sbarbit* a Scepter, *Esth.* 4. 11. ch. 5. 2. (used here, and no where else) is such, rather than a pure *Hebrew* Word.

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* Nomenclar. cap. 15. † In *Elc.*

The Names of the *Months* among the Hebrews (several of which occur in the Old Testament) are generally taken from other Languages. And many other foreign Words are brought into the Hebrew Tongue, and mix'd with it, (which was caused by Correspondence with other Nations, of whom they were taught these Words, and particularly by Traffick and Importing of foreign Goods, as * *Avenarius* has observed, the Things and the Names being brought at the same time from foreign Parts) and accordingly we find them in the Writings of the Old Testament. Here that of the Rabbies is true, (though they applied it, as I have shewed before, in another Sense) *The Scripture oftentimes speaks in the Language of the Sons of Men*; it hath Words which are used in other Tongues, and borrowed from other Nations.

Thus likewise it is in the New Testament; there is a Variety of Languages in it. For though the main of it be *Greek*, yet there are sundry Words there of a different Original. Some *Hebrew* ones are made use of by the Holy Ghost, as *Allelujah*, *Rev.* 19. 1, 3, 4, 6. *Sabaotb*, *Rom.* 9. 29. *Jam.* 5. 4. *Amen*, *Rom.* 1. 25. *Eph.* 3. 21. and in several other Places; and *πάρα*, *Mark* 14. 16. and often used in the Gospels; and in *1 Cor.* 5. 7. *Heb.* 11. 28. is originally Hebrew. These Words were so much in use among the Faithful, that the Apostles thought fit not to translate them, but to retain them as they are. Again, some Words in this Part of the Bible are *Persian*, as *μύσγοι*, *Matth.* 2. 7, 16. *παλα*, *Acts* 8. 27. *ἀγλαπέρευ*, *Mat.* 5. 41. *Mark* 15. 41. and *ἡδονα*, *Paradise*, *Luke* 23.

* Cum rebus exoticis vocabula etiam peregrina importantur. *Heb. Lex.*

43. 2 Cor. 12. 4. Rev. 2. 7. is of Perfick Extract. Remphan, Acts 7. 43. is thought by some to be Egyptian. It is certain that there are a great many Latin Words Grecized, as *Quadrans*, Matth. 5. 26. *Legio*, Matth. 5. 9. ch. 26. 53. *Census*, Matth. 17. 25. *Prætorium*, Matth. 27. 27. Acts 23. 35. Phil. 1. 13. *Custodia*, Matth. 27. 65. ch. 28. 11. *Spiculator*, Mark 6. 27. *Centurio*, Mark 15. 45. *Opsonium*, Luke 3. 14. Rom. 6. 23. *Modius*, Luke 11. 33. *Sudarium*, Luke 19. 20. *Colonia*, Acts 16. 12. *Semicinctium*, Acts 19. 12. *Sicarius*, Acts 21. 38. *Macellua*, 1 Cor. 10. 25. *Membrana*, 2 Tim. 4. 13. And *Φελών*, in the same Verse, is a Greek Word made out of the Latin one *Penula*, with a Metathesis. Which Words (and many more without doubt) came in with the Roman Conquest over the Jews, for Conquerors carry their Language with them; and hence it is not to be marvell'd at that many Roman Words were in use among the Jews, and that some of them were inserted into the New Testament. There are likewise several Syriac Words used by the Evangelical Writers, and generally interpreted in the Places where they are: as *Raka*, Matth. 5. 22. *Golgotha*, Matth. 27. 33. *Sabachthani*, Mat. 27. 46. *Boanerges*, Mark 3. 17. *Talitha cumi*, Mark 5. 41. *Corban*, Mark 7. 11. *Ephphatha*, Mark 7. 43. *Abba*, Mark 14. 33. Rom. 8. 15. *Mammon*, Luke 16. 9. *Cephas*, John 1. 42. *Gabbatha*, John 19. 13. *Meldama*, Acts 1. 19. *Tabitha*, Acts 9. 36. *Maranatha*, 1 Cor. 16. 22. And *ἀγγέλων*, Eph. 1. 14. 2 Cor. 1. 22. is also of Syriac Original. Nor is it a wonder that we find a great Number of these in the Greek Testament; for after the Return of the Jews from their Captivity in *Babylon*, their Language was mix'd of the Hebrew and Chaldee, and named the Syriac Tongue, from the Regions where
it

it was used. As for the Old Pure Hebrew, the Priests and the Learned Jews only understood it, but this Mix'd Tongue was that which was generally spoken and understood by all the Jewish Nation. Therefore in this Tongue Christ made all his Sermons to the People, and the Evangelists and Apostles preach'd the Gospel to them in it. Yea, because the *Syriac* succeeded in the place of the *Hebrew*, (the Jews having lost this, and taken up that) therefore that Tongue is sometimes call'd the *Hebrew* Tongue in the New Testament, as in *John* 19. 13. where it is said, *Pilate sat down in the Judgment-seat, in a Place that is called the Pavement, but in the Hebrew Gabbatha.* This is a *Syriac* Word, or a Dialect of the *Chaldee*, (which is the same) but it is call'd *Hebrew* here, because *Syriac* was become the Vulgar Language of the Hebrews; yea, was their Mother-Tongue in our Saviour's time. So when 'tis said, that the Title on the Cross was written in Letters of *Hebrew*, *Luke* 23. 38. 'tis probable that the *Syriac* is meant, *i. e.* the Superscription was written in *Syriac* Words, though in *Hebrew* Letters.

5thly. It is useful to observe what a considerable Number of *Hebraisms*, *i. e.* of Phrases proper to the Hebrews is made use of in these Holy Writings, not in those of the Old Testament only, but in the Greek Writings of the New. Indeed the Books of the Old and New Testament being written by *Hebrews*, we cannot expect but that they should use the *Hebrew* way of speaking. Such is that in *Gen.* 40. 13. *Pharaoh shall lift up thy Head.* To lift up the Head, is to Account or Reckon, for (as some tell us) they used to cast Accompts with Nails or Pins, stuck in a Table with Holes, and these Pins were call'd *Heads*: by the lifting them up, or re-

moving them out of one Hole to another, they performed their Arithmetick. Therefore *Moses* expresses it thus, *He lifted up the Head of the chief Butler and chief Baker*, ver. 20. that is, he *Reckoned with them*, and then differently dealt with them, viz. according to their Deserts. The same Phrase is used in *Exod.* 30. 12. *When thou takest the Sum of the Children of Israel*, *Hebr.* When thou liftest up the Head: And so in *Numb.* 1. 2. *take the Sum*, *Hebr.* Lift up the Head. It is a peculiar Mode of Speech to signify to *reckon*, to gather the Sum of all; to which answer the Greek ἀνακεφαλαιῶν, and the Latin *recapitulare*, to bring all to one Head, which were borrowed from the Hebrew Stile. To *fill the Hand*, *Exod.* 28. 41. *ch.* 29. 9. *Numb.* 3. 3. is a way of speaking proper to the Hebrews, and we fitly render it to *consecrate*, because, perhaps, when they Consecrated Persons, they delivered into their Hands the Badges and Instruments of their Office. Another peculiar Phrase is used in *2 Kings* 10. 21. *ch.* 21. 16. *Ezra* 9. 11. which, according to the Hebrew is, *from Mouth to Mouth*, or *Mouth to Mouth*, but it particularly denotes a *Place to be full of People*; and accordingly is so rendred, perhaps for this Reason, because when it is so, they stand close together, as it were *Mouth to Mouth*. To *give the Hand to one*, was heretofore a way of Expression proper to the Eastern Countries, the Hebrews especially; and it was as much as to *submit* or *yield to one*, *1 Chron.* 29. 24. *Jer.* 50. 15. *Lam.* 5. 6. and it is applied in a spiritual way, *2 Chron.* 30. 8. *give the Hand*, or *yield your selves unto the Lord*. The same Phrase is used by Gentile Authors: τὸ χεῖρ προεῖχεσθαι, *dare manus*, is to confess one's self to be overcome.

The Form of *Wishing* among the Hebrews is singular, and not used by others, *Who will give?* *Exod.* 16. 3. which we translate *would to God*: *So Numb.* 11. 29. *Deut.* 28. 67. *Job* 13. 5. *O that ye would!* Benjamin is call'd a *Lad*, *Gen.* 43. 8. though he was Four and twenty Years old, and had Children: the Idiom of the Hebrew Tongue solves it. To this peculiar manner of phrasing things may be referr'd *Gen.* 49. 10. — *Nor a Lawgiver from between his Feet.* For so the Hebrews modestly express the place of Generation, stiling it *Ragelim*, the Feet: and so the word seems to be meant in *Exod.* 4. 25. *Deut.* 28. 57. *Isa.* 6. 2. and thus the *Masorites*, for the word which is used for *Urine*, read in the Margin *the Water of the Feet*, *2 Kings* 18. 27. And sometimes instead of *Feet*, the Hebrews use the word *Thigh*, *Gen.* 46. 26. *Exod.* 1. 5. and *Loins*, *Gen.* 35. 11. and in a multitude of other places. Moreover, the peculiar way of using the word *Sons* among the Hebrews is remarkable; as in *Prov.* 31. 5. *Sons of Affliction*, i. e. the Afflicted: *Sons of Destruction*, ver. 8. *Such as are appointed to be destroy'd*, as we render it: *Sons of Oil*, *Zech.* 4. 14. i. e. the anointed ones. So we read of the *Son of the Morning*, *Isa.* 14. 12. and the *Sons of Belial*, *Judg.* 19. 22. *2. Sam.* 23. 6. And sometimes 'tis applied to Things as well as Persons, as in *Job* 5. 7. [*As the Sons of the burning Coal*, i. e. the Sparks, *fly upward.*] Whatever is the part of a thing, or whoever belongs to any thing, or is partaker of it, is in the Hebrew Idiom call'd a *Son*.

Again, the *Name of God* after the Hebrew manner, is wont to be added, to Magnify and Augment the Signification in several places of Scripture. There have been some Instances of this sort produced by
Critical

Critical Writers on the Bible, but I will endeavour here (and afterwards) to make a considerable Addition to them. But first I will take notice of a place or two which have been brought under this Head, but in my judgment belong not to it. Such is that, *Gen. 10. 9. He was a mighty Hunter before the Lord*, where (saith * One) the Name of the Lord is added to heighten the sense, as is frequent in the Hebrew Style. But two things I here urge to enervate this Interpretation: First, It is not the bare Name of *God* or *Lord* that is here added, as in other Texts. The exact rendring of *Lipni Jebovah* (which are the words here) is *ad facies, ad conspectum Domini*, and is well translated *before the Lord*, which signifies the bold and impudent Usurpation and Tyranny of this first Monarch. This hardened Oppressor had no regard either to God or Man; yea, he committed his Violences and Ravages in defiance of the Great Lord and Sovereign of the World: this is to be a Hunter, a Persecutor, a Tyrant *before the Lord*: and so you see it is not that *Hebraism* we are now to treat of. Secondly, There was no need of that way of Speech here, for the Greatning and Heightning of the sense, were before express'd by the term *Gibbor, mighty*: wherefore there was no occasion to add the Name of *God* as a mark of Intension. If you observe the Instances which I shall afterward produce, you will find that *God's Name* is used when there was no word to express *Greatness* or *Eminency* in the preceding words. For these Reasons, I expunge this first Text out of the Number of the Instances which ought to be mention'd here. And after the same rate I must deal with that other,

Prov.

Prov. 20. 27. *The Spirit of Man is the Candle of the Lord*: where the last word is asserted by a late * Learned Critick to be added (in which he follows *Drusus* in his *Hebrew Proverbs*) as an *Auxesis*, that is, only to augment the sense: and therefore he saith, *the Candle of the Lord* is no more than a most Excellent Candle or Light. But if we consider the words aright, we shall not find such an *Hebraism* in them. The Text is easie and plain, without any thing of this Nature; for the Wise Man here acquaints us, that *the Spirit of Man*, his Nobler and Divine part, the Intellect especially, that Bright and Glorious Faculty was given to him by God, on purpose to be a Light and Guide to him, to make him capable of enquiring into and attaining a knowledge of the Profoundest Truths, the most remote and recondite Mysteries either in Nature or Religion: that is meant here by *searching all the inward Parts of the Belly*. Thus the Sagacious Mind of Man is the Candle or Lamp of the Lord; the word *Lord* here signifying to us the Author and Giver of this Noble Faculty. And therefore I something wonder at what this Learned Writer adds in the same place, *viz.* That our English Translation [*the Spirit of Man is the Candle of the Lord*] is an odd Expression, and somewhat difficult surely to make a good sense of; whereas the same Expression is used in the Scripture in other places, and bears a very good sense, as you have heard. Some have thought that *Musical Instruments of God*, 1 Chron. 16. 42. and *Instruments of Musick of the Lord*, 2 Chron. 7. 6. denote the Loudness or Excellency of the Temple-Musick; but this Fancy arose from their not attending to the true Reason which

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* Sir N. Knatchbull Annot. on 2 Cor. 10.

is given in the latter of these places, where after *Instruments of Musick of the Lord* is immediately added, which David the King had made to Praise the Lord; therefore they were so call'd. Nor can I be perswaded that a *Man of God*, which we often read of, imports only an *Excellent Man*, as some have suggested; but it speaks his more particular and peculiar Relation to God as a Prophet.

I come now to offer some Examples where the Hebrew way of Speaking, by mentioning God to signify the Greatness or Excellency of a thing, is very apparent and unquestionable; as *Gen. 30. 8. Wrestlings of God*, according to the Hebrew, i. e. great, strong and vehement Wrestlings: *1 Sam. 14. 15. a Trembling of God*, which we rightly translate *a very great Trembling*: *1 Sam. 10. 5. the Hill of God*: *Psal. 36. 6. the Mountains of God*, i. e. the great Hills and Mountains. *Cedars of God*, *Psal. 80. 10. rendred goodly*: *the Trees of the Lord*, *Psal. 104. 16. i. e. exceeding great or high Trees*. To which Texts (that are generally acknowledg'd to bear this sense) I will presume to add another, viz. *Psal. 65. 9. the River of God*, i. e. a Vast Great River. And what is that? The Clouds or Rain, which are poured down upon the Earth in great abundance. For if you read that part of the Psalm, you'll see it speaks of the great Blessing of Rain, *Thou visitest the Earth, and waterest it, thou greatly enrichest it with the River of God, &c.* to the end of the Psalm. This Vast Mass of Waters is according to the Hebrews stiled *a River of God*: it is as 'twere a Great Excellent River flowing down from Heaven: Though I do not exclude the other sense contain'd in it, that 'tis *from God*, and that 'tis a singular Argument and Token of God's Care and Providence. *Cant. 8. 6. is a place little*

little taken notice of, *the Flame of the Lord*, i. e. (as we truly translate it) *a most Vehement Flame*. So *the Voice of God*, Ezek. 1. 24. & 10. 5. that is, a very loud and terrible Voice. *The Breath of God*, Job 37. 10. i. e. *a Vehement sharp Wind*. And it is not unlikely that Isa. 59. 19. is to be understood thus, *Ruach Jehovah*, (not, as we translate it, *the Spirit of the Lord*, but) *the Wind of the Lord*, i. e. a great tempestuous Wind. I gather this to be the meaning from what went before, *when the Enemy shall come in like a Floud*, then (saith the Prophet) the Almighty Power of God, like some Great and Vehement Wind, shall drive it back, shall put it to flight, as we see great Waters and Floods are oftentimes beat back (as well as violently thrust forward) by mighty Winds. Another place which hath not been observed, is Job 15. 11. *Are the Consolations of God small with thee?* which are *Eliphaz's* words wherewith he reproves *Job* for undervaluing the Consolatory Arguments which had been offer'd to him by himself and his other Friends: and these Topicks of Comfort were not mean and ordinary, but of a very peculiar Nature. *Job's* Fault is aggravated from this, that he despised and slighted so Great Comforts when they were tender'd to him: and Great they were, (as you read in the 9th and 10th Verses) because they were offer'd by Persons of great Understanding, Age, and Experience. And the *Antithesis* which is here, doth shew this to be the sense of the place; Are these Great Consolations, saith he, Small with thee? Dost thou look for Greater and Stronger Arguments to support and cheer thee than these are? I am of opinion therefore that *Tanchumoth El*, the Consolations of God, are the same

same with *Great Consolations*. Jon. 3. 3. is a known Text, where it is said, *Nineveh was an Exceeding great City*, Hebr. *great to God*. *A Land of Darknes of the Lord*, Jer. 2. 31. is as much as a Land of very great and signal Darknes; for *Ma-phel* is here compounded with *Jah*, to express the Superlative Degree of Darknes. So in the words *Erel*, Isa. 33. 7. *Prævalidus*, & *Ariel*, *Leo fortis*, 2 Sam. 23. 29. *El* the Name of God is added to inhanse the Signification. So *Jacob* was surnamed *Israel*, i. e. a Prince of God, which is equivalent with a *Great Prince*, one that mightily prevail'd, even with God himself. Hither perhaps may be reduced the *Sons of God*, Gen. 6. 2. *Great Men*, of high Stature, the *Giants* mention'd ver. 4. but call'd here the *Sons of God*, according to the Idiom of the Hebrews, who set forth the Greatness and Largeness, as also the transcendent Worth and Excellency of Persons and Things by joining the Name of God to them. To this way of speaking, I refer *Tardemah Jehovah*, 1 Sam. 26. 12. english'd by our Translators, a deep Sleep from the Lord; but according to the Hebrew, it is a Sleep of the Lord, i. e. a Great Sleep, *Sopor vehemens*, as *Arius Montanus* renders it, a Profound Sleep, out of which a Person is not easily awaked. Therefore a deep Sleep, or a very deep Sleep will be sufficient, without adding from or of the Lord. To this also may be referr'd *lechem abirim*, Psal. 78. 25. the Bread or Food of Angels, i. e. Excellent Food: for what is Excellent, is said to be *Angelical* as well as *Divine*. And indeed these are the same here, for *Abirim* is of the same import with *Elobim*, and as the Name of God, is used to augment the sense. Whence the Pagan Writers have borrow'd this manner

manner of Speaking, as when by * *θεῶν τροφή*, the Food of the Gods, they, in a Proverbial way, mean very Choice and Exquisite Dainties : and by † *Deorum cœna*, they express a very Sumptuous and Delicate Entertainment. *Virgil* and other Poets (yea, *Cicero* sometimes) by the Epithet of *Divine*, understand that which is Eminent, Remarkable, Excellent. Bordering on which is the use of the word *Sacred* sometimes, whereby that which is Great is express'd : *Sacra anchora* is the greater, and consequently the stronger and safer Anchor, the last and only hope of the Ship and Mariners. And some Criticks have thought that *Sacra fames* is the same with *ingens, insatiabilis* ; for those things which are Great are said to be Sacred, and to be of God. *ἰσχυρὸν* and *θεῶν* among the Greeks are sometimes *magna* : So *ἰσχυρὸς νόστος* (*Morbus fonticus*) is a Vehement Disease, of greater Malignity than ordinary, but more signally 'tis applied to the *Epilepsy*. *Plutarch* mentions an Old Physician who call'd his Choice Sovereign Medicines *θεῶν χάρις*. And in *Galen* there is *Jupiter's Trochisk*. They give these Names to their Medicaments to shew the Excellency of them ; for all Great and Excellent things were by the Antients counted Holy, and sometimes they put the Name of God upon them. So among the later Physicians and Botanists, you may observe that they make use of the Name of || God, of * *Christ*, of the † *Apostles* and Saints, to set forth some things which they have a great Esteem of. They mention the most Sacred things to extol and magnify their Simples and their Medical Applications. All this seems to be derived from

* Suet. in Nerone. † Hor. 2 Serm. Sat. 6. || Allelujah. * Oculus, manus, palma, lachryma Christi. † Unguentum Apostolorum.

from the antient Stile of the Hebrews, by whom that which is *Greatest in its kind* is call'd *Divine*, and accordingly (as *R. D. Kimchi* notes in his Comment on 1 Sam. 16.) the *Sacred Scripture*, when it would magnify a thing, joins with it *God's Name*.

But it is endless to insist on the *Old Testament*: and therefore I will confine my self to the *New*, and briefly shew you that this part of the Bible, though written in *Greek*, abounds with *Hebraisms*: (and yet here still I shall have occasion to refer to the Writings of the *Old Testament* all along.) The Reason why the Evangelists and Apostles writ in *Greek*, was, because this was the Tongue generally used by all sorts of Nations, but you will find that they accommodated it to the guise of the *Hebrew Tongue*; that is, they retained many of the *Hebrew Idioms*, and made use of them in the *Greek Language*. Thus *to be called* and *to be* are the same among the *Hebrews*, and this latter is frequently in * the *Old Testament*, express'd by the former. Accordingly these are oftentimes expressive one of another in the *New Testament*, as in *Mat. 5. 9. they shall be called the Children of God*: and *ver. 19. he shall be called the least in the Kingdom of Heaven*. 1 *Joh. 3. 1.*—that we should be call'd the *Sons of God*. *To be called* here and in other places is really *to be*, and it is so express'd according to the *Hebrew way of speaking*. There is the like signification of the word [*arise*], as in 2 *Sam. 11. 20. if the King's Wrath arise*: *Esth. 4. 14. Enlargement and Deliverance shall arise to the Jews*: *Prov. 24. 22. their Calamity shall rise suddenly*. In all which places the word [*arise*] signifies no other than

* *Isa. 60. 14, 18. Ch. 61. 3. Ch. 62. 12. Zech. 8. 3.*

than actual *Being* or *Existing*, according to the Hebrew Idiom. And thence it is used so in the New Testament, as in *Luke* 24. 38. *Why do Thoughts arise in your Hearts?* i. e. why are they there? *Mat.* 24. 24. *There shall arise false Christs*, i. e. there shall actually be at that time such Persons, according to my Prediction. So [to be found] is among the Hebrews of the same import with the fore-mentioned Expressions, and accordingly in the Old Testament one is put for the other, as in *1 Sam.* 25. 28. *Evil hath not been found in thee*: *2 Chron.* 19. 3. *Good things are found in thee*: *Isa.* 51. 3. *Joy and Gladness shall be found therein*: *Dan.* 5. 12. *An Excellent Spirit was found in Daniel*. In these and other Texts נמצא and השתכח *inventus est*, are as much as היה *fuit*. As in the Writings of the Jewish Doctors you may observe that נמצא is the same with נמצא, *ens*. In imitation of this Hebraism εὑρισκόμεναι is used for *sum* or *existo* in the New Testament, as in *Luke* 17. 18. *There are not found that returned to give Glory to God save this Stranger*. *Acts* 5. 39. — *Lest haply ye be found to fight against God*. *1 Cor.* 4. 2. — that a Man be found Faithful. *Phil.* 2. 2. *being found in fashion as a Man*. *Heb.* 11. 5. *Enoch was not found*: which is the same with *Enoch was not*, as is evident from comparing this place with *Gen.* 5. 24. to which it refers. That of *St. Peter*, *1 Ep.* 2. 22. *Neither was Guile found in his Mouth*, is taken from *Isa.* 53. 9. *Neither was there any Deceit (or Guile) in his Mouth*. From whence it appears, that εὑρισκόμεναι is as much as γινώσκω in this, as well as the other Texts beforenamed. Which manner of Speech is borrowed from the *Hebrews*, who use this way of expressing themselves, and from whom some Heathen Authors have derived it, as may be seen in some of their Writings.

Next, we may take notice of that *Hebraism* in the New Testament, which I observ'd before to be in the Old one, *sc.* the using of *God's Name* to augment and inhanse a thing. Of this Nature seems to be that in *Acts* 7. 20. *Moses was fair to God*; for so 'tis according to the Greek, but is fitly rendred by our English Translators [*exceeding fair*:] for the Name of *God* being here adjoined advanceth the sense, and denotes to us that *Moses* was transcendently and superlatively Fair, he was a Child of Extraordinary Beauty, he was (as the French Version hath it) *divinement beau*, divinely beautiful, of most Astonishing and Divine Features. The like Expression, I conceive, is that of the Apostle, when he saith, *The Lord shall descend from Heaven with a Shout, with the Voice of the Archangel, and with the Trumpet of God*, 1 Thess. 4. 16. This *Trumpet of God* may be that kind of *Hebraism* whereby the Greatness and Wonderfulness of a thing are expressed, by adding the Name of *God* to it. And accordingly in *Mat.* 24. (which gives us an account of the Signs of the Day of Judgment) you read that *the Son of Man shall send his Angels with a Great sound of a Trumpet*, ver. 31. which is the same that the Apostle calls *the Trumpet of God*. Of this sort is 2 Cor. 10. 4. *δυνατα θεῶν*, *Exceeding Powerful*, as Sir N. Knatchbull rightly translates it: and 2 Cor. 11. 2. *ζήλω θεῶν*, *I am zealous toward you with a Zeal of God*, i. e. I exceedingly affect you, in an extraordinary manner I am Zealous for you. So *the Harps of God*, Rev. 15. 2. are Excellent Heavenly Musick. And I will offer one Place more (which I think may be referr'd to this Head) *John* 6. 28, 29. *the Works of God*, i. e. Some Great and Eminent Works of Religion, which surpass all others. Thus you see

see that *God's* Name is used in the Sacred Stile, as an Intensive Term, and to Aggrandize the thing which is spoken of.

So in Conformity to the Hebrew Phrase in the Old Testament (mention'd before) we read of *the Sons or Children* of this or that : which signifies, according to the Hebrew Propriety of Speech, that they are *Sharers or Partakers* of such a thing, or that they are *obnoxious* and *liable* to it, or that they have great *Inclination* and *Desire* towards it, or are *Conversant* in it, or *much given* and *addicted* to it, or do in a special manner *belong* and *appertain* to it. In one or other of these Senses the following places are to be understood, *the Children of the Bride-Chamber*, Mat. 9. 15. i. e. those that *belong'd* to it, and had the favour to be admitted into it ; those that were invited to the Marriage, and were interest'd in the Bridegroom and Bride ; *the Children of Hell*, Mat. 23. 15. i. e. those that are liable to it, and shall partake of its Torments : or it is as much as *the Children of the Devil*, i. e. those who have given themselves to him by a voluntary addicting themselves to Vice : *the Children of Wisdom*, Luk. 7. 35. those that are conversant in it : *the Sons of Peace*, Luk. 10. 6. such who addict themselves to Peace, or who shall be sharers in the Blessing of Peace : *the Children of this World*, Luk. 16. 8. those whose Inclinations and Desires are chiefly after this World ; to whom are opposed, in the same Verse, *the Children of Light*, they who despise this dark World here below, and breath and long after the Light and Glory of another State, of a future Life : *the Children of the Resurrection*, Luk. 20. 36. those who have a part, a share in the blessed Resurrection to Life everlasting : *Children of Disobedience*, Eph. 5. 6. Col. 3. 6. those that give themselves up wholly to

Disobediencce, the same with *Sons of Belial*, before-mentioned : *the Sons of Perdition*, John 17. 12. 2 *Thess.* 2. 3. those that are certainly liable to Perdition and Destruction : *Children of Promise*, Rom. 9. 8. *Gal.* 4. 28. those who shall share in the Promise : *Children of Wrath*, Eph. 2. 3. those who are liable to God's Wrath. This is the Hebrew way of speaking : he is call'd *the Son* of this or that, who hath some *special relation* to it. That also favours of the Hebrew Idiom, *Are ye able to drink of the Cup that I shall drink of?* Mat. 20. 22. & Joh. 18. 11. *The Cup which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it? If it be possible, let this Cup pass from me,* Mat. 26. 39. And you read of *the Cup of the Wine of the fierceness of God's Wrath*, Rev. 16. 19. And again, *Chap.* 14. 10. & *Ch.* 18. 6. The Cup signifies with the Hebrews any thing good or bad that befalls a Man : because those of the same Family or Table drink of the same Cup or Vessel ; every one hath his part and share of it, better or worse, as the Drink is. And so the Phrase denotes either the *Good* or *Evil* that happens to us, but most commonly the latter. Or perhaps, the occasion of the Phrase was this ; the Guests had antiently their certain Quantity and Measure of Drink and Meat appointed them at Feasts, by the Master or Governour of the Feast : from which Custom of distributing a certain Portion, God is said to *Give* or *Distribute his Cup* : and the *Cup* and *Drinking* are used for the Calamities and Sufferings which he is pleased to allot them. So our Saviour's Words are to be understood ; *the Cup which he was to drink*, and which his Father gave him, was the Sufferings which he was to undergo. *The Cup of the Wine of the Fierceness of God's Wrath*, was no other than the Plagues and Judgments which were to be inflicted

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on Mystical Babylon. This manner of Speaking was taken from the Old Testament, where you read of *the Cup of God's Fury*, and *the Cup of Trembling*, Isa. 51. 17. and many such * other Expressions there are in the Books of the Prophets. That of the Apostle in 1 Tim. 1. 17. is a pure Hebraism, *Now to the King Eternal*, or, as 'tis in the Original, *to the King of Ages*: which is an Expression to set forth Eternity. Accordingly the Psalmist saith, *Thy Kingdom is a Kingdom of all Ages*, which we rightly translate, *an everlasting Kingdom*, Psal. 145. 13. *In the Lord Jehovah is the Rock*, or *Strength, of Ages*, Isa. 26. 4. which is truly rendered *Everlasting Strength*. And that in Isa. 9. 6. *the Father of the Age*, or of Eternity, or *the everlasting Father*, (as we translate it) is something like it. *Bread* is the general word in the New Testament, to signify all Food and Provision for the sustaining of Man's Life, as in that Prayer which our Lord taught his Disciples, *Give us this Day our daily Bread*, and in Mark 7. 2, 27. Luk. 7. 37. Ch. 9. 3. Ch. 14. 1. 2 Theff. 3. 12. and in other places: which is according to the Idiom of the Hebrews, with whom all Food is call'd *lechem*, *Bread*, because this is the most Common and Universal Food, and the most necessary for the Life of Man: and this word with them denotes all the Necessaries and Conveniencies of Humane Life.

According to the Hebrew Stile, a *Sword* hath a *Mouth*, or the Edg of the Sword is call'd a *Mouth*: Luk. 21. 24. *They shall fall by the Mouth* (we rightly render it *the Edg*) *of the Sword*. Heb. 11. 34. — *escaped the Edg of the Sword*, in the Greek *σῶμα*, the *Mouth* of the Sword. So you read of a

* Jer. 25. 15, 26. Ch. 51. 7. Lam. 4. 21. Ezek. 23. 33. Hab. 2. 16.

Two-mouth'd Sword, Heb. 4. 12. for it is *ἑρμῆς* in the Greek. Which is the Hebrew Phraseology, as you may satisfy your selves from *Judg. 3. 16. Psal. 149. 6. Prov. 5. 4.* A Sword is said to have a *Mouth* because it *Devours*: So *kacbam* is both to *Fight* and to *Eat*.

As I observ'd before that *Drinking* was applied to Calamity or Suffering, so now I will remark that *Eating* and *Drinking* are sometimes meant of Holy Instruction, of Divine Grace, and the most Excellent things of Religion. *Eat up the Book*, Rev. 10. 9. i. e. Study it diligently, understand the Contents of it. Our Saviour expresses his Holy Doctrines, his Gifts and Graces, the Favour of God, and all Spiritual Comforts, yea, Himself too by *Meat* and *Drink*. I have *Meat* to eat which ye know not of, saith he, *John 4. 32. My Meat* is to do the Will of him that sent me, ver. 34. He adviseth to labour for the *Meat* which endureth to *Everlasting Life*, *John 6. 27.* And in four Verses together in the same Chapter, he uses this Phrase, *Except ye eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, ye have no Life in you. Whoso eateth my Flesh, and drinketh my Blood, hath Eternal Life. For my Flesh is Meat indeed, and my Blood is Drink indeed. He that eateth my Flesh, and drinketh my Blood, dwelleth in me.* Ver. 53, &c. And he promiseth his Apostles, that they shall eat and drink with him at his Table in his Kingdom, *Luk. 22. 30.* All which is according to the Language of the Antient Hebrews, who by *Eating* and *Drinking* express things of a Spiritual and Divine Nature, as in *Prov. 24. 13, 14. Chap. 25. 27. Isa. 55. 2.* and other Texts. * *R. Ben. Maimon* tells us, That this was the Stile of the

* In More Nevochim.

the Jewish Doctors and Rabbies: in their Writings, saith he, Eating is to be understood of Divine Instruction and Wisdom. This is observ'd by *Philo*, who lets us know that * Eating is a Representation of the Spiritual Nourishment.

The using of the word *First-born* or *First-begotten* in the Writings of the Apostles, is conformable to the acception of it among the *Hebrews*. The due attending to which will lead us to a right understanding of some Texts which have been generally mistaken by Expositors. I shall consider it here only as it is applied to our Blessed Saviour, which is done no less than four times: first in *Col. 1. 15.* where he is call'd the *First-born of every Creature*. *Erasmus* read it *πρωτόγονος*, the first producer of all Creatures: and he had it from † *Isidore of Pelusium*, who evaded the *Arians* Assaults by this means. But this is an undue Expedient, because it alters the received Accent of the Word without any warrant, and because in other places where this Word is, and is applied to Christ, this alteration is not admitted by those that make use of it here. *Gregory Nazianzen* and others, interpret the *First-born of every Creature* thus, He whom God the Father begot before he created any thing: He that existed before all Creatures. But this seems not to be the sense of the words, because *to be begotten before all Creatures*, and *to be the First-born of them*, are two different things. Others think the *First-born* here is Synonymous with the *Beginner* or *Author*, (which falls in with the Interpretation of *St. Isidore* before mention'd) and accordingly they quote that as a parallel

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parallel

* Τὸ γὰρ φαγεῖν σὺμβολὸν ἐστὶ τροφῆς ψυχικῆς. † Lib. 3. Epist. 31.

parallel Text, Rev. 3. 14. where Christ is call'd *the beginning of the Creation of God*, i. e. the Cause and Author of all Creatures, say they. But this (though it be very true) is not agreeable with the sense of the word *πρωτόγονος*, which is no where found to be taken thus. Nor is Grotius's Gloss to be allowed of, who expounds it thus, *Christ is the first in the new Creation*: for the Context shews that there is relation to no such thing. But if we consult the antient acception of the Word among the Hebrew Writers of the Old Testament, we shall discover what the genuine meaning of it is in this place. The *First-Born* is as much as Excellent, Choice, Beloved, as in Jer. 31. 9. *Ephraim is my First-born*. The Chiefest and most Eminent of Persons and Things have this Name; thus *the First-born of Death*, Job 18. 13. is the most signal and mortal Disease, or the cruellest kind of Death. *The First-born of the Poor*, Isa. 14. 30. is the poorest of all. *I will make him my First-born*, Psal. 89. 28. i. e. I will make him a Great and Eminent Person, *higher than the Kings of the Earth*, as it is explain'd in the next words. Answerably to this sort of speaking, Christ is said here to be *the First-born of every Creature*, i. e. the Chief, the Prince, the Lord of all Creatures. For we must know that this manner of Expression refers to that Dignity and Pre-eminence which were claim'd by the First-born under the Law. Primogeniture carried with it the Right of Superiority and Government. In allusion to which, our Saviour is call'd the *First-born* (that is the Lord) *of every Creature*: or *πᾶσα κτίσις* may better be rendred *the whole Creation*. He made, he created all things; and therefore is Lord of the whole Creation. Accordingly it immediately follows, *For by him were all things created*. This for gives

gives us to understand, that this Verse is the reason and account of what went before : St. Paul had stiled Christ *the First-born of every Creature*, and now he gives this satisfactory account of it, because by Him all things were created ; because of this he is deservedly stiled the *First-born*, the Lord and Sovereign of the Creation. You must either conclude that the Great St. Paul did not speak Logically and Argumentatively, or that this is the genuine Interpretation of the place. If the Apostle's Words were to the purpose, (as be sure they were) then this sense which I have offer'd is so too, which is as much as I can desire : And that this is the meaning of the word *First-born*, is evident from that other Text in this Chapter, ver. 18. where he is call'd the *First-born from the Dead*, not (as some think) because he is the Author of the Resurrection ; or (as Grotius, with most of the Pontificians) because he was the first that rose to Immortal Life and Glory : or (as others) because he was *the First that rose from the Dead*, as 'tis said *Acts 26. 23. viz.* by his own Power : but because he was the Chiefest of all those that rose from the Dead, because he was the Head of them all, as it follows, *that in all things he might have the Preeminence*, that it might appear that he was Lord of all. This is to be the *First-born of the Dead*, or of the Number of the Dead ; for so it should be rendered, the Preposition *ex* signifying here so much. A third Text might be alledged, *viz.* Rom. 8. 29. *that he might be the First-born among many Brethren*, i. e. that he might be the Chief, the Supream of all the Children of God ; for he was *Predestinated* as well as they, he was set a-part as the *First-born* among Men (who were the *Choicest* of all) were, who were more immediately destined and devoted

to

to the Service of God, *Exod. 12. 2.* And lastly, I will mention *Rev. 1. 5.* where Christ is call'd *the First-begotten of the Dead*, which hath the same import with those words in the Epistle to the *Colossians* before alledg'd, for it is explain'd to us by what follows in the next Clause [*and the Prince of the Kings of the Earth :*] to let us see that the word *First-born* or *First-begotten*, hath the Signification which I have offer'd, it being the use of the *Hebrews* to apply it to those Things or Persons that are the *Chiefest* and *most Excellent*. In which sense likewise *First-fruits* are taken in, *Jam. 1. 18.* where the Saints are call'd *the First-fruits of the Creatures of God*, i. e. they are the Chief of the Creation, they are the Flower of Mankind, they are more signally and eminently design'd to set forth the Glory of God in the World. So Christ is *the First-fruits of them that slept*, *1 Cor. 15. 20.* he is the Principal of all those that rose from the Dead. This way of Speaking is taken from the Jewish notion of *First-fruits*, which were the Choicest of all their Fruits and Incomes, and from the Hebrew manner of expressing themselves, that is, calling those things which are Chief and most Eligible *First-fruits*, *Amos 6. 1.* *Mic. 7. 1.*

Moreover, I take that Expression which our Saviour so often useth concerning himself, viz. his stiling himself *the Son of Man*, to be a way of Speech proper to the *Hebrews*, and therefore is to be explain'd by what we meet with in the Old Testament. A * Person well skill'd in Hebrew Criticism tells us, that *Ezekiel* is very often (about a hundred times) call'd *Son of Man*, because of the extraordinary Visions and Revelations which he had, where-

* Mr. Weemes's Exposition of the Judicial Law.

wherewith he was highly honour'd above others : So that *Son of Man* is the same with an *Excellent* or *Dignified Man*. And that this is the frequent Language of the *Psalmist*, hath been very lately observ'd and amply proved by our * *Incomparable Paraphrast* on this Sacred Book. Besides several other Excellent Discoveries made by him in that Choice Work, (which will gain him an Immortal Honour among the Pious and Wise) he hath particularly set us into a right apprehension of This Expression so often used by the Holy Penman. From several places in this Book (as also from others which he produceth out of the Sacred Writings) he evidenceth that *Son of Man* is the same with an *Eminent Person* ; and he is the first Writer I have met with that hath establish'd and fully clear'd this Notion. From this Discerning Author we may observe, that in *Psal.* 49. 2. there is a difference made between *bene adam* and *bene ish*, the former signifying there Mean Inferiour Persons, but the latter Men of Considerable Rank and Quality : wherefore our Translators give us the sense very fully in rendring it *low* and *high*. Or perhaps *adam* in this place is the same with *adamah* Earth, and so the *Sons of Man* are opposed to the *Sons of the Earth*, *γῆς υἱοί*, as the Seventy render it ; *terrigenæ*, according to the Vulgar Latin. In *Psal.* 4. 2. *bene ish*, the *Sons of Man*, is applied to Princes and Rulers, for of such that place speaks. And I translate it the *Sons of Man*, not of *Men*, (as 'tis in our English Bibles) for so the Original hath it : and we ought to take notice of it, for there is a vast difference between the one and the other.

Sons

* Dr. S. Patrick (now a Retired Bishop) in his Paraphrase on the Psalms, and particularly in his Preface.

Sons of Men in Scripture are all that are of the Race of *Adam*, but *Son* or *Sons of Man*, are Persons of some Dignity and Rule in the World. But sometimes indeed *bene adam*, is the same with *bene israhel*, and then they are opposed to *enosh* or *ben enosh*, as in *Psal.* 8. 4. *What is Man* — and the *Son of Man*? i. e. (as I conceive) what is the Lower and the Higher Rank of *Men*, that *Thou* visitest them, that *Thou* shewest thy self so Bountiful to them? So *Sons of Man*, *Psal.* 58. 1. is meant of *Judges* and *Great Men*, as is evident from the former words of that Verse. And in *Psal.* 80. 17. *Son of Man* is the same with the *Man of the right Hand*, and the *Man that is made Strong*. Again, in *Psal.* 146. 3. *Princes* and the *Sons of Man* are synonymous, for [*in Princes, in the Son of Man*] are by way of *Apposition* in the Hebrew, to acquaint us that they are identified. And further it is to be observed, that this Title of the *Son of Man* is particularly and by way of Eminency affix'd to the *Messias*, as in that foremention'd place, *Psal.* 8. 4. (for we shall find that in *Heb.* 2. 6. it is referr'd to him by the Apostle in the Secondary and Mystical sense) but more signally and directly in *Dan.* 7. 13. *Behold, one like the Son of Man*. On which words *Rabbi Saadiab* is very peremptory, and saith, This is the *Messias* our *Righteousness*. And *Solomon Jarchi*, and other great Rabbies declare, that by the *Son of Man* is meant the *Messias*. There is reason therefore to assert, that when *Christ* so frequently gives himself this Title, he takes it from the Old Testament, where it signifies a Man of Eminency and Rule, and more especially from *Daniel*, who by this Epithet expresses the *Messias*, the Prince, the Lord of Heaven and Earth. And to any considerate Man it is evident, that our Sayiour particularly

cularly referr'd to that place in *Daniel*, [*Behold, one like the Son of Man came with the Clouds of Heaven*] when he pronounced those words, *Hereafter shall ye see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of Power, and coming in the Clouds of Heaven*, *Mat. 26. 64.* Neither would the High Priest have thought that our Saviour spoke Blasphemy, and thereupon rent his Clothes, if he had not apprehended that he referr'd to those words of *Daniel*, and consequently owned himself to be the *Messias*, who hath the Title of the *Son of Man* given him because of his Excellency, Preeminence, and Authority. And this is yet more clear from our Saviour's words, *Joh. 5. 27.* where he assigns the Reason why the Judgment of the World is committed to him by the Father, *He hath (saith he) given him Authority to execute Judgment, because he is the Son of Man*, because he is Head and Ruler of the Church, because all Government and Authority in this lower World are devolv'd upon him, because he hath all Rule and Dominion put into his Hands. This is the true account, as I conceive, of the Expression; this Title was attributed to him to signify his *Authority and Exaltation*, and not (as is commonly said and believ'd, and as the Learned * *Grotius* defends it) his *Meanness, Condescension and Humility*: though I will not exclude Other Reasons which may be consistent with this, as that he is call'd *the Son of Man*, to attest the reality of his *Manhood*, to ascertain us of the Truth of his *Suffering* in our *Humane Nature*, to assure us of his *Sympathy* with us, and that he is touch'd with the feeling of our *Infirmities*. I will only add this, That whereas it is generally said by Writers, and even

* Annotat. in *S. Matth. 8. 20.*

even by the Critical * *Gratus* among the rest, that this Epithet is given to our Saviour by Himself only, and not by any other in the New Testament, this is a Mistake, for in *Acts* 7. 56. he is call'd by *St. Stephen the Son of Man*, and so he is twice by *St. John*, *Rev.* 1. 13. *Chap.* 14. 14. The Original of which must be fetch'd (as I have shew'd) from the *Hebrew Stile* in the Old Testament.

And so must that Expression which the Apostle uses *2 Cor.* 4. 17. a *Weight of Glory*. *באזק* here answers to the Hebrew *cabod*, a Weight, and yet is rendred *Glory*, *Gen.* 31. 1. and the Tongue is call'd *cabod*, *Glory*, *Psal.* 57. 8. So the Verb *cabad* signifies both to be weighty, and to be glorious or honourable, *Isa.* 66. 5. *Prov.* 13. 18. And the Adjective *cabed* approaches to this sense, as is clear from *Gen.* 13. 2. Thus it is with the word *jakar*, *gravis fuit*: but it is understood in a treble sense, as if there were a threefold Gravity, viz. of

- Weight, Price and Honour. Accordingly it signifies, 1. To be heavy, weighty. 2. To be precious, *Isa.* 43. 4. 3. To be in Honour and Glory, *Job.* 31. 26. as also to glorify and honour; and therefore the word is rendred by *כבוד* in the Version of the 70. Thus you see that after the manner of the Hebrews, *Glory* or Greatness is express'd by words that denote *Weight*: and thence it is that *פאקד* *דדפוס* is here us'd by the Apostle to denote that Superlative *Glory* which is the attainment of the other World. And 'tis not improbable that *עבדפוס* *עבדפוס*, *1 Thess.* 2. 6. is to be understood thus, and should not be rendred to be Burdensome, but † to be Honourable, or ‖ to be in Authority or Dignity: which our

English

* *Christus nunquam hoc modo nisi à seipso appellatur.* Annot. in *Mat.* 8. 20. † *Honorabiles esse.* Syr. ‖ *In autoritate, in dignitate esse.* Calvin, Erasmus.

English Translators were sensible of when they rendered it in the Margin *to use Authority*. This I take to be of Hebrew extraction, and in imitation of the use of the words *cabad* and *jakar*. And hence also in the *Seventy's* Translation of the Old Testament, *βαρύς* imports Grandeur or Glory, and is applied in several places to a Royal Train, and to a Mighty Host, *1 Kings* 10. 2. *2 Kings* 6. 14. Chap. 18. 7. *2 Chron.* 9. 1. So *ὄγκος*, a Weight or Burden, is equivalent with Honour or Splendor in * one of St. *Chrysostom's* Homilies. I could remark that *ἀνὴρ gravis*, and *ἀνὴρ gloria*, differ but in the Accents: and among the Latins *homo* and *onus* are not unlike: *Vir gravis* is used by the Latin Orator for a Person of Authority and Worth. And *Graves viri* in the old Roman way of Speaking, are Men of Authority and Eminency. And *Baro* (which comes from *βαρύς*) is used by † *Tully* as a Name of Dignity, and is as much as *Patricius* a Nobleman: though I know some Critics interpret the word in another sense. Thence our word *Baron*, a Lord, a Person of Greatness and Authority. And *Grave* answers to *Baron*, whence *Palsgrave*, *Landgrave*, *Margrave*, *Burgrave*: for *Grave* among the Germans signifies a Magistrate, a Ruler. And we in *England* heretofore used the word *Grave* or *Greve* in the same sense: thus *Portgreve* was the Name of the Chief Magistrate of the City of *London* till King *John's* time, who turn'd it into that of *Mayor*. These things I here mention only to intimate the Affinity that is to be observ'd in Languages, not only the Learned ones (as they are call'd) but others, and to shew you the particular cognation betwixt *Gravity* and

Honour

* Hom. 32. Tom. 5. † Ad Attic. lib. 5.

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Honour

* Hom. 32. Tom. 5. † Ad Attic. lib. 5.

Honour or Authority, betwixt Weight and Glory, which it is probable was derived first of all from the Hebrews.

The Writers of the New Testament sometimes make use of the word ἀποκρίναι, in the same sense that the Hebrews use the word *gnanah*, *respondere*; that is, not to signify a Person's Answering or Replying to what another had said, but only to denote his going on with his Speech, his proceeding in what he had said before. Persons are said to *Answer*, though there be no Question put to them, though there be no Reply intended, as *Jesus answer'd, and said*, Mat. 11. 25. *Then answer'd Peter, and said*, Mat. 17. 4. *The Angel answer'd, and said*, Mat. 28. 5. *One of the Elders answer'd, saying*, Rev. 7. 13. which is (as appears from the Context) no more than this, *They spake, and said*; for this oftentimes is the acceptance of that word in the *Hebrew Writings*, and particularly in the Book of *Job*, Chap. 3. ver. 2. *Job answer'd, and said*, though no body had spoke to him, or asked him any Question. The words therefore import no more than this, *Job spake, and said*; and so our Translators render it. I might further observe, that the Preposition *in* in the New Testament, hath by an *Hebraism* the force of all the Prepositions, it answering to the Hebrew כ. Lastly, I am inclined to think that what is said of St. Paul in *Acts* 9. 15. is spoken after the Hebrew manner: for the Hebrews call any thing that is Choice and Delectable * חמרה כלי *was desiderii*; and the Rabbins accordingly call the Law by this Name, viz. a *Desirable Vessel*, or a *Desirable Instrument or Utensil*; for *Cheli* is of a vast

* Nahum 2. 9.

vast Latitude, and signifies whatever is for the use of Man. Answerably to which St. Paul is said to be *σκεῦος ἐκλογῆς*, a chosen Vessel or Instrument, It is spoken after the Propriety of the Hebrews, with whom a Thing or Person that is made use of to some Excellent Purpose, is not only stiled a Vessel, but; to denote yet further the Worth of it, is called a Vessel of Desire, which is of the like Signification with a Vessel of Choice; for what is desired is chosen. Thus in a few Instances I have shewed, that the Evangelical Writers do Hebraize; and in many more I might have done the same: For tho the New Testament hath not so many Hebraisms as is imagined by some Criticks, yet it is not to be doubted that Christ and his Apostles used them very frequently. It is evident that a great part of the Phrases of the New Testament are according to the Hebrew Propriety; yea, sometimes they agree more especially with the Rabinical and Talmudick way of Writing, as * Ludovicus Capellus, and others, have endeavoured to demonstrate. Thus the Pillar and Ground of Truth, 1 Tim. 3. 15. is the Title by which the Great Sanhedrim of the Jews was ordinarily stiled; saith Dr Lightfoot. *Raca*, which is used, Matth. 5. 22. as a Word of Reproach, is common among the Talmudick Doctors, (for their רַקָּה or רַק, is the same with the Syriac רַקָּה) and signifies a vain empty Fellow. Christ follows the Language of the Rabbins and Talmudists when he uses the Word Heaven for God, as in Matth. 21. 25. he ask'd the Jews whether John's Baptism was from Heaven, i. e. from God, or of Men. I have sinned against Heaven, i. e. God, saith the Prodigal Son to his Father, Luke 15. 18. This was the Stile of the Eastern

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* In Spicilegio.

People, and of the Jews particularly, as you find in *Dan.* 4. 23. 1 *Macc.* 3. 18. And this was the usual Language of their *Rabbins*, they used *Shamajim* instead of *God*. And in other Instances it might be shewed, that the Sense of several Places in the New Testament is manifested and illustrated by the Knowledge of the *Hebrew Phrase* and *Stile*. For which Reason it was necessary to say something of this Matter, having undertaken to discourse of the *Stile of Scripture*. We must remember that there are frequent Hebraisms in these Greek Writings, the Authors themselves being Hebrews, and they likewise making use of the Stile of the Old Testament, and fetching thence several Expressions which are purely Hebrew. Thus they must needs retain the Hebrew Idiom and way of Speaking: and thus the Old Testament and New agree the better; and the former gives constant Light towards the understanding of the latter.

6thly. Though there is a Great Variety of Words and Phrases in the New Testament; and though this Part of the Bible was not written in Attick, but Hebrew Greek, yet this is to be asserted, that there are no *Solæcisms* in it. I add this here, because some of old, and others of late, have unadvisedly suggested the contrary, and have been so hardy and presumptuous, as to aver that the Sacred Scripture, especially the New Testament, abounds with *Solæcisms*. This is particularly said * of *St. Paul's Epistles* by an Antient Father, whose Unhappines it was to speak several things too daringly and presumptuously: "That † *Cilician Currier*,
"saith he, (for so he calls *St. Paul*) that sorry
"Tradef-

* Paulus, qui Solæcismos facit in loquendo. Hieronym. in *Plal.* 81. † Coriarius Cilix. in *Epist ad Ephes.*

“ Tradesman, was skill’d only in Hebrew, (which
 “ was as it were his Mother-Tongue to him) and
 “ therefore hath many Solæcisms and Barbarisms in
 “ Greek. And the same Author, in * another
 Place, speaks to the like purpose, and taxeth this
 Apostle for want of Grammar and Syntax. Among
 the Moderns you’ll find *Erasmus* charging not only
 St. Paul, but the rest of the Apostles with this De-
 fect in their Writings. There are many *Solæcisms*,
 † saith he, in their Stile, by reason of the frequent
 Hebraisms which are used by them. And those
 worthy Reformers, *Luther* and *Calvin*, were not
 afraid to talk after this rate. The former, after
 his bold manner, imputes false Grammar to the
 Evangelists and Apostles, as you may see in his
 || Writings. And the latter expressly avoucheth,
 that ||| the Greek of the New Testament is De-
 fective, and particularly he holds that St. Peter writ
 false Greek, as in 1 *Epist. ch. 3. v. 20.* where ἀπει-
 θισται is instead of ἀπειθόντων, a Dative for a Geni-
 tive Case: And he fastens this Grammatical Solæ-
 cism on him merely to evade the Doctrine of Purga-
 tory, which cannot but greatly scandalize the Pa-
 pists when they shall consider that this Great Re-
 former is not ashamed to disparage and vilify the
 Scriptures, that he may thereby evade a Popish Do-
 ctrine: yea, this must needs be offensive to all others
 likewise, who cannot but see that there was not the
 least Reason for his fancying the Change of one Case
 for another in this Place; for ἀπειθισται exactly an-
 swers to, and agrees with πνύμασι: so that if
 ἀπειθόντων had been the Word here, it had indeed
 been false Greek: but now ’tis impossible for *Cal-*

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vin,

* In *Epist. ad Algasiam.* † *Annotat. in Act. 10.* || *Tom. 3.*
 p. 78. ||| *Institur. cap. 7. Sect. 12.*

vin, or any Man else, to make it such. *Beza* follows his Master, and outdoth him, for he every where finds fault with the Greek of the New Testament, and holds that the Stile is disturb'd and corrupted; yea, that there are frequent Solæcisms in it: *κατεδιόντες*, *Mark* 12. 40. should have been *κατεδιόντων*, he saith, and therefore he condemns it for naughty Grammar: Whereas any unprejudiced Man may see, that there is only an ordinary *Ellipsis* in the Words; the Verb *είον* is understood, as it is in several other Texts. But the unsufferable Boldness of this Writer is partly founded on that Perswasion of his, that the Spirit did not dictate Words to the Prophets and Apostles, but only the Matter, which I have shew'd before in another Discourse to be an incredible Assertion. *Castellio*, though of a different Judgment in other things from *Calvin* and *Beza*, agrees with them in this, that there are several Ungrammatical Passages in the Apostles Writings: Upon *Rev.* 1. 5. *καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος*, *ὁ μαρτυρῶν ὁ πῶς*, he noteth that *ὁ μαρτυρῶν* is put for *τὸ μαρτυρεῖν*. This is a Solæcism, saith he, but such do often occur in *St. Paul*. Cannot this Author be content with the Credit and Reputation of having turned the Bible into neat Latin, unless he condemns the Apostles for their false Greek? And where, I pray, is this false Greek? Not in this Place which he mentions, and consequently it is not reasonable to believe that it is in any other. In this Place any impartial Eye may see that *ὁ* is put for *ὅς*, one Relative for another, which is a common thing among Writers. I could shew him forty Places in the Best Greek Authors, where the like Change is made: And that *καὶ* is frequently left out in the most Approved Writers among the Grecians, cannot be denied by any Man that hath had any Acquaintance

quaintance with them ; yea, 'tis often left out in the New Testament, and no fault is found with the Stile where it is so. Why therefore should we think it a strange thing that it is omitted in this Place? Here is Good Grammar, and no Shadow of *Solæcising* when this Divine Writer saith, Ἀπὸ τῆ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ μαρτυρῶν ὁ πιστός, that is, ὅς μαρτυρῶν ὅτιν ὁ πιστός. One of our own *Annotators* hath pick'd up this false Notion concerning the Stile of Scripture, viz. that it is not reconcileable with Grammatical Syntax in some Places : two especially he takes notice of, *Eph.* 4. 2. *Col.* 3. 16. In the former he observes that it is ἀνεχόμενοι in the Greek, whereas it should have been ἀνεχομένης, the Nominative being put instead of the Accusative. But by this Worthy Annotator's leave, ἀνεχόμενοι may, yea and certainly doth refer to ἀπακαλῶ in the former Verse ; and so it is but inserting ἵνα ἦτε, and then the Grammar is salved, ἀπακαλῶ ἵνα ἦτε ἀνεχόμενοι ἀλλήλων, *I beseech you that you forbear one another.* And if you say it should have been ἀνέχεσθαι, because of ἀπαπαύσαι in the former Verse, it is easily answered that the Apostle might express himself in the way of a Subjunctive as well as an Infinitive, seeing it could be done by either of them, as this Learned Critick cannot but acknowledg. In the latter Place alledged by this Learned Man, he takes notice that διδάσκοντες is misplaced instead of διδάσκουσι, a Nominative for a Dative Case, which is a great Flaw in Grammar. But this is soon taken off by referring διδάσκοντες not to ὑμῖν in that Verse, (as the Doctor doth) but to ἐκλήθητε and ζήνασθε in the Verse just before ; for to these it hath reference, and not to that, and so the Grammatical Concord is very good and sound.

In several other Places (where there have been the like Objections made) you will find the Sense rendred intire by the industrious Pen of that Learned Knight Sir Norton Knatchbull: Though, to speak freely and impartially, he sometimes represents the Stile of the New Testament more perplex'd and disturb'd than I can believe it to be: and though he fancies *Trajections* in some Places where there are none; yet, to the perpetual Honour of this Worthy Gentleman it must be said, that he hath discovered several *Trajections* or *Transpositions*, *Parentheses*, *Transitions*, *Ellipses*, and Changes of *Numbers* and *Persons*, with other *Enallages*, which were scarcely taken notice of before: he hath rectified some Comma's and Stops, he hath set the Words and Periods right, he hath cleared the Syntax and Grammatical Construction, mended the Sense in several Places, removed the Difficulties, shew'd the Propriety and Emphasis of the Words, discovered the Coherence of the Texts: In short, he hath cleared the New Testament of *Solæcisms*, and particularly the Writings of the Great Apostle St. Paul. So that though *Tarsus*, the Apostle's Birth-place, was in the same Province with and a Neighbour to *Sole*, the Country of those that corrupted their Language, (whence came *Solæcisms*) yet it appears that there is no such thing in the Apostle's Stile.

But suppose these Texts above-named could not have been reconciled to the exact Laws of Grammar, yet one would think the Transcribers might better have been blamed than the Writers themselves: the Greek Copy should have been found fault with rather than the Holy Ghost: the Mistake might have been imputed to the Amanuenses, and not to the Apostles. I must profess to you plainly, that it is
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bordering upon Blasphemy, to say that the Holy Spirit, from whom was the Gift of Tongues, dictate Barbarisms and Solæcisms in these Sacred Writings, which were immediately inspired by him. Again, suppose, or rather grant that some Periods of the New Testament are not exactly adjusted to Grammar-Rules, yet this will not justify the Language of those Men who charge this Book with Solæcisms and Barbarisms; for they will be unwilling to grant that there are such things as these in *Homer* and *Virgil*, and such approved Authors. Or, if they will grant that there are such, then they have no Reason at all to find fault with the like in Holy Scripture. And this is that which I maintain, and which no knowing Person can deny, that the same things which some call Solæcisms and Undue Syntax in the New Testament, are to be found in the most Noted and Celebrated Authors among the Greeks and Latins. Criticks have taken notice of several of these in *Homer* and *Pindar* especially among the Greek Poets, and in *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* among the best Historians that have writ in that Language, and in *Demosthenes* among the Noted Orators. These do not always observe Grammatick Laws; they lay them aside sometimes, and speak Irregularly, as * one of the Greatest Criticks of this last Age hath acknowledged. Profane Writers have Solæcistical Phrases, Botches, Fillings up, Repetitions. *Lucian* long since observed, that *Epithets* are not always used by Poets, † because they are fit and convenient, and suitable to the purpose, but to help out the Matter, to fill up the Gapings, to prop up the Ruines of a Verse.

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* *Heinsius* in *Prolegom.* in *Exercitat. Sacr.* † *Ex τῷ Νόμῳ*
 19. *Dialog.*

And both *Plutarch* and *Eustathius* (who were more serious Men than the other) have taken notice of this in Good Authors. Sometimes the Poet is at a stand, and his Muse is restive: thus *Virgil* hath Broken and Half-verses, which the Criticks excuse by saying that he had not time to finish his Book, or that he did it on purpose to stop his Readers in the Career, that they might stay and consider the thing he is speaking of. This Account they give of his Blanks and Chasms. But *Homer* suffers not his Muse to make a halt, but then (which is as bad) he fills up his Verses with such Expletives as *εἰς*, *ὡς*, *καί*, *τοί*, &c. and besides these lesser Particles he useth entire Words and Phrases in many Places only to supply his Verse. We have nothing of this sort in the Sacred Writings, nothing that is really superfluous. But there are some Words indeed that are look'd upon as Redundant, and not absolutely Necessary, especially in the Old Testament, which is Poetical in many places. *The Lord rained Brimstone and Fire from the Lord*, Gen. 19. 24. where the last Words [*from the Lord*] seem to be redundant. So it is in *2 Tim.* 1. 18. *The Lord grant unto him that he may find Mercy of the Lord in that Day*. Thus in *Psal.* 90. 10. *The Days of our Years are threescore Years and ten*. We may look upon the first Word as an Expletive, for the Divine Poet means this only, that the ordinary Term of our Life extends to seventy Years: so that the word [*Days*] might have been left out. The same Pleonasm you read in *2 Sam.* 19. 34. *How many Days are the Years of my Life?* for so it is according to the Hebrew: and it is the Hebrew way of speaking, and therefore cannot be blamed. Yea, to speak strictly, there is nothing redundant in the Stile of Scripture. All those Words which seem to be Expletives, are Significant,

nificant, and sometimes very Emphatical. The *Repetitions* (which some think to be needless Tautologies) are very useful as well as elegant. What is more frequent in *Homer*, the Father of Poets? There you meet with Verses and Half-verses over and over again: and the Commentators on those Places tell us, that his frequent using the same Words is an Argument that his Stile is Natural and Genuine, (as in common Discourse we are wont to say the same things again and again) and that it sheweth the Intenseness and Earnestness of the Speaker, that it argues the Necessity of the Matter as well as the Certainty of it, that it is to conciliate Attention, and that sometimes it is a great Ornament and Elegancy, besides that it was the Mode of speaking then in use, and accordingly is to be found in all Good Authors, more or less.

Why then should we not satisfy our selves after the same manner, when we find the same things repeated in the *Bible*, especially in the Old Testament, and more particularly in the Books of *Moses*, which far exceed *Homer* in Antiquity? That Reiteration of the Words in *Gen. 1. 27. God created Man in his own Image, in the Image of God created he him*, should not offend us: nor that in *Moses's Song* in *Exod. 15. 16. Till thy People pass over, O Lord, till thy People pass over*: nor those many Reduplications in the Song of *Deborah* and *Barak, I will sing unto the Lord, I will sing unto the Lord God of Israel, Judg. 5. 3. The Mountains melted from before the Lord, from before the Lord God of Israel, ver. 5. The Inhabitants of the Villages ceased, they ceased in Israel, until that Deborah arose, that I arose a Mother in Israel, ver. 7. Awake, awake Deborah, awake, awake, ver. 12. The Kings came and fought; then fought the Kings, ver. 19. The River of Kishon swept them*

them away, that antient River, the River Kishon, v. 21. At her Feet he bowed, he fell and lay down: at her Feet he bowed, he fell; where he bowed, there he fell down dead, ver. 27. To Sifera a Prey of divers Colours, a Prey of divers Colours of Needle-work, of divers Colours of Needle-work of both sides, ver. 30. This Repeating and Reduplicating the Words, is so far from being any Blemish to this Antient Song, that it is to be accounted a great Elegancy, and a singular Grace to it. This *Anadiplosis* is deemed a very becoming Figure (and might have been mentioned with those before) in the best Clasical Writers: and there is no Reason why it should not be so here. If the repeating the same thing be in them a Sign of the Naturalness of the Stile, and of the Serioufness and Fervour of the Speakers, of the Weightiness of the Subject, and the like, we cannot deny it to be the same in these Antient Writings of the Bible. It is observable, that as in the Sacred History of this Book, so in *Homer*, the Messenger, whether he be sent from God or Man, relates his Errand *verbatim*, in the same Words and Syllables usually that it was delivered to him; so that he alters it not in the least. In this, as in several other things, that Antient Poet comes near to the Simplicity of the Stile of Scripture. I could remark unto you also, that that excellent Emperor *Antoninus* hath many things in his Book which are conformable to the Stile of the Holy Writ, and seem to resemble it: His way of Writing is like an Emperor, Short, but Pithy and Sententious. Many things are not express'd, which must be supplied and understood. He sometimes useth Words and Phrases as he pleaseth, not as Other Writers are wont. He hath unusual ways of expressing himself, and sometimes he coins Words (as it was his Royal Prerogative

tive to do so with *Money*.) He hath several abrupt and incoherent Periods; he is generally neglectful and not studied. This is some Resemblance of the Stile of Holy Scripture, where there is a Princely Brevity, wherein more is contain'd than express'd: where are (as I shall shew you anon) either New Words, or those which are usual are applied in a new and unheard of manner. The Stile seems in sundry Places to be inconsistent and independant, and in most Places it is careless, and no ways elaborate. But as no Wise Critick ever defamed the Emperor for his particular Strain of Writing, so neither can any Man of Judgment disparage the Penmen of Holy Scripture, whom he doth as 'twere imitate. In brief, the Bible hath something in it of all manner of Stiles, and partakes of the Excellencies of all Authors: and where you see any Defect in the strict Rules of Grammar, even there it is not unlike to Other Writers.

This may satisfy us, amidst the Cavils of some Censurers of Scripture, that it hath in it the same Phrases and Modes of Speaking, and manner of using them, that are in the best Greek and Latin Writings. Let us come then to the Reading of Scripture, as we see Men do to *Homer* and *Virgil*. This is a fair Request, any Man will say, and it must needs be granted. Now, you see, that if any thing less Grammatical or Elegant occurs in those Writers, the Course which is taken is this, Lexicons and Dictionaries are consulted, the Masters of Grammar and Rhetorick are advised with, Interpreters are search'd into, Other Authors are compared with these, and their Business is to reconcile them, and to make Sense of these Poets, and by all means to make them speak well. And shall we not do thus with the Sacred Writings? Shall we not
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indeavour by all those Ways to vindicate the Credit of them, and to justify the Propriety and Excellency of their Stile, when we are able to do it by Great Examples from the Best and most Celebrated Writers among the Moral Philosophers, Orators, Poets, Historians? The Worthy Knight before-mentioned hath done his Part here very laudably; he hath salv'd the Grammar of the New Testament in many Places, and hath shewed that its Stile (where it seems to be strange and uncouth) is parallel with very Good and Approved Authors. And lastly, if any find fault with the Holy Writings because they are Immethodical, because neither the Mosaick Law, nor other Parts of the Old Testament, nor the Christian Doctrine in the New, are reduced to Method and Artificial Order, the like Answer may be given, *viz.* that this was not the way of Other Writers in those Times. It is evident that it was not the old way of the *Jews*; their Books of Religion and Morals were not Orderly disposed, but generally made up of Historical Passages, and Wise Aphorisms and Sentences. And as for the *Gentiles*, most of their Learning was not more accurate and reduced. You can descry nothing in their Writings of that Method and Order which have since been observed. But my Business here chiefly is not to consider whether the Scripture be Methodized, but to defend the Propriety of its Language. Or rather, it is not my Business now, because I have sufficiently dispatch'd it, I hope. I have let you see that those are no impartial Judges of Scripture-Stile, who cry out of its Barbarisms; but the Truth is, they betray both their Ignorance and Irreligion at once, in giving such a Judgment of it; their *Ignorance*, in that they shew themselves unacquainted with the Best Authors,

thors, who are not always wont to bind themselves to the strict Observation of Grammatical Rules. To this purpose the Learned *Henry Stephens's Animadversions* and *Appendix* at the End of his *Thesaurus Gr. L.* are worthy of the Perusal of all Curious Persons that would be fully acquainted with the Genius of the *Attick* Phrase and Idiom; and the reading of these will abundantly satisfy them that the New Testament is like other Greek Writers, and that the most Classick Greek Authors speak in the same strain that this doth. This Accomplish'd Critick shews that there are pure *Atticisms* sometimes in these Holy Writings, and particularly that an *Ellipsis*, which is so frequent in them, is a common Atticism in the best Grecians. If those who raise Objections against the Stile of the New Testament would converse with These, they might see that those Passages which seem not so proper or elegant in Scripture, and that whatever looks like Solæcisms, and savours of Rudeness or Defect of Language in these Holy Writings, may be paralleled with what they meet with in the most Applauded Authors. Their *Irreligion* likewise is discovered in this, that nothing pleaseth them in the Holy Book; and that what is not thought Improper or Rude in other Writings, is accounted such in These; yea, that what are Solæcisms in a Sacred Writer, are look'd upon as Atticisms and Elegancies in a Profane One. Having hitherto been in pursuance of this, that the Holy Scripture hath many things in it according to the Strain of Other Writers, I am to pass to the next *Proposition*.

C H A P. VII.

The Scripture-Stile bath some things in it that are not in common with Other Writers, but are proper and peculiar to it self. The LXX's Greek Version and the New Testament, have words that are not extant in any other Authors. ΠΙΣΤΙΣ Mark 14. 3. was coin'd by the Evangelist : Its true Signification enquired into. Inward Goodness or Righteousness is express'd by Terms which are unknown to other Writers. Instances of several other Peculiar ways of Speaking. Some Profane Authors differ from the rest as to the use of some particular Words and Phrases. Ecclesiastical Writers have Words proper to themselves. The Difficulty of Scripture proceeds partly from the Different Acception of Words which we meet with there. Many Instances in the Old and New Testament. The various Significations of the Word Spirit enumerated, and reduc'd to distinct Heads. The Author confines himself to the Hebrew Verbs of the Old Testament, and shews how Different the Senses of the same words are, and endeavours to remove the Ambiguity of them in the several Texts which he cites, and to determine the Sense which is Proper to those particular Places. The like he attempts in those Texts where Hebrew Nouns of a different meaning occur.

THE Third Proposition is, *That the Scripture-Stile bath some things in it that are not in common with Other Writers, but are Proper and Peculiar to it self. For though it is true some Other Authors have words proper to themselves, which are not found in others, (thus in Pindar, Plato,*

Plato, Isocrates, Homer, Aristophanes, Hippocrates, &c. there are some particular Words and Phrases peculiar to them alone) yet the Bible hath Words and Expressions which are not to be met with in any of these, nor in any other Writers. The Original *Hebrew* hath greater choice of Words than any Book extant in that Language; it is the most Copious Vocabulary that is in the World, and all Hebrew Writers of note borrow from this. The *Septuagint* have words peculiar to themselves, as ὀρβρίζειν, ἀκρίβίζειν, ἐνωρίζειν, &c. Εὐδυνία is proper to them, and was made on purpose to answer to the Hebrew וְצוֹן: and the Writers of the New Testament took it from them. They also made the word ἀκαχεδισῶν, *Cant.* 4. 9. to express the Hebrew word לִבִּי. Περίσσις, *Ex.* 2. 5. is of their coining, and the Apostle thought fit to use it, *Tit.* 2. 14. And some have thought the word χαλάνυξις, as it signifies *Sleep* or *Slumber*, *Isa.* 29. 10. was made by them, as if it were from νύξ. This word is also used by the Apostle, *Rom.* 11. 8. The *New Testament in Greek* hath words never heard of before, as Ἐπίσις, in the Lord's Prayer, a word which was first used by the Evangelists. And St. Luke's κεχαριτωμένη in the Angels Salutation of the Virgin Mary, *Luk.* 1. 28. is a new Greek word which the Evangelist himself made, * as some have thought: but that is a Mistake, because the Apocryphal Writer had used it before, *Eccles.* 18. 17. Yet this is not to be denied that the word is no where to be found in any other Greek Author, i. e. any Prophane one, but St. Paul useth it (*viz.* the Active χαριόω, though not the Passive χαριόωμαι) in *Eph.* 1. 6. χαλάνυξαι and διαλ-
λάττειν

* Beza & Caninius in locum.

ἀναθεσθαι in the Passive Voice have a peculiar Signification in *Mat. 5. 24. Rom. 5. 10. 1 Cor. 11. 7. 2 Cor. 5. 20.* which is in no other Writer, saith *Grotius* upon *Mat. 5. 24.* That likewise in *Mark 14. 3.* and *John 12. 3.* is scarcely used by any Writer whatsoever, and therefore the Grammarians and Criticks know not well how to assign the meaning of it, some deriving *πικνὴ* (which is the word there used, and joined with *νάρεθ* Θ) from *πίσις*, and so it denotes that Ointment to have been faithfully prepared and compounded, for *πικνὴ* (according to this Etymology) is as much as *ἀληθῆς, ἁθρολῶ, δοκιμῶ*, true, pure, not adulterated, approved, it being rightly and faithfully made. This is according to the Syriac Version: and 'tis approved of by * *St. Jerom* and † *Theophylact*. Others think *πικνὴ* is put here for *σπικατή*, the vulgar Latin having it *Spicata*, and so it is translated *Spikenard* by us. *Beza* and *Camerrarius* are of this Opinion, and think the Ointment had this Name, because it was made *è spicis nardi*, that is, of the choicest part of *Nard*. A third sort (among whom *Casaubon* is Chief) tell us, that it is the same with *πικνὴ potabilis*, à *πίνω*, and so signifies such a Liquid Ointment as might be drank. And lastly, some have thought that *πικνὴ* is for *ὀπισκινὴ*, as if it were call'd so from a place, *viz. Opis*, a City not far from *Babylon*, whence the best *Nard* came.

This is || *Hartungus's* Notion, but then the word should have been *Opick*, not *Opistick*. Thus the Etymology of the Word hath been disputed, but we are certain of the Thing, the *Nard* it self, or rather

* In *Matth. 26.* † In *Marc. 14.* || *Critic. Dec. 2. c. 6.*

rather the Ointment which was made of it, which was very Precious, and in great Esteem of old. It was made of several Ingredients, (as we learn from *Pliny*, and other Writers) viz. the sweet-Gale or Rush, Costum, Amomum, Myrrh, Balsam, and other Simples. When this Precious Compound, this Excellent Aromatic, which was very Costly, and used only by Rich and Wealthy Persons, was made up as it should be, it was then *πιστὴν χάριν* (from *πιστὴς fides*) sincerely and faithfully prepared, it had all its Ingredients, it was of the best sort. This seems to be the most eligible Derivation of the Word; but so far as we know it was of the Evangelist's making, for there is no such Greek Word in any other Authors.

And as the New Testament hath its peculiar words, so you may observe it hath a peculiar way of using some words which yet are common in other Writers. Thus Inward Holiness or Inherent Righteousness are express'd by such terms as These, (which have no such Signification in any other Writers) *Circumcision*, Col. 2. 11. *Crucifying*, Rom. 6. 6. Gal. 6. 14. *Mortifying*, Rom. 8. 13. Col. 3. 5. *Dying*, Rom. 6. 2, 8. Col. 3. 3. *Resurrection*, Eph. 2. 6. Eph. 5. 14. Col. 2. 12. *Regeneration*, or *being born again*, John 3. 3. Tit. 3. 5. 1 Pet. 1. 23. *Renovation*, Rom. 12. 2. Eph. 4. 23. *the New Man*, and *New Creature*, 2 Cor. 5. 17. Gal. 6. 15. Eph. 4. 24. *Washing*, John 13. 8. 1 Cor. 6. 11. Rev. 7. 14. The way of using and applying these words is proper to the New Testament. There are other peculiar ways of speaking in this part of the Bible, which are altogether unknown to other Writers, as *the Engraffed Word*, Jam. 1. 21.

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Children

Children of Light and of the Day, Luk. 16. 8. Eph. 5. 8. 1 Thess. 5. 5. the Sword of the Spirit, Eph. 6. 17. the Saviour of Death, 2 Cor. 2. 15. the Body of Sin, Rom. 6. 6. the Body of Death, Rom. 7. 24. the Law of Sin and Death, Rom. 8. 2. a Law in the Members, Rom. 7. 23. Who ever met in any other Author with these Expressions, *Conscience of an Idol*, 1 Cor. 8. 7. the Earnest of the Spirit, 2 Cor. 5. 5. the *Unction* of the Spirit, 1 Joh. 2. 20, 27. *Circumcision of the Heart*, and of the Letter, Rom. 2. 29. a Jew outwardly, and a Jew inwardly, in the same Verse? Who ever read of the foolishness of God, and the weakness of God, 1 Cor. 1. 25? *Καὶ οὕτως ἐν ταῖς νόμῳ*, is a Phrase proper to Scripture: and so are these, to mortify the Members on Earth, Col. 3. 5. to put off the Old Man, and put on the New Man, Eph. 4. 22. to sow to the Flesh, to reap of the Flesh; to sow to the Spirit, to reap of the Spirit, Gal. 5. 8. to walk after the Flesh, Rom. 8. 1, 4. Who ever spoke after the following rate, to eat and drink Damnation to himself, 1 Cor. 11. 29. to be justified by Faith, Rom. 3. 28. Gal. 2. 16. to be clothed upon with an House from Heaven, 2 Cor. 5. 2? And what strange and unheard-of Expressions are those, to be baptized or washed with Fire, Mat. 3. 2. to be salted with Fire, Mark 9. 49?

Thus the Sacred Penmen of Scripture differ from all others in their Stile. And yet herein also they agree with them, for even some of those Writers differ from the rest, as to the use of some particular Words and Phrases. Some of them take a word or more in a sense that it is not taken in by any Others. There are words in *Homer* that are not in *Aristophanes*; and some in *Lycophron*, that are not in either of these; and there are some in these three which are not found in any other Writer whatsoever. *Plato*,
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(as 'tis * observ'd of him) useth words in a way different from other Authors, as the word *ῥαυλ* for *Simplex*, and in other places for *Pulcher*, and sometimes for *Parvus*. And as the same word is used by him to denote several things, so he uses different words in the same sense and meaning, as his *ἰδία* and others. Nay, he brings in the word *ἀντιπρῶτον* (as the same Author observes) to express contrary things sometimes. There are some *Ecclesiastick words* (for they may be thus differenc'd from others, because they have a peculiar Interpretation as they are used by Ecclesiastical Writers) as *συναξίς* and *Synaxis*, which among Christian Writers signify either the Sacred Meetings and Assemblies of the Faithful, or the Lord's Supper: and *Κυριακόν* is a *Temple* among the same Writers, and *Κυριακή* hath the same Signification sometimes: but they have no such sense in other Authors. So *ἐκ μαστίου*, which is a *Towel* or *Napkin*, is used in some of the Greek Fathers, to denote *the express Image or likeness of a Person*. And from other Examples it might be made good that the Profane and Ecclesiastick use of a word are far different. There are Thousands of words *otherwise taken* in the Greek Fathers than in Classick Writers: and you in vain look for the meaning of them in *Hesychius*, *Phavorinus*, *Suidas*, in *Scapula*, *Constantine*, or *Stephens*. Yea, the words themselves which occur in Ecclesiastick Writers are not to be found in Profane ones: many of them are omitted in Lexicons, Onomasticks, Etymologicks, and Glossaries.

And shall not the Inspired Writers have the same liberty, viz. to use peculiar Words and Phrases

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* Diog. Laert. in Platone.

of their own? or to use Words in a singular meaning, and proper to themselves? If a *Catachresis*, the Abuse of Words, be reckon'd by the Greek Orators an Embellishment of Speech, certainly we must account it no Disparagement, but rather an Ornament to the Language, when the Holy Ghost in the Scriptures *alters the use* of some Words. He may make use of what Words he pleaseth: He that bestow'd the Gift of Tongues, knows how to apply them. Hence in these Writings you meet with some New words and Singular ways of Expression, as I have let you see in some Instances: and many more I might have added, wherein the peculiar Phraseology of this Sacred Book is observable. The very Words in the Holy Stile are precious. Antiquaries and Criticks spend much time in mere Phrases, but they never employ it so well as when they are searching into These. There are several Other things might be noted as to the Peculiar Stile and Idiom of the New Testament, but this shall suffice at present. As I have shew'd before that the Stile of Scripture is like that of Other Writers, so you see it is not inconsistent with what I have now asserted, that the Holy Stile is not like that of Others; that is, the Scripture hath Words and Phrases proper to it self, it hath some things extraordinary, and which are unusual with the rest of Authors. But I will insist no longer on this here, because I may have occasion in my next Discourse (*viz.* concerning the *Excellency and Perfection* of Scripture) to suggest several things which will discover the Peculiar Strain of the Bible.

The *Fourth Proposition* is, That there are some things Obscure and Difficult in the Stile of Scripture. I will give you an account of this in the following

lowing Particulars : 1. Obscurity and Difficulty may arise from the Different Signification of the same words in Scripture. 2. From the Contrariety of the same words as to their Signification. 3. From Other Causes relating to the *Matter* it self spoken of, and the *Time*, &c. Under which Heads I intend to prosecute that Design which I formerly was upon, viz. An Enquiry into several Remarkable Texts of the Holy Scripture which contain some Difficulty in them. I shall have occasion here to discover the Grounds of that Difficulty, and to shew how it may be removed. And when the Sentiments of others are not satisfactory, I will make bold to interpose my own Judgment.

First, Sometimes in Scripture there are *Words of Different Signification*, whence it comes to pass, that it is very hard to understand those places where these words are. And it is impossible to satisfy our selves about the meaning of them in the Texts where we find them, unless we take pains to examine the particular Congruity of one Sense rather than another to that particular Thing or Person to which it is applied. Yea, sometimes when we meet with such a Doubtful Word, we shall find it reasonable to make use of both the Senses of it, that is, to propound them both, and to leave it free to Persons to make choice of which they please. I will give some Instances of this ; as that in Gen. 39. 1. *Captain of the Guard*, which may as rightly be translated (according to *Josephus*, Antiq. l. 2. c. 3.) *Chief of the Cooks*, for the LXX render it Ἀρχιμαγειροῦ, and the Hebrew *Tabbach* (the Plural whereof is here used) is a *Cook*, 1 Sam. 8. 13. Ch. 9. 23, 24. and is so translated. The truth is, the genuine rendring of *Tabbach* is *Massaror*, a *Slayer*, and so is applicable either to a *Cook* or a

Soldier. The double sense of the Word occasions some doubt about the Translation, but it is of no moment at all: for we are not to be concern'd whether *Potiphar* was *Pbaraob's Head-Cook* (which without doubt was an Honourable Place) or the *Captain of his Guard, or Army* (as the Vulgar Latin gives it.) So in *Gen. 41. 43.* [*they cried before him Abrek*] the word *Abrek* may be differently rendred, viz. either according to *Aben-Exra, Aquila*, the Vulgar Latin, and our own English Translation [*bow the Knee*] deriving it from *barak, genu flexit*: or according to *Solomon Jarchi*, and the Paraphrases of *Onkelos* and *Jonathan* [*Father of the King*] (for *Rek* in the Aramaean Tongue is *Rex*, and thence perhaps this Latin word:) or according to the *Jerusalem Targum* [*Father of the King, and tender in Years*], or according to *Symmachus*, [*tender Father*] (from *Ab Pater*, and *Rech tener seu delicatus*,) because *Joseph* was as to his Prudence a Father, as to his Age a Tender Youth. Thus this word being of a dubious Signification, according to the different Etymologies it hath, may be diversly translated, and every one is at liberty to choose which of these Senses he most approves of. I cannot see how the Doubtfulness of such words as this can be wholly taken away, and consequently the Scripture as to such words, must remain Dubious and Obscure, that is, as to the particular and close import of them. But 'tis sufficient that we have the general sense of them, as here, though we are ignorant of the right and only Derivation of the word *Abrech* (and after all the foremention'd Surmises, it is most probable (as hath been said before) that 'tis an Egyptian word) yet this we are certain of, that it was a word of Acclamation and Honour that the People used

nished toward Joseph: and 'tis not requisite to know any more in order to the understanding of the Place.

It is thus in the New Testament; it is said of Judas that *he went and hanged himself*, Mat. 27. 5. So we translate it indeed, and very well, but the Greek word ἀνῆλθε is of a more general import, signifying that he was *strangl'd* or *choak'd*, which may be done either by a String (which is properly *Hanging*) or by Excessive Grief, which stifled his Spirits: and accordingly we may render the Word either of these ways, viz. Actively, [*he hanged himself*] i. e. he ended his Life with a Halter, or Passively, [*he was Choaked*] namely, by a sudden stopping of his Breath, and Suffocation of his Spirits through Melancholy and Grief. Either of these Senses may be admitted, yea both of them, as I have shew'd in another place. Wherefore the best rendring of the words is, I conceive, this, Judas *strangled himself*, or *was strangled*, because this takes in both. It is said of the Pharisees, Mark 7. 3. *Except they wash their Hands oft, they eat not*: where the word πυνυ, which is translated [*oft*] hath different Significations, and accordingly may be rendred diversly. First, πυνυ signifies the *Fist* or *Hand closed*, and so here is meant their way of Washing their Hands by thrusting the Fist into the Palm of the Hand. Secondly, The Greek word signifies also the *Elbow*, and then πυνυ is as much as *up to the Elbow*, and denotes another particular way of Washing among the Conceited Pharisees, by letting the Water drop from their Hands (being held up) to the very Elbows. Thirdly, The word may be rendred [*diligently*,] or according to the Syriack [*accurately*,] and so signifies to us that great Care and Exactness they

they used in their Ceremonious Washings. Lastly, Our Translators, according to another acception of the word, and following the Vulgar Latin, render it *oft*. Any of these four ways the word may be taken: and the Dubiousness of it should not in the least trouble us, because we understand the grand thing contain'd in the words, viz. That the Jews, but especially the Pharisees, were very superstitiously addicted to their *Washings*, and placed the greatest part of their Religion in that and the like External Observances. I could instance in 2 Tim. 2. 19. *The Foundation of God standeth sure, having this Seal, &c.* which Text may admit of this Translation also, *The Covenant of God standeth sure, having this Inscription*; for $\alpha\mu\epsilon\lambda\iota\omicron$ signifies not only a *Foundation*; but a *Covenant* or *Instrument of Contract*: and $\sigma\phi\epsilon\rho\gamma\iota\varsigma$ signifies an *Inscription* as well as a *Seal*. There were two Parts of the Covenant, *I will be your God, and ye shall be my People*: So here in the following words, *The Lord knoweth them that are his*: And, *Let every one that nameth the Name of Christ depart from Iniquity*. See further in Dr. Hammond.

Next, I will mention that of the Apostle, Heb. 12. 1. *The Sin which doth so easily beset us*. So we translate it, and so the word $\epsilon\nu\pi\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ signifieth: but it hath three other Significations, and according to them may be differently rendred. S.* Chrysostom gives the sense thus, [*the Sin which may easily be avoided*] for $\pi\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, from whence the word comes, hath † such a Signification: and then the meaning is, that not only the great and heavy Sins ($\sigma\upsilon\nu\omicron$, the weight) but lighter and lesser Sins must be declined, must be carefully avoided. There is

* Hom. 28. in Epist. ad Hebr. † $\sigma\epsilon\iota\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$, devita, Tit. 3. 9.

is another Signification of *ἐνπερίσται* & *ἀμαρτία*, viz. That Sin which hath fair Arguments and Pretences for it self. * *Ἀπερίσται* is applied when there are no *περίσταις*, no favourable Circumstances, no plausible Reasons and Arguments to commend a thing: *ἐνπερίσται* then signifies that which hath Goodly Circumstances and Arguments to recommend it. Such have some Sins especially, as those that are accompanied with much Profit or Pleasure; against these therefore the Apostle exhorts us here to arm our selves: he would have us in a more especial manner to beware of those Vices which are so Tempting. There is yet another rendring of the words according to † *Theophylact*; for he observes, that *περίστας* is *Periculum*, *Discrimen*: and indeed the Stoicks generally use the word in this sense. *Περίστας* is according to *Hesychius*, *θλίψις*, *ἀνάγκη*, *μέριμνα*: it signifies Affliction, Necessity, Trouble. And the Fathers sometimes use it thus in their Writings. So that the Apostle adviseth us here to shun those Sins especially which bring us into great Dangers and Difficulties, those that are accompanied even with bodily Calamities and Judgments, as some kinds of Sins generally are. Those Vices that are thus *circumstantiated*, are to be avoided with singular Caution. But, I confess, I do not think this to be the meaning here, for the Adverb *ἐν* join'd with *περίσται*, rather shews that the *Circumstances* are good. And of the other three Interpretations, I look upon the first to be the best, because it is according to the clearest and most obvious sense of the Greek word; and withal it agrees with the Mind of the Apostle in the whole Verse, where

* In Hesychio. † In Locum.

where taking his Metaphor from the Olympick Races, he exhorts the Jewish Converts to *run with Patience the Race that was set before them*, and in order to that to *lay aside every Weight or Incumbrance*, as the Racers were wont to do, and the *Sin which did so easily beset them*, compass them about, hinder and retard them in their Christian Course, as Long or Heavy Garments are an hindrance to those that run; for any observing Eye may see that he continues the Metaphor. Thus you see words have *Different Senses*, and so may be translated differently; and hence the true Meaning is difficultly to be reach'd sometimes.

I will mention one Instance more, which is to be found both in the Old and New Testament. There we often read of *the Spirit*: no word is more usual with the Sacred Writers than this, and it is as true that no word hath more Various Significations; whence sometimes doth arise no small Difficulty in interpreting some of those places where this word occurreth. Suffer me then to give a full and ample Account of the Different Significations of it, that it may not administer occasion of Obscurity in the *Stile of Scripture*.

First, The word *Spirit* is applied to *God*, and particularly to the Third Person in the Undivided Trinity, who is Emphatically call'd *the Spirit* in the Old Testament, as in *Gen. 1. 2. Gen. 6. 3.* and in almost innumerable other places; and the *Holy Spirit* or *Holy Ghost*, by way of Eminency in the New Testament, *Mat. 3. 16. John 1. 32. Rom. 8. 14. &c.*

Secondly, It signifies the *Gifts, Graces, Fruits, Effects, and Operations* of the *Holy Spirit*; as 1. Any *Signal Qualities* or *Endowments* whatsoever, any *Skill* or *Ability* to do things well and laudably.

Thus

Thus Bezalel was filled with the Spirit of God, (Exod. 31. 3, 5.) to work in all manner of Workmanship. And Gifts of any sort are call'd the Spirit in other places. 2. The Saving Graces of the Holy Spirit, as in Jude, ver. 19. *having not the Spirit*, and in several other places. 3. The Power of the Spirit to accomplish some very great and extraordinary thing: thus Caleb had another Spirit, Num. 14. 24. i. e. he had Power to effect those things which he could not do before. Joshuah was a Man in whom was the Spirit, Num. 27. 18. Thus the Spirit of God and the Spirit of the Lord are said in Scripture to come upon, to fall upon, to be poured out, to be put upon Persons; that is, they had an unusual and extraordinary Power to do this or that. To be moved, and to be led by the Spirit are in the same Signification, viz. to be enabled to enterprize and atchieve some Wonderful Thing. 4. Those Extraordinary and Miraculous Gifts which were conferr'd on the Apostles and other Christians in the Infancy of the Gospel, as Healing all manner of Diseases, Speaking strange Languages. These are express'd by this Word in 1 Cor. 14. 12. *Ye are zealous of Spirits*, i. e. Spiritual Gifts, the Extraordinary Vouchsafements of the Spirit, whereby they were able to do things above Humane Power: Hence you read of *Speaking in the Spirit*, *Praying with the Spirit*, and *Singing with the Spirit*, 1 Cor. 14. 14, 15. And in the same Chapter there is mention of the Spirits of the Prophets, ver. 32. i. e. the Gifts of Prophecy which they were indued with, and enabled to exert in the Publick Congregation. Before Christ's Ascension these Gifts were not bestow'd in a very large and liberal manner, and that is the meaning of John 7. 39. *the Holy Ghost was not yet given.* And

And even after our Saviour's Ascension, the Ephesian Christians had not heard whether there was any *Holy Ghost*, Acts 19. 2. that is, they knew nothing of these Extraordinary Gifts bestow'd on some in the Church. Wherefore we read there that by the Imposition of St. Paul's Hands the *Holy Ghost* came upon them, and they spake with Tongues and prophesied, ver. 6. This latter Clause explains the former, letting us see that by the *Holy Ghost*, is here meant the Miraculous Endowments of the Spirit, such as speaking with strange Tongues, and Propheying in an unusual manner. Of these chiefly the Apostle is to be understood in 1 *Thess.* 5. 19. *Quench not the Spirit.* 5. Extraordinary Revelations and Discoveries (whether under the Old or New Testament) are express'd by this Word. Thus 'tis said, *there is a Spirit in Man*, Job 32. 8. which is explain'd in the next Clause by *the Inspiration of the Almighty*. So David in Spirit, Mat. 22. 43. is *David Inspired*. *I will pour out of my Spirit upon all Flesh*, Acts 2. 17. (taken from Joel 2. 28.) i. e. I will bestow the Gift of Prophecy and Revealing of Mysteries upon them, for of This it is principally understood, as you may learn from the following words, *Your Sons and your Daughters shall prophesy*; and ver. 18. *On my Servants and on my Hand-maids I will pour out of my Spirit, and they shall prophesy*. So in *Rev.* 1. 10. *I was in the Spirit*, is as much as if he had said, I had great Revelations imparted to me.

Thirdly, *The Dispensation and Preaching of the Gospel*, especially as it is opposed to the *Law*, and as it contains the more hidden Mysteries of Christianity in it, is stiled *the Spirit*. Thus the Evangelical Preachers are call'd *Ministers not of the Letter, but Spirit*, 2 *Cor.* 3. 6. i. e. not of the Law, but
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of the Gospel, not of mere Externals of Religion, but of the Inward and Hidden Secrets of it.

Fourthly, The *Spiritual* meaning of what Christ speaketh is call'd by this Name, as in *John 6. 63.* *It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the Flesh profiteth nothing: the Words that I speak unto you they are Spirit, and they are Life.* As if he had said, you must not understand me in a gross and carnal sense, when I tell you that you must eat my Flesh and drink my Blood, ver. 53, 54. My meaning is not that you should turn Canibals, and feed upon Man's Flesh. No: this Eating and Drinking which I have spoken of to you, are to be interpreted in a Spiritual Sense, and in no other. My Words have an Abstruse and Mystical meaning, I am Spiritually to be Eaten and Drunk, that is, by a Lively Faith only. *It is the Spirit that quickeneth*, that enliveneth: that which is comprehended in the Spiritual import of my Words, is the thing that is most Active and Powerful in Religion, and in the Lives of Men.

Fifthly, By *Spirit* is meant the Person that is Inspired, *1 John 4. 2.* *Every Spirit that confesseth that Jesus is come in the Flesh, is of God.* Nay,

Sixthly, He that pretends to the Spirit, but really is not inspired by the Holy Ghost, is thus called: as in the next Verse, *Every Spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the Flesh, is not of God:* and in the first Verse of that Chapter, *Believe not every Spirit; but try the Spirits*, i. e. Teachers that pretend to the Spirit and Inspiration, who are call'd *False Prophets* in the same place, and *Seducing Spirits*, *1 Tim. 4. 1.* Therefore discerning of Spirits, *1 Cor. 12. 10.* was that Gift in the Church whereby they knew who were truly Inspired, and who not; who were True, and who False Prophets.

And

And as the Persons pretending to immediate Discoveries from the Spirit are thus stiled, so the feigned Discoveries or Revelations themselves, which they boast of, are called *Spirit*, 2 Thess. 2. 2.

Seventhly, The word *Spirit* in Scripture is meant of the *Soul* of Man, and its different Functions, Operations, Dispositions, Inclinations; and in short, the whole Frame and State of it. 1. I say that Distinct Part of Man which is call'd his *Soul*, hath the Denomination of *Spirit*, and that very justly, because it is a Spiritual or Immaterial Being. *Into thy Hands I commit my Spirit*, saith the Psalmist, *Psal.* 31. 5. i. e. I trust thee with my Soul. It is call'd *the Spirit of a Man*, *Prov.* 18. 14. *ch.* 20. 27. *Eccles.* 3. 21. This is *the Spirit that shall return to God*, *Eccles.* 12. 7. Wherefore this was the Language of our dying Saviour, *Into thy Hands I commend my Spirit*, *Luke* 23. 46. and of that expiring Martyr, *Acts* 7. 59. *Lord Jesus, receive my Spirit*. The Souls of the Saints are stiled *the Spirits of just Men made perfect*, *Heb.* 12. 23. and those of the Wicked, *the Spirits in Prison*, 1 *Pet.* 3. 19. And hither is to be referr'd that of St. *James*, *ch.* 2. 26. *the Body without the Spirit (i. e. without the Soul) is dead*. 2. The *Vital Principle*, which is the immediate Operation of the Soul, is termed *the Spirit*, *the Spirit of Life*, *Gen.* 7. 22. especially the more Active and Vigorous Operation of the Soul and Body is so called, *Josh.* 5. 1. *Nor was there Spirit in them*. Whence you read of the *reviving and coming again of the Spirit*, *Gen.* 45. 27. *Judg.* 15. 19. and of the *Spirits being refreshed*, 2 *Cor.* 7. 13. and *giving Spirit*, i. e. Life to the Image of the Beast, *Rev.* 13. 15. 3. The *Understanding* is often call'd *the Spirit*, and *the Spirit of the Mind*; and when you read of *Soul and Spirit*, this latter generally denoteth the

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Intellectual and Rational Part of Man, and the more exalted and refined Operations of it, as it respects Religion, *Luke* 1. 47. 1 *Thess.* 5. 23. *Heb.* 4. 12. 4. That Function of the Rational Soul which is called *Conscience*, hath this Name. *A wounded Spirit who can bear?* *Prov.* 18. 14. *The Spirit* (i. e. the Third Person in the Sacred Trinity) *beareth witness with our Spirit*, that is, with our Consciences, *Rom.* 8. 16. 5. The *Will* and *Affections* are commonly set forth by this Expression: Thus you read of *ruling the Spirit*, *Prov.* 16. 32. that is, *subduing* and *well-ordering* Those Faculties of the Mind especially: You read of a *New Spirit*, *Ezek.* 11. 19. *cb.* 18. 31. of a *contrite and broken Spirit*, *Psal.* 34. 18. *Psal.* 51. 17. a *right Spirit*, *Psal.* 51. 10. which are principally meant of the Will, the Passions and Desires of the Soul. And *another Spirit*, *Numb.* 14. 24. may be understood in this Sense as well as in that above-mention'd. In the New Testament our Saviour pronounceth those *Blessed* that are *poor in Spirit*, *Matth.* 5. 3. He tells us, that we must *worship the Father in Spirit*, *John* 4. 23. *St. Paul* professeth, that he *served God with his Spirit*, *Rom.* 1. 9. and exhorts us all to be *servant in Spirit*, *Rom.* 12. 11. In all which Places the word *Spirit* signifies either the *Will*, or the *Hearty Affections* of the Soul, or both of them. 6. In a more general way it signifies the *Nature* and *Temper* of a Man: *Ye know not of what Spirit ye are*, *Luke* 9. 55. And this Large and General Acception of the Word is very usual in the Holy Stile. 7. More particularly and especially it denotes an *Effectual* and *Operative Inclination*, *Power* and *Ability* to some particular *Good* or *Evil*: Whence you read of the * *Spirit of*
Know-

* *Iſa.* 11. 2.

Knowledge, † Understanding, || Wisdom, of (*) Meekness, of (†) Fear: and on the contrary, of the (||) Spirit of Slumber, of ||| Whoredoms, of (|||) Antichrist, and of a * perverse Spirit. 8. The Rational and Regenerate Part of Man is emphatically stiled *the Spirit*, and is opposed to the *Flesh*, which is the Sensual and Unregenerate Part of Man. *The Spirit is willing, but the Flesh is weak*, Matth. 26. 41. *That which is born of the Spirit is Spirit*, John 3. 6. *The Flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the Flesh*, Gal. 5. 7. This is the frequent Acception of the Word in the New Testament. Yea, 9. Not only the Holy and Godly Nature, the Renewed Disposition and Temper, but even that which is Unholy and Ungodly, the Old and Unregenerate Principle of Man, is also known by this Name. *The Spirit*, saith St. James, *that dwelleth in us lusteth to Envy*, ch. 4. 5. where by *Spirit* is meant the Sensual and Carnal Part of Man. And so before we took notice of the *Spirit of Slumber*, of *Whoredoms*, and the like. Thus much of the word *Spirit*, as it hath reference to the *Soul* of Man and its Faculties. Only I will add this, that this Word applied either to the good or evil Operations of the Mind, signifies to us the Reality and Efficacy of them, and represents their great Vehemency; for they proceed from *the Spirit* of Man, which is vigorous and active. Though this Word likewise may refer to the Original and Source of these Actions, for there is in Men a Double Spirit, a Good and an Evil one, *the Spirit of the World*, and *the Spirit which is of God*, 1 Cor. 2. 12. Hence in the Stile of Scripture

† Isa. 11. 2. || Eph. 1. 17. (*) Gal. 6. 1. (†) 2 Tim. 1. 7. (||) Rom. 11. 8. ||| Hol. 5. 4. (|||) 1 John 4. 3.
* Isa. 19. 14.

ture good and evil Actions are frequently attributed to some Spirit; for they are Results either of the Good or Evil one that inhabits in them.

Eighthly, *Angels*, both good and bad, are signified by this Word: First, the Good ones, *Heb.* 1. 7. *He maketh his Angels Spirits*, which is taken from *Psal.* 104. 4. *Are they not all ministering Spirits?* *Heb.* 1. 14. Secondly, the Evil ones, who in the Old Testament are call'd *Evil Spirits*, and *Lying Spirits*; and in the New Testament, *Unclean*, *Foul*, *Familiar Spirits*, *Spirits of Divination*. Rejoice not, saith our Saviour, *that the Spirits* (i. e. the Devils, as appears from *ver.* 17.) *are subject unto you*, *Luke* 10. 20. *The Spirit that worketh in the Children of Disobedience*, *Eph.* 2. 2. is no other than Satan. I question not but that the *πνευματικὰ ἔργα πονηρίας*, in *Eph.* 6. 12. are no other than *πνεύματα ἔργα πονηρίας*, *Spirits of Wickedness*, which are said to be in *high* or *Heavenly Places*, because these Wicked Spirits are so hardy as to encounter often with the Good Angels; they labour to wrest the Souls of the Faithful out of their Hands, whilst they are conducting them through the Ethereal Regions, to the Mansions of Glory in the highest Heavens. And if they have the Confidence to grapple with those Blessed Spirits, certainly they will not fail to assault Us weak and sinful Creatures: *Wherefore* (as the Apostle adjoins in this Place) *we must take unto us the whole Armour of God*, that we may be able to *wrestle against these spiritual Wickednesses*, or rather *wicked Spirits*. So in *Rev.* 16. 14. *Spirits of Devils* are as much as *Devilish Spirits*, or *Evil Angels*.

Ninthly, The same Word is used to express an *Apparition* or *Seeming Shape* of a Body without real Corporeity, as in *Luke* 24. 37. *They supposed they had seen a Spirit*. They had a *Notion* of a Spirit's appearing,

pearing, though as a Spirit it was impossible to be seen of it self, for being void of Matter and Quantity, it could not be the Object of the Bodily Senses: which true Account of a Real Spirit our Saviour gives them in these Words, *A Spirit hath not Flesh and Bones*, ver. 39. i. e. it hath nothing Corporeal belonging to its Nature and Essence.

Which brings me to the next, the Tenth Acceptation of the Word; and that is this, it signifies a Spiritual Immaterial Substance, wholly devoid of all Matter. John 4. 24. *God is a Spirit*, i. e. he is a Substance in which there is nothing of Body or Quantity; he is an Intelligent and Thinking Being: which high Privilege and Excellency no Material thing is capable of.

Lastly, *A Breath, a Wind, a Blast*, are synonymous with *Spirit* in the Holy Stile, as in Eccles. 11. 5. *Thou knowest not what is the way of the Spirit*, i. e. of the *Wind*, as is evident from the former Verse, where the word *Kuach* is so rendred. And in Ezek. 37. 9. *the four Spirits or Winds* are the same: and so the word is used twice more in that Verse. Thus 'tis in the New Testament, in John 3. 8. *The Wind bloweth where it listeth*: The word *πνεῦμα*, which is generally translated *Spirit* in the New Testament, is here translated *Wind*, and that very rightly, according to the Interpretation of several of the Ancient Fathers: Particularly the *Air*, the *Wind* or *Breath*, which is drawn in and sent forth by the Lungs, hath this Denomination: Thus in Job 34. 14. *Spirit and Breath* are the same. And those Words in John 19. 30. *He gave up the Ghost*, or *Spirit*, are expressed thus in another Evangelist, *Ἐξέπνευσεν*, he expired, he yielded up his *Breath*, Luke 23. 46. To this refers 2 Thess. 2. 8. *Whom the Lord shall consume with the Spirit*, i. e. the *Breath of his*

his Mouth: which is the same with Isa. 11. 4. *With the Breath of his Mouth shall he slay the Wicked.* To conclude, the * three Words in the three Learned Languages for Spirit signify Wind or Breath, and that in the first and original Sense of them. This alone is the Proper Signification of the Word: but as for all the other Acceptions of it before-mentioned, they are secondary and improper. The word Spirit is improperly applied to the Person, and to the Gifts of Graces of the Holy Ghost: it is improperly attributed to the Souls of Men, and their Faculties, and Operations: it is improperly spoken of Angels or Devils, or of any of those other things afore-named, except the last. But these are the Different Acceptions of the Word in the Sacred Writings, according to that Observation which I have made of it at several times; and perhaps there are some Other Denotations of this Word, which I have not taken notice of. I instanced in This (whereas I might have instanced in many more) to let you see how Large and Extensive the Meaning of some Words in Scripture is, and thereby to give you some Account of the Difficulty and Perplexity of the Holy Style in some Places, which yet you see we may render very intelligible and plain by a diligent Enquiry into, and Comparing those Places where these dubious Words occur.

But still to give you a farther Account of the Different Acceptions of Terms, I could sufficiently prosecute this, tho I confin'd my self to the Hebrew Words of the Old Testament. It would most fully appear that the same words in this Holy Volume signify Different things. I shall only propound the several Particulars, and leave them to be distinctly applied

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* מִן, רוּחַ, שְׁפִירָה.

upon occasion, by those that have leisure to do it. It is well known that *Vau* is a *Conjunction Copulative*, but it is of other Use in several Places, which indeed is common to it in part with the Greek $\kappa\alpha\iota$ in the Septuagint Version, and in the New Testament. Sometimes it is *Conversive*, (as they call it) it changes the Tense: and sometimes it is *Interrogative*: At other times it is *Adversative*, and is equivalent to *but* or *although*: Not unusually it hath the Force of an *Adverb* of Time, and is as much as *when*, *then*, *now*. It is also a *Comparative* Particle, and is the same with *so*. Oftentimes it is put for the Relative Pronoun *after*, *which*. Sometimes it is *Emphatical*, (as the Greek $\kappa\alpha\iota$ is) and is of the like Signification with *even* in English. Again, it seems to be Redundant, as when it begins a Chapter or some New Matter, without reference to any thing before. Thus not only some of the Books of *Moses*, but those of *Ezra* and *Jonah*, begin with a *Vau*. But it is certain that this Particle is not merely Expletive *here*, as the Learned Jews acknowledg. Lastly, Many times in the Hebrew Stile it is not Copulative, but Disjunctive, and it is accordingly rendred *or* and *nor*, by our Translators, as in *Gen. 26. 11. He that toucheth this Man or his Wife*: and in *Exod. 21. 15. He that smiteth his Father or his Mother*: and in *Exod. 1. 10.* and in several other Places of Scripture the Hebrews acknowledg that the Conjunctive Particle is a Disjunctive; as the Aspect of *Conjunction* in the Sun is sometimes among Astronomers call'd *Opposition*. Thus this *Vau* is of great Latitude, which causes Variety of rendring many Places: but those that are very Observing and Curious (as it was intended by Providence that we should be in reading the Bible) will soon know how to make a Difference, and to discern the proper mean.

meaning of this Particle. Likewise the Hebrew *Præpositions* are of various Signification, and one is put for another very often, which makes the Sense not a little difficult. Who sees not that these *Præfixes* or *Præpositions* על, כ, מ, ב, ל are differently used, and at one time are applied one way, and another another? And who knows not that sometimes they seem to be unnecessary, and to signify nothing at all? though even then without doubt they are of some Significancy and Use. But to know this aright is not easy: a great Learning in the Tongue is requisite to discover it.

The *Hebrew Verbs* also are very Equivocal, and have very Different meanings. In their divers *Conjugations*, they have divers Significations, whence it proves a very hard thing sometimes to know which of them is meant. A word in *Kal* may bear one sense, in *Piel* another, in *Hipbil* a Third, &c. But if we apply our selves with that Care and Industry to the searching into the Scriptures which are required of us, we shall either be able to discern which Particular Sense is meant in the places before us; or where we cannot attain to this, we shall find that our Ignorance is not prejudicial to us, because the Controversy is not about anything which we ought necessarily to know. The Verb *Chalal* signifies to *begin* and to *profane*, according to its different *Conjugations*. Of the former Signification, there are Instances in *Gen. 6. 1. Num. 17. 11.* and many other places; Of the latter in *Num. 30. 3. Ezek. 39. 7.* and abundance of other Texts: whence there is some dispute about *Gen. 4. 26.* some rendring the word *Huchal Men began*, others *Men profaned*. Both the Chaldee Paraphrasts understand it in the latter sense, and so do the Hebrew Rabins generally. They take the meaning of

the place to be this, Then the Name of God was profan'd, then Religion began to be corrupted; then they call'd on God's Name so as to dishonour and pollute it, viz. by their Oaths and Blasphemies. *R. Solomon Jarchi*, * *Maimonides*, and other Jewish Doctors understand it of the rise of Idolatry: they tell us, that *Moses* gives us an account here of the first beginning of the setting up of New Gods. And from this Text † *Mr. Selden*, who always adheres to the Circumcised Doctors, endeavours to prove that Idolatry was in those days. But it is more reasonable to believe that this was not of so early a Date, and that there was no such Vile Defection at that time in the World. This is the Judgment of the famous || Jewish Historian and Antiquary: and most of the Antient and Learned Fathers of the Christian Church give their Suffrage to it; and that with good reason, because if at this time that Generation had been guilty of this most Abominable Crime, it would certainly have been mention'd, and that plainly: as you see afterwards, that as soon as this Horrid Sin began to be practis'd in the World, the Holy Scriptures record it, and at the same time decry it. But it is not to be question'd that Impious *Cain* and his Party corrupted the True Religion and Worship of God, and labour'd to bring in Universal Profaneness. Wherefore the Family of Holy *Seth*, and Godly *Enoch* and his Associates zealously resisted their Attempts, and took a course to suppress the prevailing Corruption. Accordingly now they began in a peculiar manner to meet together, and to join their Devotions

* Lib. de Cultu Stellar. † De Dis Syr. Proleg. || Antiqu.
141. c. 4.

Devotions more solemnly, and to call upon God. They more especially exercis'd themselves in Prayer, that indispensable act of Divine Worship. They began more signally and openly to be Religious. Thus *Men began to call upon the Name of the Lord*, or (as it may be rendred) *to call themselves by the Name of the Lord*, to entitle themselves after the Name of *Jehovah*, as we call ourselves *Christians* after Christ's Name. They profess'd themselves to be the People of God, and Worshipers of the Most High. Thus *to call on the Name of the Lord*, and *to be call'd by his Name*, amount to the same, and signify that at that particular time the Faithful invoked God, and worship'd and serv'd him in a more solemn manner than before: and they publickly own'd themselves to be *the Sons of God*, and the Servants of the Great *Jehovah*. Thus *Men began to call on God's Name*, and thus *Aben Ezra* and other Modern Rabbies (who have better consider'd of it) understand this Text in the plain Sense of it. And it is likely it had never been otherwise understood, if the ambiguity of the Verb *Chalal* had not given occasion; for this in the Conjugation *Niphal*, signifies *to profane*, and *to be profaned*, but in *Hiphil* and *Hophal* (as here) *to begin*: which some took no notice of, and so mistook the Sense.

To proceed, the Hebrew word *Pathah* signifies *to enlarge* and *perswade*, whence there is some difference in the Translation of *Gen. 9. 27. God shall enlarge*; others read it, *God shall perswade Japheth*. But yet if you take either of the Readings with the following Words, the Sense is not varied, the meaning is the same; for the whole Verse contains God's Promise, that *Japheth should dwell in the Tents of Shem*; that is, that the Gentiles, who sprang

from *Japheth*, should be converted to Judaism, and that both they and the Jews, who came from *Shem*, should embrace Christianity; and this *enlarging* of *Japheth's* Borders should be done by *Perswasion*, by the mild and gentle Methods of the Spirit, by the *perswasive* Power of the Gospel preach'd to them. Thus I decide the quarrel among Grammarians and Criticks about the Hebrew word, by joining both the Senses of it together. And this we shall find to be a good Expedient some other times. The Hebrew word *Chush* signifies *to make haste*, and *to be ashamed*, saith our Learned * *Pocock*; and thence that place in *Isa.* 28. 16. *he that believeth shall not make haste*, is otherwise worded in *Rom.* 9. 33. *he that believeth on him shall not be ashamed*. If there be this Different acception of the Verb, it is impossible without a Revelation (which we have no reason to expect) to tell which Sense is peculiarly designed by the Prophet, for we have no Light at all from the Context to help us. But seeing the Word is capable in this place of both Significations, let us (as before) unite them together: for it is certain, that *he who believeth will neither make haste, nor be ashamed*. *Kaphatz* is *claudere*, and also *transilire*, viz. *è loco suo*: whence you may read the word in *Job* 24. 24. either thus, *they are shut up*, viz. in Destruction, or in the Grave; or, *they are taken out of the way*. The Subject Matter will permit both Translations. The Signification of *Rad* is both *dominari* and *plangere*, *plorare*: whence there may be a double Interpretation of that place, *Gen.* 27. 40. *when thou shalt have the Dominion, or when thou shalt have Mourned*: and both Sentences are applicable. *Sacal* is *intelligere*, & *prosperum*,

sperum, felicem esse : therefore it is hard to determine whether the word in *Jos.* 1. 7, 8. *Isa.* 52. 13. *Jer.* 23. 5. be to be rendred in the first or the second Sense. But neither in this nor the foregoing Text is any Point of Faith concern'd. The meaning of the word *Shanah* is not only *mutare* but *errare*, and accordingly it is no wonder that the word in *Eccl.* 8. 1. be differently rendred, and may be so in some other places. *Dam* or *damam* signifies either to be silent, or to wait and expect; consequently *Psal.* 62. 1. may be rendred *my Soul is silent*, or *waiteth on God*. *Mabar* is *festinare*, and *dotare* or *donare*; and therefore in *Psal.* 16. 4. *Maharu* may be either english'd *they hasten* or *they give Gifts*, i. e. they bring Sacrifices and Oblations, viz. to another God. And we may suppose these zealous Idolaters *hastned* to bring these Gifts, these Sacrifices, and then both Senses are reconciled. *Palal*, according to the different Conjugations it is in, signifies to pray and to judg: thence *Psal.* 106. 30. is differently translated, viz. *Then stood up Phineas and pray'd*, according to our Old Translation of the Psalms, or *executed Judgment*, according to the later Version. We may join both the Senses, for it is probable this zealous Man join'd Prayer with this eminent act of Justice. *Asbar* is to walk, and to pronounce blessed, (so discrepant are the meanings of some words;) whence *Prov.* 4. 14. may be english'd either *go not in the way of Evil Men* (as we render it) or, *blest not in the way of Evil Men*, i. e. account not, pronounce not thy self Blessed or Happy, whilst thou art in the way of Evil Men. And so *Veasher* in *Prov.* 23. 19. may be translated either *dirige* or *beatifica*. Either of these Versions yield us a good notion of the place. So because of the ambiguity of the word *Tizachar*, which
may

may be rendred *masculum nascetur* or *memorabitur*, that Text *Exod. 34. 19.* may be differently translated. The double Signification of *Puach* is *flare*, *spirare*, & *illaqueari*: so that 'tis doubtful whether this word in *Psal. 12. 5.* should be rendred *puffeth at him*, or *ensnareth him*: but the Sense is not impaired by either. *Cbalam* is not only *somniavit*, but *sanus fuit*, *convaleuit*: which makes the Original *Psal. 126. 1.* to be capable of either of these Translations, *we were like to them that dreamed*, or *we were like to them that are restored to health*: both which Versions admit of a very good Sense.

To instance in some words that have more than two Significations; Seeing the word *Pbarang* signifies to be *abandon'd and lost*, and likewise to be *stript naked*, and moreover to *rebel*, as also to be *idle*, it is not to be wonder'd at that a Clause in *Prov. 29. 18.* be rendred by our English Translators *the People perisheth*, by others (as *Cocceius*) *the People is made naked*, by some (as *Arias Montanus*) *the People is rebellious*, and by others (as *Pagnin*) *the People are idle*. In such variety of Significations, we cannot be Certain which to take sometimes. It is sufficient that we choose that which we find most agreeable to the place. *Batzar* in *Kal* is *vindemiavit*, in *Niphil* *abruptus est*, *sublatus est*; in *Piel* *munxit*, & *arduum fecit*. In these several Significations 'tis taken in Scripture, as it were easy to shew out of the Hebrew Concordances. *Bagnar* according to its different Conjugations signifies to *burn*, to *feed*, to be *furious*, to be *stupid or brutish*, to *take away or remove*; and this cannot but occasion some difference in Translations. The Verb *Pakad*, and the Nouns that are derived from it, are of very dubious Signification in Scripture: which must needs cause sometimes a disagreement among Interpreters,

ters. *Aman* in *Kal* is *nutrivit, educavit*; in *Niphal*, *verax fuit, fidelis fuit*; in *Hiphil*, *credidit*: there are divers Examples of this in the Bible. *Sbur* is *canere, insuere, munera deferre*: from which triple Signification of the Word, I could shew that some Texts are capable of different Versions. *Tsalat* is *obumbrari, opacum reddi*, Ezek. 31. 3. *mergi*, Ex. 15. 10. *tinnire, palpitare*, 1 Sam. 3. 11. *Hab*. 3. 16. *Sacan* is wonderfully diversified as to its Significations: Sometimes it signifies to help or profit, sometimes to attempt or make trial, sometimes to accustom one's self to a thing: whence there may arise some difference in translating some places; but in none of these is any Grand Point of Religion concern'd. *Nasa* hath no less than Eight Significations in the Bible, as *ferre, portare: auferre, tollere: elevare, attollere: accipere: honorare: consumere, comburere: condonare, remittere: pronuntiare, nominare, jurare*. And many * Other Verbs there are in this Language which have more Senses than one, and therefore those Texts where they occur, are not so easy as others to understand. There is a great variety of Significations in the Greek Verbs, some whereof (as the Verb † *δοκειν*) have strangely discrepant meanings, but they are not to be compared with the Hebrew ones, whether you respect the Multiplicity of them, or the Unlikeness and Inconsistency of the Significations among themselves. This therefore must be assigned as one reason why the Sense of some Texts is dubious.

As it is with the Hebrew Verbs, so it is with the Nouns; there are many of them that have different Senses,

* See at the End of the Book. † It hath 4 Significations, *urere, discere, dividere, convivio excipere*.

Senses, and those such as have no Agreement or Affinity one with another, which oftentimes occasions Diversity of Readings in those Places where they are found. Not but that the Hebrew Tongue is copious, as is evident from that Variety of Names which is for one thing. There are seven Words for *Gold*, as *St. Jerom* long since observed, *Zahab*, *Pbez* or *Paz* or *Ophaz*, *Charutz*, *Kethem*, *Ophir*, *Baser*, *Segor*; though some think that *Kethem* is the more general Name, and the rest are several kinds of Gold. There are six Words to express *Giants*, as *Nephilim*, (from falling or falling on) *Emim*, (because they are Terrible) *Gibborim*, (from their Strength) *Anakim*, *Zamzummim*, *Rephaim*. There are as many Words to signify a *Lion*, as * *Buxtorf* reckons them up distinctly, with the Places of Scripture where they occur: *Yea*, *Mercer* adds a seventh. A *Son* in Hebrew is *Ben*, *Nin*, *Manon*, *Bar*, though indeed this last be rather a Chaldee or Syriac Word. *Anger* hath these Denominations, *Aph*, *Charon*, *Zagnaph*, *Chagnas*. *Sleep* is either *Tarmedah*, or *Shenah*, or *Tenumah*. Three Words there are for the *Sun*, as *Cheres*, *Shemeth*, *Chammah*; and as many for the *Earth*, *Eretz*, *Tebel*, *Adamah*. A *Virgin* is called *Almah*, (or *Gnalmah*) *Naarah*, *Betulah*. To *fear* is expressed by three Verbs, viz. *Gur*, *Jare*, *Pachad*. The same Hill is call'd *Horeb* and *Sinai*: and *Zion* and *Hermon* are two Names of another Hill: but of these afterwards. Thus the Hebrew Tongue hath many Synonymous Words.

But that which is more usual and remarkable (and which we are concern'd to observe at present) is that one Name or Word serves for Different things,

* Lexicon. ex Talmud. in Sanhedrim.

things, which often renders the Interpretation doubtful. Thus *Job* 4. 18. we read thus, *his Angels be charged with Folly*; but it may as well be read, *be put Light into his Angels*; and so Tremellius and the Gallick Version have it: for [*Tobolab*] (which is the Word here used, and comes from a Hebrew Verb, which sometimes signifies to shine) denotes both *Light* and *Folly*. And accordingly Expositors (to whom I refer the Reader) labour to defend either of these Senses. But so far as I can discern the Meaning of this Place, the Hebrew Word hath a third Signification, which seems to be peculiarly designed here: For this Noun is derived from *Halal*, the primitive and known Signification of which is *laudare*, *gloriari*, and so *Tobolab* is as much as *Tebillab*, *laus*, *gloriatio*. Accordingly I render the foresaid Clause thus, *Nec in Angelis suis ponet laudem seu gloriationem*: for the *Vau* in this Place (as in several others, which I have hinted before) is Disjunctive, and is the same with *nec*. And you see the Words run this way, *i. e.* in the Negative, *He putteth no Trust in his Servants, nor doth he put Praise or Boasting in his Angels*; *i. e.* those Glorious Spirits who now inhabit the Celestial-Regions, (for I do not think, as some do, that the Fallen Angels are here spoken of) even these in comparison of *God*, who is infinitely pure and perfect, are blameworthy and guilty. So that this rendring of the Words amounts to the Sense of the *English* Version: but I do not see any Reason to translate the Hebrew word *Folly*; for the Verb from whence it comes directs us not to it, and we have^{an} Instance of it in Scripture. It is well known that the Noun *Dabar* signifies both a *Thing* or *Action*, and a *Word*, and for that reason the rendring of it in Scripture is sometimes uncertain. The like may be observed of

of *ἐπιμαρ* in the Greek Testament, which is applicable to Actions as well as Words, in imitation of the use of the word *Dabar*. But both in the Old and New Testament the Matter spoken of will direct us sufficiently unto the peculiar Acception of the Word. *Shephartaim* are either the *Lots* and *Portions* of a Man's Life, and especially his ill Lot and Misfortune; or the Word signifies those *Pots*, some say those *Ranges* which are used about the Fire, and are covered over with Dust and Smoke. Accordingly *Psal.* 68. 13. may be translated thus, *Though ye have lain in those evil Lots, i. e. though you have been in great Distress: or thus, Though ye have lain among the Pots or Ranges, which amounts to the same Sense with the former, and expresseth the Distressed Condition of the Persons spoken of.* The word *Belial* (which is often used) is of a double Signification; for some derive it from *Beli, non*, and *Gnol, jugum*, and then it denotes *one without a Yoke*, that is, impatient of Discipline, one that casts off all Laws and Restraints. Others deduce it from *Beli, non*, and *Jagnal, profuit*; so that it should regularly be *Belijagnal*, but the middle Letter being struck out, it is *Belial* (which way of Contraction is not unusual, as we see in the word *Hosanna*, corruptly from *Hosignanna*: so *Path* is a Contraction of *Pathab, frangere*; *Rab* of *Rabab, multiplicari*; *El* of *Ejal, potentia*; *Jordan* of *Jeoridan*, as some think from *Jeor* a River, and *Dan* a City; because this River had its Rise about that Place: and there are almost innumerable Instances of this Abbreviating of Words, both in the Bible and * other Hebrew Authors.) If we thus shorten the word *Belial*, it is equivalent to *Inutilis, homo nequam, nullius frugis*:

* See Buxtorf de Abbreviat. Hebraic.

frugs: but both this and the former Derivation of the Word acquaint us, that it is well applied in the Scripture to very Lewd and Profligate Persons; yea, even to the Infernal Spirit himself.

Marphe in *Prov.* 14. 30. may be derived either from *Rapba*, *sanare*, or *Raphab*, *lenem esse*, and accordingly is both *sanitas* and *lenitas*; and so that Text may be read, *a sound Heart*, (a Healthful Constitution) or *a mild Heart* (a placid and sedate Temper) *is the Life of the Flesh*, is a Procurer of long Life to a Man. Both the Senses are coincident. *Netseach* signifies *Victory* and *Eternity*, (as the Greek *νικω* also doth) and therefore *Isa.* 25. 8. admits of this double Version, *He will swallow up Death in Victory*, (he will conquer and baffle its Force) or *in Eternity*, i. e. Death shall be absorb'd, destroy'd forever. The Sense is alike. The Signification of *Bochal* is *probatio* and *munitio*: thence *Eben bochal*, *Isa.* 28. 16. may be rendred *a tried Stone*, or *Stone of Trial*, or else *a Stone of Fortification*. *Migreshoth* may denote either *Suburbs* (as the word in the singular Number *Migrash* often doth in Scripture) or *Waves*: and therefore in *Ezek.* 27. 28. we cannot certainly tell which Word to render it by, nor is it material whether we do or no. Whether *Hamon*, *Ezek.* 7. 11. should be translated *a Tumult* or *a Multitude*, is not to be decided; because if the Word comes from *Hamah*, *tumultuatus est*, then the former Version is the genuine one; but if from *Haman*, *multiplicavit*, then the latter. Whether *Chajil*, *Ezek.* 37. 10. is to be translated *an Army* (as we english it) or *People*, cannot be determined, because the Word signifies both in several Places of Scripture. Because *Zaba* denotes both *a determinate Time*, and *military Order*, that of *Job* 7. 1. may be rendred either thus, *Is there not an appoint-*

appointed time to Man? or, Is there not a Warfare to Man? And so in ch. 14. 14. you may read it, *All the Days of my appointed Time*, or, *all the Days of my Warfare*. In all these Places there is no point of Religion endanger'd, if you take the Words in either Sense. There must needs be a double Reading in *Josh. 11. 20.* because the word *Techinnah* signifies *Grace* or *Favour*, and likewise *Prayer* or *Supplication*: so that we may translate it either *that there might be no Favour for them*, or *that there might be no Supplication for them*. Both which Senses may be united thus, *that there might be none to pray for Grace and Favour for them*. And so both the Translations meet. There is a great deal of Difference between *the Rain filleth the Pools*, and *the Teacher is fill'd or cover'd with Blessings*; and yet *Psal. 84. 6.* (the latter part of the Verse) may be read either of these ways, because the word *Moreh* is *pluvia* and *doctor*, and *Beracoth* is both *piscinae* and *benedictiones*. These two have but little Affinity, [*he hath given you the former Rain moderately*] and [*he hath given you a Teacher of Righteousness*.] and yet the Hebrew Words in *Joel 2. 23.* are capable of being rendred either ways, and accordingly our English Translators imbrace the former, and the Vulgar Latin the latter Sense. The Reason is, because *Moreh* is a *Teacher* and *Rain*. The word *begeg* is *perfidia*, *Jer. 12. 1.* and also *vestis* in above a hundred Places. *IN* is an *Isle*, *Job 22. 30.* a *Region* or *Province*, *Isa. 20. 6.* a *Bird* or other Animal that frequents Islands, *Isa. 13. 22.* *Cir* signifies a *Laver*, *Exod. 20. 18.* a *Hearth*, *Zech. 12. 6.* a *Scaffold* or *Pulpit*, *2 Chron. 6. 13.* *Chajah* is the *Soul*, *Life*, a *Beast*, a *Company*, a *Village*: wherefore 'tis no wonder that the Word in these Places admits of different Constructions, *Psal. 68. 30.* *Psal. 74. 19.* *Isa. 57. 10.* but the

the Scope of the Texts will conduct a diligent Enquirer to the proper Denotation of the Word in each Place. *Pagnam* is a Blow, a Stroke, Judg. 5. 28. a Foot or Footstep, Psal. 85. 14. an Anvil, Isa. 41. 7. and moreover it hath the Force of the Latin *vice*, or *bac vice*, this once, 1 Sam. 26. 8.

How vastly different are the Senses of the Word *Tsir*? viz. Grief, Isa. 13. 8. a Hinge, Prov. 26. 14. an Ambassador or Messenger, Prov. 25. 13. Idols, Isa. 45. 16. So the Word which we translate Frost, Psal. 78. 47. is of a large Import, and signifies not only Frost, but vehement Hail, and therefore in the Margin of our Bibles is rendred great Hail-stones. *Avenarius* renders it Thunder or Thunder-bolts: *R. Chafen* understands by it not a Meteor, but an Insect, and reads the Place thus, He destroyed their Sycomore Trees with the Locusts. *Tzitz* hath five distinct Rendrings, a Flower, Isa. 28. 1. a Feather or Quill, or Wing, Jer. 48. 9. a Plate, Exod. 28. 36. a Fringe, Numb. 15. 38. a Lock of Hair, Ezek. 8. 3. The words *Bad* and *Baddim* signify Linen or Linen Cloth, Ezek. 9. 3. Branches, Ezek. 19. 14. Bars, Exod. 27. 6. Greatness or Strength, Job 18. 13. Members or Joints, Job 41. 3. Liars and Lies, Jer. 50. 36. Isa. 44. 25. Job 11. 3. Here are six different Senses of one Word, and there is not any Affinity or Resemblance between any of them. *Basar* (to which answers *σαρξ* in the Greek) is subject, in the Sacred Writings, to as great a Multiplicity of Meanings, as might easily be proved. And to conclude, the word *Jad* is of a vast Latitude; I know none that equals it as to its wonderful Variety of Senses. It is to be understood and applied at least twenty several ways in the Old Testament: but yet, though it is sometimes difficult, it is never impossible to distinguish the Senses. These

Words and many * more are Proofs of what I at first asserted, that there is a great Number of Words in the Scripture of *Different Significations*, and that the *Hebrew* Tongue especially abounds with such. For the Hebrews have but few Words, very few in comparison of what there are in other Languages; but they make their small Stock go as far as it can, by making one Word serve for diverse things, so that oftentimes the subject Matter must determine the Signification. I need say no more. Look but into the Margins of the English Bible, and there you may be fully satisfied from the Diversity of rendring the Texts, that many Nouns as well as Verbs have different and unlike Meanings, which we must needs apprehend to be the Cause why some Places are Obscure and Difficult.

* See at the end of the Book.

C H A P. VIII.

Many Hebrew Nouns whereby the several sorts of Brute Animals are signified, admit of different Interpretations, which is one Reason why some Places of Scripture are obscure and difficult. The Great Fish, *Jon. 1. 17.* which devour'd Jonas, was a Whale, properly and strictly so called: but perhaps the Belly of this Fish is not to be understood in a strict Sense of the Abdomen or lower Venter, but of the Wide and Capacious Mouth of that Animal. The proper Names of some Birds and Insects are ambiguous. The Author's particular Opinion concerning Kirjonim, *2 Kings 6. 25.* the Doves Dung that was sold at so dear a rate at the Siege of Samaria. What the Locusts were that John Baptist fed on in the Wilderness. The Names of Flowers, Trees, Plants, mentioned in the Bible, are somewhat uncertain. So are the Words for Minerals, Precious Stones, Musical Instruments. Yet this is so far from being a Blemish to the Sacred Writings, that it is a Commendation of them. The Hebrew Measures (whether of Longitude or Capacity) are another Instance of the Difficulty which arises from our being ignorant of the exact Significations of some Words in the Bible. The Words whereby the Hebrew Weights are express'd are something dubious. And so are those whereby the Jewish Coins are denoted. Likewise there is Uncertainty in the Greek and Roman Coins mentioned in the New Testament.

IN farther Prosecution of this I will observe, that many Hebrew Words which signify Brute Animals (whether four-footed Beasts and other Creatures

tures on the Earth, or Fishes, and Birds, and Insects) admit of Different Interpretations, and may be applied to Animals of divers kinds. It is acknowledged both by the Antient and Modern Jews themselves, that they have no certain Account of the Proper Names of divers of those Animals which are mentioned in the 11th Chapter of *Leviticus*, some of which were forbidden, others allowed to be eaten by that People. When they come to speak of some of them particularly, they exceedingly disagree about them, and variously determine what they are. *Sus* is the known Hebrew Word for a Horse, and yet it is the Word for a Crane in *Isa.* 38. 14. *Reim* or *Reem*, which we translate Unicorn, *Numb.* 23. 22. *Job* 39. 9. and *Psal.* 92. 10. and in other Places, is thought by * some to be the *Monoeros* or *Indian Ass*: but † *Bochart* dislikes it, and with great Industry endeavours to prove it to be another Beast, viz. an *Oryx*, a kind of wild Goat, with very sharp Horns. It is rendred a wild Bull, *Deut.* 33. 17. in our Margin, because perhaps the Text speaks of *Horns* in the Plural, which our Translators thought could not be attributed to the Unicorn. But when we read there of the *Horns* of an Unicorn, (for so 'tis in the Original, though 'tis translated *Unicorns*) why may we not say that the Plural is put for the Singular, as is very usual? There is an Unicorn properly so call'd, if we may credit || Antient Writers; and such an one was seen in the last Age, if Faith is to be given to ||| Modern Writers. An Unicorn, saith a late Traveller, is an African Creature, only known in the Province of *Agas*, in the King-

* Varabius, Munster, Drusus. † De Animal. sacr. l. 1.
|| Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 8. c. 20. l. 18. c. 21. Solin. cap. 43. & 65.
Strabo. Geogr. lib. 15. Aelian. Hist. Animal. l. 6. c. 20. ||| Scapiger. Exercit. 205.

Kingdom of *Damotes*; though perhaps heretofore it was no Stranger in other Parts. I will not dispute here how the *Unicorn* and *Rhinoceros* differ, or whether they do at all, which Mr. Ray denies, and thinks he hath sufficient Ground for it from Modern Voyages: but 'tis enough for our understanding the foresaid Texts of Scripture, that it is the Name of a fierce strong Animal, famous for its Horn or Horns. If it be the *Rhinoceros*, its Horn ariseth out of its Trunk, and turns up: if it be the *Monoceros* or *Unicorn*, properly so call'd, the Horn is in the middle of its Forehead, and exalted. St. Jerom sometimes renders it an *Unicorn*, and sometimes a *Rhinoceros*, and we may suppose it to be either.

Very strangely different are the Significations which are assigned of that Name, which the Wise Man gives to an Animal that he commends for its going well, calling it *Zarzir Motnajim*, Prov. 30. 31, which in expresse Terms in English is girt in or about the Loins; which our Translators render a *Greyhound*, according to R. David, and several other Hebrew Writers, who affirm that this Creature is here meant, because it is slender in the Loins, girt up as 'twere in those Parts. According to the Chaldee Paraphrase and Vulgar Latin, it is a Cock: according to R. Levi, a *Leopard*, that being a Beast that is slender and strong in the Loins. R. *Aben Ezra*, and some others, think it to be a *Bee*, that brisk and nimble Insect; and some fancy it to be a *Starling*. But *Junius* and *Tremellius* and *Buxtorf*, who render it a *Horse*, seem to me to bid fairest for Truth here. Nay indeed, what fitter Epithet could there be to expresse this Animal than this *Zarzir Motnajim*, Girt about the Loins? It is a Creature of great

Use and Service in Journeying, and therefore oftentimes *girt* for that purpose: it is a generous Beast, and useful in War, and therefore *girt* for riding. Which I take to be the meaning of a *Horse tied* (for it is in the Singular in the Hebrew) 2 *Kings* 7. 10. i. e. *girt* for the Battel, for the Text speaks of War-horses. And then, *going well* (for which it hath particular Commendation here) is the known Property of this Animal for the most part: so that without any straining, we must acknowledg this to be the Periphrasis of a *Horse*, a *Girted Animal*. *Jacmur* in *Deut.* 14. 5. we translate a *Fallow-Deer*; but according to the LXX, *St. Jerom*, and *Pagnin*, it is a *Buffle* or *Wild Oxe*: it is a kind of a *Goat*, say *R. Kimchi*, and *Jonah*, and *Bochart*: it is a *Wild Ass*, saith *Forster*. But what particular Species of Beasts it is, perhaps no Man can exactly tell, nor is it at all necessary that he should. Our own Translation, which agrees with that of *Junius* and *Tremellius*, seems to be most eligible. If *Bochart* may be credited, *Cats* (wild ones he means, not those that are tame) are spoken of in Scripture: for though 'tis difficult, it is not impossible, to determine what sort of Creatures is meant by *Zijim* and *Ijim*, *Isa.* 13. 21. *Ch.* 34. 24. *Jer.* 50. 39. yet he by the former will needs have *cats*, *feles*, to be understood: but truly he might as well have assigned any other Wild Animal. *Roach* *Lev.* 11. 30. is translated a *Chameleon*, according to the *Septuagint* and *Latin Version*, but 'tis a *Lizard* according to *Pagnin* and *Bochart*. Some think 'tis a *Weefel*, others a *Frog* or *Toad*, some a *Snail*: and thus they run divisions, when perhaps there's no ground for any of them; for the Names of Animals are very

Ex nova velocem cingula lēdat Equum. Ovid de Remed.

very uncertain, and dubious, and therefore it's great folly to be very solicitous, especially to be peremptory about them. *Moses's* Rod was turn'd into a *Crocodile*, saith the Learned *Lightfoot*, for he holds, that that is the meaning of *Nacash* in *Exod.* 4. 3. The *Leviathan* described in *Job* 41. is a *Whale*, say Interpreters generally, and very truly, I think: but *Pagnin* holds it to be a *Sea-Serpent* or *Dragon*: and *Beza*, and *Bochart*, and *Deodate*, say 'tis a *Crocodile*. And *Behemoth* is join'd with the *Leviathan*, because (as one of these Writers thinks) it was its Fellow-fish and Companion in the same place. If the former was the *Crocodile* of *Nile*, this is (saith he) the *Hippotannus* or River-Horse there. But if we peruse the Description given of this Creature, we shall find that it belongs rather, if not only, to a Land-Animal; and therefore I take the part of the Old Interpreters, who by *Behemoth* understand the *Elephant*, the greatest that we know of Terrestrial Beasts. If it be not that Creature, it is not now known what it is.

A *Whale* is generally believ'd to be that * *Great Fish* which swallow'd up *Jonas*: but the † Author I last named, and *Aldrovandus* and some others hold that it was a *Carcharias* or *Lamia*, a sort of Dog-fish which hath a vast Gullet, so that a Man may pass through it, and accordingly Men have been often found in the Bellies of this kind of Fish. But as for the *Whale*, it hath (as all Creatures that have Lungs, and do breathe) a narrow Gullet, because a strait passage is more convenient to let out the Air, and draw it in with greater force and vehemency; and therefore (say they) this could not be the Fish that swallowed *Jonas*. That this is the

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* Dag gadol. *Jon.* 1. 17. † *Mr. Bochart, De Ceto Jonas.*

particular Make of this Fish I do not deny, for * *Scaliger* affirms upon his own Inspection and Knowledg that a *Whale* hath a narrow Throat, scarce half a Foot in compass. *Aldrovandus* and other Natural Historians attest the straitness of these Parts. But as for the Inference which these Persons draw from such Premises, I cannot admit of it. Nor could these Learned Men have done so, if they had consider'd that *Jonas's* being swallow'd up by this Fish was an Extraordinary thing, and such as was in the way of a Miracle. It is said, *the Lord prepared this Fish to swallow up Jonas, ver. 7.* God in an unusual and wonderful manner effected the Deliverance of the Prophet, by appointing this *Whale* to receive him, and rescue him from the raging Sea. He fitted and prepared him to take him down into the Caverns of his Belly, ^{as it is gone} ~~he~~ so ^{ready thought,} framed his narrow Throat that he was able to swallow him down whole. The Parts were so stretch'd at that time, that a greater than *Jonas* might have pass'd through. There is no reason then to object the Natural Frame and Make of the Fish. But we may rest in the *Septuagint's* rendring the word, who expressly call it *κῆτος*, a *Whale*; and especially we may be satisfied with our Saviour's Determination, who hath limited the Signification of those words [a great Fish,] and hath expressly told us that *Jonas was in the Whale's Belly*, Mat. 12. 40. Though the Book of *Jonas* mentions not a *Whale*, yet here we are assured that it was *that very Fish* which was made the happy means of the Prophet's preservation. And yet here may be some Uncertainty still, for a *Whale* perhaps may not be taken strictly in this place, but may only signify one of the *Cetaceous*

several Animals, among which those are reckon'd that have Lungs, as the Dolphin, Seal or Sea-calf, Porpus, Pristis or Saw-fish, Tuny. We may hold that some other Fish of the Nature of a Whale, but not of that particular Frame as to its *Throat*, is here meant, and so the former Objection vanisheth.

But I think there is a way to reconcile this, and yet at the same time we may assert, that our Saviour means a *Whale* properly and strictly so called; that is, as 'tis credibly said to be, a Great Fish with a Little Throat, so little besure that a Man cannot have any passage through it, and consequently that *Jonas* had not. If I may be allowed to offer my particular Opinion, I conceive that when 'tis said by the Prophet *Jonas* concerning himself, that he *was in the Belly of the Fish*, Chap. 1. 17. and when it is said by our Saviour that he *was in the Belly of the Whale*, Mat. 12. 40. the word [Belly] is not to be understood in a strict Sense. The * Hebrew word in the former place is of a Large Extent, and denotes rather the *Bowels* than the *Belly*; i. e. it is oftentimes in the Sacred Writ understood of the *Inward* and *Unseen Parts* of any thing, which are call'd the *Bowels*. The Greek word in the latter place is not γαστήρ but κοιλία, which is of a larger Signification, and imports any *middle*, or any *inward* and *deep place*, as in *John* 7. 38. especially some remote *bollow place*; and so here we are to understand by it some *bollow part* of the Fish's Body, and consequently it may denote to us not the *Lowest Ventricle*, which is usually call'd the *Belly*, but the *Mouth*, which is a Concave Part of the Body. And this is here most Emphatically applied

* כִּמְעֵי in visceribus.

plied to this particular Fish, because (as we are certainly informed) it hath a *Mouth*, (by which I mean all that large place on both sides and in the middle between the Lips or outward Mouth and the Passage down the Throat, all which is of a most Wonderful and Prodigious Magnitude) it hath, I say, a Mouth of so vast a Capacity, that it may rather be call'd a *Belly* than a *Mouth*, and therefore is not unfitly termed so, although in propriety and strictness of Speaking, it is not the *Belly*, but the *Mouth*. We must take notice then, that this is the Language and Idiom of the Sacred Writers: So *Beten, venter*, signifies not always the Belly properly, but the inward Parts in general, as in 1 *Kings* 7. 20. and *Prov.* 22. 18. which latter we translate *within thee*. *Kerob* likewise, which is another word for *venter*, is usually rendred *medium, intimum, intestinum*: the word is used as * *ὀμφαλός* among the Greeks, and as *Umbilicus* among the Latins, for the *middle* of any thing. That *Belly* or *Bowels* are used to signify what is *inmost* and *bidden*, is clear from *Psal.* 40. 8. *Thy Law is in the midst of my Bowels*, shut up and repositied within my Heart: and so in *Job* 15. 35. *Ch.* 30. 27. The *Belly* in the *Stile* of Scripture, and in other Writers, is usually mention'd to express any Inward Receptacle or Place to receive and contain a thing. Among Anatomists it hath been made use of in the latitude of the word, to signify not only the *Belly* properly so call'd, but the other Cavities of the *Body*, the *Head* and *Breast*. So in that Comparison which our Saviour made between himself and *Jonas*, you may remember that † *the Heart of the Earth* answers to the *Whale's Belly*, to let you see

* — *ὀμφαλός* ἐστὶ *δαιμόνιος*. *Hom. Od.* *u*. † *Mat.* 12. 40.

see that both these words καρδία and κοιλία are the same, and signify some dark and remote Receptacles, where Things or Persons are laid up for a time. As *Jonas was in the Whale's Belly*, so *Christ was in the Heart of the Earth*; to acquaint us that as the word *Heart* is not understood here strictly and properly, so neither is the word *κοιλία*, as it signifies *Belly*. The *Heart of the Earth* was the Grave or Sepulcher where our Saviour lay, though 'twas not strictly speaking the *Heart*: so by the *Whale's Belly* is meant the place where *Jonas* was held and imprison'd, though it was not the *Belly* in the strictness of Speech. But as the *Grave* is to the *Earth*, so is the *Mouth* to the *Body*: our Saviour was hidden in the one, *Jonas* was preserv'd in the other, viz. in the Mouth of the Whale. And the word *κοιλία* is used in *Job. 7. 38.* to denote, not properly the *Belly*, (though we render it so) but the inward Part of Man. Out of his *Belly* shall flow Rivers of living Water, alluding to the Cisterns or Vessels of Stone, ἀγυαί, call'd by the Seventy Interpreters, *Prov. 5. 15.* out of which by certain Pipes or Cocks they let out the Water in abundance. And further it might be observ'd, that those words which express these inward and invisible Parts have their Denomination from the hollowness of them, as *Kebab, ventriculus*, is from *Kab* or *Kabab, cavarvit*: and so *Kobab* (of the same Signification) is from the same Root, and is so named from its Cavity, and that for this reason, because these inward Vessels and Parts are able to hold and contain things, and also are Channels and Passages to convey and transmit them. These are properly *κοιλίαι*, and are call'd so from their hollow-ness and capaciousness. Thus in the Matter before us, though we do not restrain *κοιλία* to the *Abdomen*,

men, the *Belly* strictly so named, yet we take it in its proper and genuine Denotation, that is, as it signifies that Vast and Wide Cavity of the Whale which *Jonas* was taken into; in this *κοιλία*, in this Capacious Hollowness was the distressed Prophet lodged three Days and three Nights. In this *Belly of Hell* (for so likewise he calls it, *Chap. 2. 2.* and by this Phrase we further see that the word *κοιλία*, which is the word here used by the *Septuagint*, is not properly taken, but signifies some Dark Invisible Receptacle) he was both tormented and preserved: and at last, as we read in the Sequel of this History, when the Lord spake unto this Fish, it vomited out *Jonah on the dry Land*, *Chap. 2. 10.* which (let me observe to you) further intimates to us the truth of this Notion which I have presented to you, for *Vomiting* is an Emission of something, not out of the *Belly*, but out of the Mouth or Stomach. If *Jonas* had been in the *Belly* or Entrails of the Fish, he had been emitted another way, not by Vomition. Thus I have briefly given my Conceptions of that Text of Scripture, and from the whole it is evident that it speaks of a *Whale* properly so call'd, (for our Blessed Saviour positively and expressly determines it to be such) and of the Vast Cavity of its *Mouth* and *Jaws*, which in respect of their huge extension, may deserve the Name of a *Belly*, rather than of those Parts. I know that the Almighty God, who made the Creature at first, could afterwards have framed and disposed its Throat, or any other Passages, as he pleas'd: With the greatest Reverence I acknowledg this. But if we can solve the Works of God and his Providence in a natural way, I think we are obliged to do it, and at the same time we adore the God of Nature. Although it must be confess'd,

confess'd, that if we respect the Power and Sovereignty, the Providence and Will of God, it might be the *Belly* of this Fish properly so denominated, which was the Place where the Fugitive Prophet was lodged; yet seeing Naturalists have given us this Account of the Whale, that the Passage of its Throat is so strait, that a Man's Body cannot be convey'd through it; and seeing we are not sure that God alter'd the Frame and Disposition of this Part; and seeing likewise that the Word which the Holy Ghost useth is capable of a double Sense, we may be invited on these Considerations to think that it was the *Vast Mouth* of this Fish which is here meant. And truly the Wonderfulness of the Occurrence is not at all hereby abated; for to preserve *Jonas* so long in the Whale's Mouth, was as great a Miracle (if we consider all things) as to preserve him in its Lower Belly.

Then as for *Fowls*, *Birds*, and *Insects*, there is a great Ambiguity in the Old Testament, as to some of these. *Tsippor* is a common Name of all Fowls, as in *Psal.* 104. 17. and other Places: but sometimes it is more particularly taken for a *Sparrow*, as in *Psal.* 102. 7. So in *Psal.* 84. 3. some certain Species of Birds are signified, because the *Swallow* is mentioned in the same Place. *Kore*, 1 Sam. 26. 20. which we translate a *Partridge*, is a *Night-raven*, according to the 70 Interpreters: It is a *Woodcock* or *Snipe*, saith * One whom I have often quoted. *Ajab*, *Lev.* 11. 14. *Job* 28. 7. is rendred in the Septuagint and Vulgar Version, and in ours, a *Vulture*: but according to *Arias Montanus*, it is *varia avis*, i. e. a *Pie*: according to others it is a *Crow*; and 'tis thought by others to be a *Kite*: But we need not
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* Bochart. de Anim. Sacr.

be solicitous to know which of these it is, for it is likely we can never attain it; or if we could, it would be of little Advantage to us, for the Sense of these Places of Scripture depends not on our knowing what sort of Animal this or that is. *Deror*, *Psal.* 84. 4. is in our English Translation a *Smallow*, but according to the Greek and Latin it is a *Turtle*, and so *Bochart* indeavours to prove. *Kippod*, which we translate a *Bittern*, *Isa.* 14. 23. *ch.* 34. 11. is according to *R. Solomon* a kind of *Owl*; but *Luther* will have it to be an *Eagle*. Yea, some rank it among other Species of Animals, for according to the *Vulgar Latin* and *Pagnin* it is a *Hedg-bog*; according to *R. Kimchi* and *R. Joseph*, a *Snail*; according to others, a *Beaver*. *Avenarius* comes nearest the Truth, who tells us it is the Name of a Fowl unknown to us in these Parts. But this we are certain of, (and we need not look any further) that it is some Fowl or other Animal that frequents *desert and desolate Places*, because of these the Text speaks. So when the Psalmist complains that *he is like a Pelican in the Wilderness, and like an Owl of the Desert*, *Psal.* 102. 6. we need not be inquisitive whether the former word *Kaath* be rightly translated, or whether it should be rendred a *Bittern*, as 'tis by *Jerom* and *Bochart*; nor are we to care whether that latter word *Kos* certainly signifies that flying Creature which we call an *Owl*, or whether it be an *Houp*, ἑρπύς, *Upupa*, according to *Symmachus*; or a *Night-raven*, according to the *Seventy*, and *St. Jerom*; or a *Falcon*, according to *R. Solomon* and *Pagnin*; or a *Pelican*, according to some others. *J. R. Kimchi* was in the right, who saith, 'tis the Name of some unclean Bird not known to us. But this is enough, that it was some Solitary Creature of the feather'd Order that kept in remote Places, be-

because it is said to be an Inhabitant of the Desert; and so it is used here to set forth the present Solitude and mournful Condition of the Psalmist. *Gbasidab*, which we translate a *Stork*, Psal. 104. 17. and Jer. 8. 7. is, according to St. Jerom, a *Kite*: but the same Word in Job 39. 13. is rendred by us an *Ostrich*; and so 'tis in the Vulgar Latin; which shews the Ambiguity of the Word. *Tachmas*, Lev. 11. 16. is translated by us a *Night-hawk*; by the Targum, the Seventy, St. Jerom, and Arias Montanus, an *Owl*; by the Arabick and Avenarius, a *Swallow*; by Bochart, an *Ostrich*. The like Disagreement is there in rendring the word *Tinsbemeth*, Lev. 11. 18. which we english, a *Swan*; but according to Arias Montanus, it is *Porphyrio*; according to R. Solomon, a *Bat*; according to Bochart, a *Chameleon*: Some say 'tis a *Bittern*; others an *Owl*; others a *Daw*. And to let you see the Uncertainty of the Word, in the very same Chapter it is reckon'd among the *Creeping things*, ver. 30. and is rendred a *Mole*. To add one more, viz. *Anaphab*, which we render a *Heron*, Lev. 11. 19. but according to the Seventy it is *χαρδαίος*; according to the Vulgar Latin *Charadrios*, i. e. a *Sea-bird*, call'd by some *Icterus*. It is a *Kite*, say the Talmudists and Targum. It is a *Ring-dove*, a *Pie*, a *Lapwing*, a lesser sort of *Owl*, say others. It is a Bird call'd *ἀνιπταία*, *Anopæa*, (which perhaps comes from *Anapba*) saith Bochart. It is probable that this and several others of those *Fowls* (as well as other Animals) mentioned in Lev. 11. and Deut. 14. are not exactly rendred; but we cannot tell when they are, or when they are not. And I do not see there can be any help for this in the World, unless you can suppose that some Criticks are infallible. This only we can do; after a diligent and impartial Search into the

the different Opinions concerning the Words; we may acquiesce in that which we think to be most reasonable.

Here I will insert something concerning that Passage in 2 Kings 6. 25. *The fourth part of a Cab of Doves Dung was sold for five pieces of Silver*; which refers to a known sort of *Fowls*, but hath been much controverted by Critical Expositors. What is the true Import here of *Kirjonim* (which we translate *Doves Dung*) is not easy to determine; for some derive the former part of the Word from *Charar*, *siccitas*, *calor*, *exustio*: and others from *Chur*, which hath various Significations, as *Whiteness*, a *Hole*, or *hollow Place*, a *Paunch*, *Dung*. And the Talmudists read it *Dibjonim*, because forsooth 'tis a modest Word. Some think it to be *Dung*, properly so call'd, the *Excrement* of Pigeons; but then they much differ about the Use of it. *Rabbi Jonas*, one of the chiefest of the Jewish Doctors, hath this Conceit, that in the time of the Siege they used Doves Dung dried to kindle their Fires: this serv'd the People of *Samaria* instead of Sticks, which now were not to be had. But this seems to be an extravagant Fancy, because (besides that 'tis questionable whether this could be made serviceable for Fuel) the Text speaks of Scarcity and want of Food, not of Firing. The Famine was so great, that not only an *Ass's Head*, but this *Kirjonim* (which was some Edible) was sold at an excessive rate. Others say they used *Doves Dung*, in the time of the Siege, instead of Salt. But this is as groundless as the former Opinion, for (not to dispute whether the thing be practicable or no) Persons are not solicitous in a raging Famine for Salt, but for Meat. Another tells us, that it was to dung their Fields within the City, that they might have a Harvest

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at home the ensuing Year, if the Siege should last; and they were not permitted to go abroad. But this is no ways credible, for either they had much Ground within the City for that purpose, or they had but little. The former is wholly improbable, for in frequented Cities (such as *Samaria* was) their Habitations take up the greatest part of the Place; so that there is but little left for Arable. And if there was but little, it was not worth their Time and Pains to bestow Compost upon it. Moreover, 'tis reasonable to think that those distress'd famish'd Creatures were eager about relieving their present Wants, but were not concern'd to provide against the ensuing Year. Another of the Jewish Rabbies understands this *Kirjonim*, of that which was contained in the Crop or Maw of Pigeons, the Corn they had pick'd up in the Fields; this (saith he) was taken out when they return'd back, and was eaten for want of better Food. But this Rabbi forgot that when the Famine was so grievous and pressing, it is likely the Pigeons were seized on in their Houses, and not suffer'd to fly abroad. Or supposing this latter, yet we are to remember that the Fields about *Samaria* were stripp'd of their Corn at that time, and therefore those Animals could not return home with that Prey. Others think the *Guts* and *Entrails* of Pigeons are meant here by this Word; but why they rather than the Garbage of Other Fowls should be mentioned, is not accountable. Monsieur *Bochart*, the Great *Goliath*-Critick, tells us, it signifies none of these, but he gives us an Invention of his own, viz. that this *Kirjonim* is a sort of *Cicer*, a Coarse kind of Food, but such as the Jews sometimes did eat. It is the same, he saith, with *Kali*, in 2 *Sam.* 17. 28. and this is the Name that the Arabians

give it. But this Learned Author may receive a Confutation from that Text it self; for if this *Kali* had been any Coarse contemptible Food, 'tis not at all probable that the Persons there mentioned would have made a Present of it to King *David*. Questionless they brought of the best Provision to him, and this sufficiently appears from the other Gifts which are in the same Place enumerated. This *Kali* is rendred by the Vulgar Latin *Polenta*, and by our Translators *parched Corn*; perhaps parch'd and dried after it had been soak'd in Water, and was a kind of an early Essay of *Malt*. But whatever it was, it is evident that it was some Choice Present, and therefore this last Interpretation is not to be allowed. But what is, is very hard to tell. I subscribe to this Learned Writer in this, that *Grain* or *Corn* is here meant. But it was not any *one particular* sort of them, nor could it be that *Kali* before-mentioned. Wherefore, if I may have leave to give in my Conjecture, (after all that hath been said) it is this, that this *Kirjonim* was the *Offals* or *Refuse* of all sorts of Corn and Grain, which was wont to be given to Pigeons at such time of the Year, when they had nothing abroad to feed on. For the Jews tell us, that they antiently kept Pigeons in certain Houses and Places built on purpose for them, (as 'tis with us at this Day) and there relieved them with Food when there was occasion. This Refuse-Grain, this Tail-Corn, these Sweepings of the Floor, these vile Remains, are here call'd *Dung*, by way of Contempt. This comports with the Stile of Scripture, which uses the word * *Dung* to denote the *Baseness* and *Vileness* of a thing: and here it is join'd with
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* 2 Kings 9. 37. Psal. 83. 10. Jer. 8. 2.

an *Ass's Head*, which was the vilest sort of Food ; and therefore both together do fully expresse the Extremity of the Famine at that time. And also this Vile Dross and Siftings of all kind of Grain might be call'd *Dung* by them, because these being very gross, yielded abundant Matter for Excrements. This seems to me to be a very plain and obvious Interpretation of the Hebrew Word, but let the Reader be Judg. It is certain it can't be meant of *Pigeons Dung*, strictly so call'd, for neither humane Excrements, nor any others, are capable of being Food. If we meet with any thing to the contrary, as in *Isa. 36. 12. 2 Kings 18. 27.* it is spoken in an Hyperbolical Strain. But no more of this ungrateful Subject. Perhaps we have lost the true Meaning of *Kirjonim*. Such Words and Names of things as these, which are of no frequent Use, by reason of their great Antiquity, are forgot, and not known by us. And this is not peculiar to the Hebrew Tongue alone ; the very same happens in other Languages, which are not so Antient, as it were easy to demonstrate.

Then as to *Insects*, the Word which we render a *Spider*, *Prov. 30. 28.* is *Stellio* in the Old Latin Version : and the Inquisitive *Bochart* labours to make it probable, that that is the Creature there meant, viz. an *Ewet*, a little Spotted Animal like a *Lizard*. I will mention here the *Locusts*, *Lev. 11. 22.* (rank'd with the *Beetle* and *Grasshopper*) which the Jews were allowed to eat : and I will take occasion thence to speak of the *Angides*, the *Locusts*, which *John Baptist* fed upon in the Wilderness, *Mat. 3. 4. Mark 1. 6.* they being the very same sort of Food which are mentioned here in *Leviticus* among the Species of *Creeping Fowls*. I know there are other Opinions concerning them. The *Ebionites* of old,

old, as * *Epiphanius* relates, held that ἀνείδης was a Mistake for ἐνείδης, which Word is used *Exod.* 16. 31. and *Numb.* 11. 9. But this wild Interpretation hath no Bottom at all, and therefore hath been universally rejected. Some have thought, as † One tells us, that these ἀνείδης were *Sea-Fish*, either Crabs or Lobsters: and why not Shrimps? But guess how likely 'twas that *St. John* should meet with *Sea-Fish* in the Wilderness; besides that these were a dainty sort of Food, and not so befitting this mortified Hermit. Others take these ἀνείδης not to be Sensitive Creatures, but Vegetables, which was the Sentiment of some of the Fathers. || *Theophylact* thought them to be a certain kind of Herb, some particular distinct Species of Plants. But (*) others of the Antient Christian Writers took them to be Tops of Shrubs and Trees; and among the Moderns this is held by *Theophrastus* and *Paracelsus*. (†) One Author is very particular in giving his Judgment of this Word, for he saith it signifies, 1. Little Shoots and Tendrels of Trees. 2. Young Sprouts of Plants. 3. Asparagus. *Baronius* and *Erasmus* understand the Word of the uppermost Parts or Toppings of young Trees, which they think *St. John* cropp'd: and our *Dr. Hammond* favours this Opinion; but (||) *Sir. N. Knatchbull* very heartily defends it. But I see no Foundation at all for it, for the Words ἀνείς and ἀνείδης have no such Signification in any Author whatsoever. It is true, ἀνείς, 10, and the Plural ἀνείες (used by *Homer*) signify the Tops of Mountains: but what is this to the purpose, unless they think the

* Contr. Hæres. l. 1. † *Druthmarus* in loc. || In *Matth.* cap. 3. (*) *Clemens Alex.* *Chrysostom.* *Nicephorus*, *Hist. l. 1. c. 14.* *Isidor.* 1. 1. *Epist.* 3. (†) *Hieron.* *Monitus de Turcia & Iubritatis.* (||) *Annotat. in Matth.* 3. 4.

the Baptist had such a *Miraculous Stomach* as first to remove the Tops of Mountains, and then to eat them? I can't imagine any other occasion of this Opinion than this, that ἀκρον is *summum, extremum*, whence some fancied that the Word signified the Tops or Extremities of Plants. And besides, the Antient Writers (from whom the later received the Notion) thought not of the *Locusts*, which were the ordinary Food of the *Eastern People*, (as is evident from the foresaid Place in *Leviticus*) and were much bigger in those Countries than in others. These are the ἀκρίδες mentioned by St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark*; these are the *Locusts* which the Holy Baptist made his Repast whilst he lived in the Desert: for that those of meaner Rank, and such especially in the Eastern Countries as convers'd in the Fields and Deserts, fed on this sort of Meat, is sufficiently testified by *Aristotle*, *Ælian*, *Solinus*, *Pliny*, and other Natural Historians, who speak of this kind of Insects: also by *Strabo* and * *Diodorus Siculus*, who report that some People were call'd Ἀκριδοφάγοι, because they fed generally on this Food; and by the Learned Father † St. *Jerom*. But the most satisfactory Author on this Subject is *Ludolphus*, in his *Ethiopick* or *Abyssine History*, who proves that *Locusts* are an agreeable Food to the People of *Africk* and the Southern Parts of *Asia*; and that they are of very great Bulk, and not like those in *Europe*: and in short, that they were the usual Sustenance of some People in the East. What then can be plainer than this, that St. *John* fed on these Animals in the Wilderness, it being a sort of Food that the Hebrew People were no Strangers to, and consequently that

* Lib. 4. c. 3. † Advers. Jovinian.

this is the true Interpretation of *Mat. 3. 4.*? But it must be acknowledg'd, that Other Texts are not so easily understood: there is a great Ambiguity in those words whereby *Animals* are express'd, and 'tis somewhat difficult to reach the true meaning of them, as may sufficiently appear from what Monsieur *Bochart* hath said of those *Animals* that are spoken of in Scripture: though truly I am of opinion, that that Great Man hath sometimes (if not often) rais'd Doubts about them when there was little or no Ground for it, as 'tis the fault of almost all Great Criticks to render Words and Things dubious when there is no occasion for it.

In the next place, I will observe that the Names of *Flowers*, *Plants* and *Herbs* among the Hebrews are scarcely known to us. Otherwise certainly the Hebrew word which in our English Bibles is rendred a *Rose*, *Cant. 2. 1.* *Isa. 35. 1.* would not have been translated a *Flower* in the former place, and a *Lilly* in the latter by the *Vulgar* Interpreter. And * *Buxtorf* was so sensible of the ambiguous Sense of this word, that he tells us, it is either a *Rose* or a *Lilly*. The † Plant which God prepared for *Jonas*, to be a Shade to him, is rendred by some a kind of *Vine*, by others a *Cucumber*, by the Seventy *Coloquintida*, or the Bitter Gourd, *καλοκυνθον*, (call'd by the Botanists the *Apple of Caloquintida*, and the *Gall of the Earth*, and the *Death of Plants*) by the *Vulgar* Latin an *Ivy*, by others (as *Mercer* and *Montanus*) that Plant which we call *Palma Christi*, and by our English Translators (according to the Arabick) a *Gourd*. So discrepant are the Judgments of Interpreters about this Matter.

* Lexic. Hebraic. † Jon. 4. 6.

ter. And the Geneva, Helvetian and Danish Bibles retain the Hebrew word *Kikaion*, because they knew not what to make of it. Nor are Authors less divided about the *Gopher-wood*, Gen. 6. 14. of which the *Ark* was made, for no less than Seven or Eight sorts of Trees are mention'd by them on this occasion. Some say it is *Square-Timber*, because 'tis rendred by the Greek Interpreters *ξύλα τετραγώνια*: others think it to be *Smooth-Timber*, because in the Vulgar Latin it is *Ligna levigata*. According to the Chaldee Paraphrasts, and most of the Rabins, it is *Cedar*: according to *Munster* and the Geneva Translation, it is a *Pine-Tree*. *Junius* thinks it is a middle sort between this and a *Fir*. *Bochart* and *Fuller* vote it to be a *Cypress*: and the * latter hath this fanciful notion concerning it, that among the Gentiles the *Cypress* was always held to be a Fatal Tree, and was used at Funerals, because the *Ark* at the Flood, in which *Noah* was shut up as in a Sepulcher, was made of this Wood. Some take it for a *Fir*, and others for a *Turpentine-Tree*. And *Pererius* (that he might say something singular, and different from all the rest) fancies it was not the Wood of one sort of Tree, but that it was made of divers Kinds. But the Translators of the English Bible retain the Hebrew word it self, because they were not satisfied with any of these Significations. *Eolab* and *allab* and *allon*, Ezek. 6. 13. Josh. 24. 26. Isa. 6. 13. according to different Interpreters are rendred not only an *Oak*, but an *Elm*, an *Alder-Tree*, a *Turpentine*, a *Lime*, or *Teil-Tree*, a *Pine*, a *Chestnut*. What kind of Trees *Algummim* or *Almuggim*, 1 Kings 10. 11. 2 Chron. 2. 8. Chap. 9. 10, 11. were,

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* Miscell. l. 4. c. 5.

were, is not easy to tell: yea, the Hebrew Doctors think *Coral* (which we can't properly call a Tree) is meant by them. But * *Grotius* hath warn'd us not to trust to the Rabins, especially the latter ones, in their Interpretations which they give of Herbs and Trees. What particular kind of Wood that is which is call'd *Shittim*, (of which you read so often in *Exodus*) and is rendred ξύλα ἄσπιτα, *incorruptible Wood* by the LXX, is not agreed among the Learned; some thinking it to be *Cedar*, others the *Pitch-Tree*, others *Box*: but *Jerom* and *Theodotion* take it to be the *White-Thorn*, or a Tree very like it. The truth is, we are certain of nothing but this, that it was some very excellent and choice Wood which they found to be very useful in Building. It is probable that it was denominated from the Place where it grew, and whence it was fetched, (for of *Shittim* we read in *Numb.* 25. 1. *Josh.* 2. 1. and in other places) but what kind of Tree it was, is uncertain: for which reason both the Vulgar Latin and English Translators thought fit to retain the Hebrew word it self. For we are in the dark as to these things: and how can it be otherwise, seeing 'tis not to be doubted that they had *Trees* and *Plants* in the *Eastern Countries* which are not in these places? and therefore we know them not. So for *Animals*, of which we spake before, there were some proper to those Regions: and because these *Western* Parts of the World have them not, we are ignorant of them. Wherefore 'tis no wonder that several Names of Sensitive and Vegetative Creatures mention'd in the Old Testament are unintelligible.

Whether

* Annotat. in *Exod.* 3. 23.

Whether the Hebrew *Bedolach*, *Bdellium*, Gen. 2. 12. be a *Tree* or a *Stone*, or a *Gum*, or a *Pearl*, is disputed. *Pliny* and *Dioscorides* mention *Bdellium* as *Wood* or a *Tree*, and *Junius* (upon the place) is of the same Mind. Others, and particularly * *Josephus*, understand it to be an *Aromatick Gum*, or the *Juice* of some *Odoriferous Tree*. The *Jews* generally hold it to be a *Precious Stone*; but some of them think it is a *Crystal*, others a *Jasper*, and others of them a *Carbuncle*, it being † so rendred by the *Septuagint*. *Bochart* and some other *Moderns* tell us that *Bedolach* is not *Bdellium* or any other *Precious Stone*, but a *Margarite*, a *Pearl of the Sea*, which is usually fetch'd up in that *Maritime Part* of *Arabia* which is call'd *Havilah* in the foremention'd Text. And to corroborate this Opinion, he further adds, that *Manna* is said to be (*Numb.* 11. 7.) of the colour of *Bdellium*, i. e. white, which is the singular Ornament and Beauty of a *Pearl*. It might be observ'd here, that the words for *Minerals* and *Precious Stones* are very ambiguous. I will mention only one, viz. *Nophel*, the first *Precious Stone* in the second Order of those in the *High Priest's Breast-plate*: this is rendred by *St. Jerom* a *Carbuncle*, by *Onkelos* an *Emerald*, by some Interpreters a *Topaz*, and by others a *Ruby*. And there is almost the like difference in interpreting some of the other Words whereby other *Stones* are signified. For indeed, it is the Confession of the *Hebrew Doctors*, as *Buxtorf* and others tell us, that the Names of *Precious Stones* in *Scripture* are unknown to us. There is such a discrepancy, saith a || *Learned Hebrician*, about these

* *Antiqu.* l. 3. c. 1. † 'O אֶרְבֶּזֶף. || *Paul. Fagius* in *Exod.* 28. 20,

these among all Interpreters, whether Christians or Jews, that no Man is able to determine any thing certain.

The same may be said of *Musical Instruments* mention'd in Scripture : which have employ'd many Criticks and Grammarians, but with little Satisfaction. But I have said enough for my present purpose, viz. to shew you that the *Hebrew Names* of divers things are not well understood, which sometimes begets a misunderstanding concerning the things themselves. There are indeed among the Greeks and Latins a great number of words of Different Senses, but the number is far greater in *Hebrew*, by reason of the paucity of words in this Tongue : for there being many Things, but few Words to express them, it will follow that sundry of them must be of various Significations, and consequently that it is no easy matter to distinguish between them. This may be the reason why the *Septuagint* have inserted several *Hebrew* words into their Version, namely, because they could not tell how to express them in Greek, their Signification being so Doubtful. Hence also some *Proper Names* are translated by these Interpreters as *Appellatives* ; which is done also sometimes by the *Vulgar Latin*, because those Names are seemingly and as to their Sound no other than Appellatives : however, the Dubious meaning of them prompted the Translators to take them as such. Nor are we to think that this *Ambiguity* is any Blemish or Disparagement to the Bible, and that for this reason, because we find it no where but in those Matters which are Indifferent, and the Knowledg of which is not indispensably required of us. Nay, on the contrary, this *Difficulty* which we meet with in many Words and Passages in these
Holy

Holy Writings, is so far from disparaging them, that it is an undeniable Proof of the Unparall'd *Antiquity* of them. We are assured hence, that they have the Priority of all other Books; we may rationally gather that a great part of this Volume at least was compos'd and written before any other Writings were extant. If this Sacred Book were of a later Date, we should have had few or none of these Difficult Terms that it abounds with now. We could not then have a more Convincing Argument of its being Exceeding *Antient*, than its being *Dark* in some places. And therefore instead of complaining of the Obscurity of these Writings, let us reverence and admire its Matchless *Antiquity*, and congratulate our own Happiness, that the Divine Providence hath entrusted us with the First and Oldest Records of Truth in the World.

I will go on then still with my present Undertaking, and shew in other particulars the *Dubious Import* of some words in these Sacred Writings, and attempt to clear some of them. I will here speak of the *Measures, Weights, and Coins* mention'd in Scripture, which are another Instance of the *Difficulty* which arises from our being ignorant of the exact Significations of some Words in the Sacred Volume. The *Hebrew Measures* are either of *Application* or of *Capacity*, i. e. such Measures as are applied and laid unto things, or such as hold and contain things. To the former sort belongs chiefly the *Cubit*, the famous Standing Measure of the Hebrews. But this is twofold, either *Common* or *Sacred*: the former is the length of the Arm from the Elbow to the end of the middle Finger, according to the Dimensions of Men of the greatest Stature; and it is generally agreed that this is a Foot and a half, or (which is the same) half a Yard.

Yard. This was the Measure for ordinary things, ^{or profane} as *Ogg's Bedstead*, which was * in length nine Cubits, i. e. thirteen Foot and a half, or four Yards and a half, and in breadth four Cubits, i. e. six Foot, or two Yards: by which it appears, that he was such another Giant as *Goliath* was, † whose height was six Cubits and a Span, i. e. nine Foot and nine Inches, or three Yards and almost a Foot: for we must suppose that his Bedstead was a fourth part or thereabouts longer than his Body. But besides this ordinary Cubit, call'd the *Cubit of a Man*, Deut. 3. 11. i. e. of a Man's Proportion, from the Elbow to the Fingers end, the Common Cubit, there was the Sacred one, which is as much again, viz. a Yard. By this were measured those things which were Extraordinary and Unusual, or which were Holy and Religious. Some think the length, breadth and height of the *Ark* is measured by this Cubit, Gen. 6. 15. otherwise they cannot make room for all the Creatures of every Kind that were to be lodged in it. Yea, two of the Antient Fathers think that the Cubit by which the *Ark* was built, was the *Geometrick* one, which is six times longer than the Ordinary Cubit, i. e. it contains nine Foot: for they thought that the *Ark* otherwise could not hold all the Beasts. But the contrary is stiffly maintain'd by (*) Others, who reject the *Geometrick* Cubit, because there is no mention of it in Scripture, and because the Fabrick of the *Ark* would have been of two vast a proportion if it had been measur'd by this. These Men with the Ordinary Cubit make that Vessel large enough to hold all the different Animals that were order'd to

* Deut. 3. 11. † 1 Sam. 17. 4. || Origen. Hom. 2. in Gen. Augustin. de Civ. Dei, l. 15. c. 27. (*) Butes de Arcâ Noë. Kircher Arc. Noë.

to be preserv'd in it. *Buteo* more especially hath undertaken this, and perform'd it as well as the thing would bear. He insists that *Moses* speaks of the Cubit that was most in use in his time, which by consent of Writers contain'd a Foot and a half in length: and accordingly he endeavours to make the whole Business of the Fabrick and Capacity of the Ark for receiving the several Creatures, to be accountable on this Hypothesis of the *Common Cubit*. When the Mosaick History relates that the Longitude of the Ark was three hundred Cubits, we must understand it, he saith, of four hundred fifty Foot in length: when it describes its Latitude to be fifty Cubits, there are meant seventy five Foot: and when the Altitude is said to be thirty Cubits, we must reckon forty five Foot. This was the Proportion of that Antient Fabrick, of that great *Swimming Coffin*, for its Figure agrees most with that Shape. But whereas we read that it consisted of *three Stories*, ver. 16. this Author assigns *four*, telling us, that the first (which he adds) is not mention'd, because it was a Sink or Sewer to receive all the Filth that came from the Stalls of the Animals: the next to this, was the place where the Terrestrial Animals were lodg'd: The Third was the Storehouse for Provision let down to the Creatures below through Racks: In the Fourth were the Men and Birds. And these Rooms and Apartments, with their Accommodations, are reduced by him to that number of Cubits which *Noah* assigns. So that the Cavils of *Celsus*, and of the Gnosticks before him, against the incapacity of the Ark for so many Beasts, are silenc'd by the Undertaking of this Ingenious Writer, who hath proved that this Structure was able to hold very well

well all *Species* of Animals, i. e. of *Creeeping things*, which according to *Gesner* and *Aldrovandus*, are not above thirty, and of *Four-footed Beasts*, which are a hundred and thirty, (for *Antilopes* begot between a Hart and a Goat, *Mules* the Product of an Horse and an Ass, *Jackals* of whom a Wolf is the Sire, a Fox the Dam, and some other such Mungrel Creatures are not to be reckon'd in the Number) and of *Fowls of the Air* about a hundred and fifty.

As to the *Tabernacle* and *Temple*, it is granted that the Dimensions of them are taken by the *Holy Cubit*, which is as long again as the Common one. But then, whether the *Utensils* and *Vessels*, and other things belonging to the Temple are to be measured by the *Common* or the *Sacred Cubit*, is often disputed among those who have treated of this Matter. And it must needs be so, because the word *Annah*, *cubitus*, is ambiguous; for though it never signifies in Scripture the *Geometrical Cubit*, which is three Yards, yet it is left uncertain in many places whether the Common or Sacred Cubit be meant.

Measures of Capacity among the Hebrews are either of things that are *Dry*, or of those that are *Liquid*. Of the first sort are, 1. The *Cab*, 2 Kings 6, 25. the Least of Dry Measures used by the Jews, about a quarter of a Peck of our English Measure. 2. The *Ephah*, Lev. 5. 11. of the same Quantity with the *Bath*, (of which afterwards) only the one is for dry things, the other for wet. It may be call'd the *Hebrew Bushel*, because it is much about that Quantity; though some will have it to be much more, and others a considerable deal less, viz. half a Bushel and a Pottle. Some say it contains about seven Gallons, others nine. So that we cannot

cannot tell the precise Quantity of this Measure; which neither the *Greek Interpreters* knew, it is likely, though they were *Jews*, for they render the word *Ephah* differently, sometimes μέτρον, sometimes πημα, and at other times ὕψι and ὑψεί, and οἶψι. 3. An *Homer*, חומר, *Chomer*, Ezek. 45. 14. which is ten *Baths* or *Ephahs*, i. e. ten *Bushels*, say some: but others set it higher, making it fourteen *Bushels*; and others bring it lower, reducing it to about eight *Bushels*. Perhaps the English word *Coumb* or *Coume*, which now signifies but half as much, denoted a greater Quantity heretofore, and was originally taken from the Hebrew *Chomer*, but is since corrupted in the Pronunciation. Note that this is the Greatest (however the just and exact Quantity be disputed) of all *Dry Measures*. 4. An *Omer*, עמר, *Gnomer*, Vulgar Latin *Gomor*. It is true, some Writers (and of no mean Note) have confounded these two, *Homer* and *Omer*, and the *Seventy Interpreters* did so long before, calling both of them γαμωρ, but they are two Distinct Measures. For we are assured that an *Omer* is the tenth part of an *Ephah*, Exod. 16. 36. i. e. the tenth part of a *Bushel*, or thereabouts; and therefore is call'd by the *Jews* *Gnisharon*, *decima*, a *tenth-deal*, Numb. 15. 4. whereas the *Homer* contained ten *Ephahs* or *Baths*, i. e. ten *Bushels*. But yet this is an Equivocal Word, as appears from Lev. 23. 10. *Ye shall bring a Sheaf of the first Fruits of your Harvest unto the Priest*. It is the word *Omer* which is here translated a *Sheaf*, (a far different thing from a *Measure*) and by the * *Septuagint* and Vulgar † *Latin Version* a *Maniple* or *handful*, which indeed is a sort of *Measure*, but greatly disagreeing with the usual

* Δεσγδα. † Manipuli spicarum.

usual Signification of *Omer*. But in all other places the *Hebrew Name* it self is retain'd in the *Greek* and *Latin* Versions as well as in Ours; and I have told you what it is generally thought to signify. 5. The *Cor*, 1 Kings 4. 22. which is made by some a distinct Measure from those before-named: but you will find, that according to the Vulgar Latin, a *Cor* and an *Homer* are the same, Ezek. 45. 13, 14.

The Measures for Liquids among the Hebrews were a *Log*, Lev. 14. 10. which contain'd about half a Pint: however, this is sure that it was the least of Liquid Measures. Next, a *Hin*, Numb. 15. 4. which was somewhat bigger than a *Log*: some say it held ten *Logs*, a Great Gallon I may call it. A *Bath*, Ezek. 45. 11. was yet bigger, and contain'd six *Hins*, i. e. about six Gallons: others say, four Gallons and an half. And yet it is said to be of the same Capacity with the *Ephah*, i. e. a Bushel, and consequently should hold eight Gallons. The *Homer* was also a Measure for Liquor, as well as for Grain, and it contained ten Baths, as is evident from Ezek. 45. 14. Ten Baths are an *Homer*. But because a *Bath* is more or less, according to the different Determinations of Writers, we cannot assign the exact Quantity of an *Homer*. A *Cor* (which I before mentioned as the same with the *Chomer*, and the greatest of Dry Measures) is also a Measure for Liquids, 1 Kings 5. 11. Ezek. 45. 14. But 'tis no wonder that we have not an exact Knowledge of these Jewish Measures, for even those that are mentioned in *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, and very much fall short of the Antiquity of these, are but little known by us.

Next, if we proceed to the Words whereby the *Hebrew Weights* are expressed in Scripture, which are the *Shekel* and the *Talent*, we shall find them some-

something dubious and uncertain. The *Shekel*, שֶׁקֶל (like the *Cubit*) is said to be either *Common* or *Sacred*, the *Profane Shekel*, or that of the *Sanctuary*. And here there is Dissention among Writers; but according to the most moderate Accounts, the former is said to be in Weight a quarter of an Ounce, the latter half an Ounce Troy. Others affirm, that there was no *Profane Shekel*, different from the *Sacred one*; but that the occasion of the Opinion was the Scripture's mentioning the *Shekel of the Sanctuary*, Lev. 27. 25. and Numb. 3. 47. which is so call'd, because the Weights which were laid up in the *Sanctuary* were the Standard of all Weights. The other Weights in use among the People were tried by These, and if they were found lighter, they were condemned. As for the contrary Opinion, it is look'd upon by some (but I cannot subscribe to it) as an Invention of the Rab-
bies. The other *Weight* is כֶּכֶּל, Exod. 25. 39. 1 Kings. 20. 39. rendred by the Greek and Latin Version (as well as Ours) a *Talent*; which is either *Common* or *Sacred*; the first, according to some of the Rabins, is fifty Pounds; others say, sixty; others, sixty two in weight. The second, according to some, is an hundred; according to others, an hundred and twenty; and in others Estimation, an hundred twenty five Pounds Weight, i. e. about as much again as the *Common Talent*. But it is difficult to tell in which particular Places of Scripture the *Common Talent* is meant, and in which the *Sacred one*. Only this we know, that a *Talent* was the greatest *Weight* among the Hebrews. And this we may rest in, as very probable, that there was a Difference of the same Weights among the Jews, as among us there is *Troy Weight* used by
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Goldsmiths and Apothecaries, and *Averdupts* by those who deal in grosser things.

Then as to the *Coins*, these generally followed the *Weights*, because they weighed their Money for the most part: Hence the *Shekel* and the *Talent* were not only *Weights* but *Coins* among the Hebrews. The *Shekel of the Sanctuary* was in strict Value two Shillings four Pence of our Money, but is generally reckon'd two Shillings six Pence, our *Half-Crown*: but the *Ordinary Shekel* was but half as much, i. e. as to the most strict Value fourteen Pence, but more generally esteem'd to be fifteen. This is to be understood of the *Shekel of Silver*; but then we must know there was another of *Gold*, which was of a much higher Value, fifteen Shillings at least. Now because the word *Shekel* is often mentioned without any Addition in Scripture, we may be mistaken as to the right Value of it, because we are uncertain which of the *Shekels* is to be understood, that of Silver or that of Gold. And sometimes it happens by reason of the *Shekels* being both a *Weight* and a *Coin*, that the one is mistook for the other. As probably in 2 Sam. 14. 26. where 'tis said that *Absalom* at every Year's end pulled his Hair, because the Hair was heavy on him, and he weighed the Hair at two hundred *Shekels*; which is generally understood as if the Hair of his Head, being cut off every Year, weighed two hundred *Shekels*, i. e. fifty Ounces, which is four Pounds and two Ounces, if you reckon by the Lesser *Shekel*; but if you make your Computation by the Greater one, which was double in weight, his Hair weighed eight Pounds and four Ounces. But this cannot be, for though his Hair was heavy, (as the Text testifies) yet it is no ways credible that it was of this

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vaſt Weight. Two hundred Shekels of the leſſer Weight are more ponderous than the Fleeces of two ordinary Sheep. You may imagine then what the Weight doubled will be, *i. e.* if you underſtand the Place of the *Greater Shekels*. Wherefore by *Shekels* here is meant *Coin*, and not *Weight*: the Meaning is this, that *Absalom's* Hair growing exceſſively, and being very heavy, he yearly cut it off; and when it was weighed, it was found to be worth two hundred Shekels, that is, according to the Common Shekel, twelve Pounds ten Shillings in our Engliſh Money, but much more according to the rate of the Greater Shekel. The *Price* or *Value* of his Hair, not the *Weight* of it, is here ſpoken of. So much Money he could have had for the yearly Loppings of his Hair, and ſo much and more they made of it to whom he gave it, *viz.* his Servants, who parted with it at a dear rate to the Ladies of *Jeruſalem*, who were ambitious of adorning their Heads with the Hair of the Beautiful *Absalom*, with the Locks of the King's Son; eſpecially if what a * Learned Man from the *Jeruſalem-Talmudiſts* ſuggeſts hath any Truth in it, *viz.* that he was a Temporary *Nazarite*, (as ſome among the Jews were; yea, 'tis my Opinion that they were all at their Liberty) and let his Hair grow from Year to Year, becauſe of his Vow: for then ſome of the better diſpoſed Females might in a Religious way buy up theſe Reliques of *Nazaritiſm*, and look upon them as Sacred. If this Interpretation of the Place be not admitted, then one of theſe two things muſt be granted, either that his Hair was of that Prodigious and Incredible Weight which we mentioned; (which will hardly be received) or

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* Dr. Lightfoot Hor. Hebraic.

else that we are mistaken in the true Value of a Shekel in this Place ; and if so, we may be mistaken in others.

We might likewise consider the Value of a *Talent*, which is either the *Great* or the *Lesser* : the Value of the former is two hundred thirty three Pounds Sterling ; and of the latter one hundred seventy five Pounds Sterling, according to some good Authors. But others will have four hundred Pound Sterling to be the true Estimate of the Greater Talent, and they value the Lesser at half as much. Again, the Scripture speaks of a *Talent of Silver*, and a *Talent of Gold*, and these also are differently understood ; for some value the former at one hundred eighty seven Pounds ten Shillings ; others at three hundred seventy five Pounds : the latter is esteemed to be two thousand two hundred and fifty, by some ; and four thousand five hundred by others. In short, (as * *Budæus* hath observed) *Talents* are according to the Use and Value of several Countries, Babylonian, Syrian, Egyptian ; yea, the Greeks, who first used this Value of Money, did vary themselves in their Talents, having some greater, and others lesser, some worth two hundred Pounds, others only one hundred Pounds Sterling with us. From † *Julius Pollux* we briefly learn what a great Difference there was in *Talents* ; “ The Attick Talent, saith he, made six
“ thousand Attick Drachma’s ; the Babylonian
“ Talent seven thousand ; the Æginæan ten thousand ;
“ the Syrian a thousand and five hundred.
What we read in 2 Sam. 12. 30. concerning the King of the Ammonites Crown, that *the Weight thereof was a Talent of Gold*, is to be understood of a
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* De Affe. † Lib. 9. c. 16.

Talent, as it signifies *Coin*, not a *Weight*, for we can't imagine that that King, or *David*, (on whose Head it was afterwards set, as you read there) could wear a Crown that weighed a *Talent*. It is spoken therefore of the *Value* of the Crown: when 'tis said it weighed so much, the meaning is, that it was worth so much in Money, for they weighed their Money in those Days.

If you look into the *Roman and Greek Coins* mentioned in the New Testament, you will find great Uncertainty there. The least piece of Money is a *Mite*, λεῶτόν, *Mark* 12. 42. the seventh part of a piece of Brass Money among the *Romans*, say some; much less than the *Greeks* γέν, or the *Hebrews* *Gerah*, *Exod.* 30. 13. *Lev.* 7. 25. (which might have been mention'd before.) It is vulgarly reckoned the eighth part of an *English Penny*, or half a *Farthing*, because it is said, two *Mites* make a *Farthing*, *Mark* 12. 42. But κοδρεάντης, *quadrans*, is the word which we here render a *Farthing*, which is not one of our *Farthings*, but is the fourth part of an *As*, a small piece of Brass Coin among the *Romans*, a fourteenth part of a *Denarius*; others hold it to be the * tenth part of it. But still we are not certain what it is, because we are not sure what the *Denarius* or *Roman Penny* is, which is the next Coin. This we read was the Days-wages for the Labourers in the Vineyard, *Matth.* 20. 9. They received every Man a Penny. The Aromatick Ointment of *Spike-nard* might have been sold for more than three hundred of these *Pence*, *Mark* 14. 5. This was the Penny which was shew'd to Christ, as part of the *Tribute-Money*, *Matth.* 22. 19. But it is not easy to tell the exact Value of it, though we translate it a Pen-

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* Denarius, à denis xris.

ny; for the *Roman Denarius* was greater and lessor; the first was one Shilling Sterling, the second was six Pence or seven Pence, or seven Pence half Penny in our Coin. Others distinguish thus, there was either the Old *Denarius*, which was twelve Pence, or the Latter one, which was of the same Value with the *Drachm*, (of which next) or another between these, valued at eight Pence. Thus we are partly at a loss what a *Mite*, (that *nummorum famulus* among the *Romans*) or what a *Fartbing*, or what a *Penny* was, that is, what we translate so really was.

Nor is there greater Certainty in the *Greek Coins*, as *δραχμή*, Luke 15. 8. the piece of Silver (for so 'tis translated) which the Woman lost, and afterwards found. This is said by most Writers to be seven, or seven Pence half Penny of our Money, being the same with a quarter of a *Shekel*, or with the *Roman Denarius*. But the true Value of these being doubtful, (as hath been said) this must needs be so too. And consequently the *διδραχμα*, Matth. 17. 24. rendered by our Translators the *Tribute-Money*, (because they knew not how else to render it) cannot very well be defined; for if the just Value of a *Single Drachma* be not known, how can we tell what a *Double one* is? But the generally received and most approved Account is, that a *Drachm* is seven Pence half Penny, and consequently a *Didrachm* (which is the Word here) is fifteen Pence, i. e. a Common *Shekel*. This, saith the Learned *Lightfoot*, was a yearly Tax paid by the Jews towards repairing the Temple; but after the Jews became subject to the Romans, they paid it to the Emperor. And as for *ἀγνία*, Matth. 26. 15. Acts 19. 19. which we translate *Pieces of Silver*, it is uncertain whether they are an *Hebrew* or *Greek Coin*. Some are of opi-

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nion, that when they are put absolutely, and without Addition, (either in the Old or New Testament) they signify *Shekels*, as in the former Place, *They covenanted with him for thirty pieces of Silver, i. e. thirty Shekels*, which after the rate of the Great Shekel is three Pounds fifteen Shillings in our Money. But the latter Place which speaks of the Value of those *Books of curious Arts*, which were brought forth and burnt, and saith, *the Price of them was found to be fifty thousand pieces of Silver*, cannot be understood of this *Shekel*, it being improbable that they amounted to so great a Sum as six thousand two hundred and fifty Pounds Sterling in our Money; for so much is contained in fifty thousand great Shekels or Half-Crowns. But it is more likely that this Place speaks of some *Greek Coin* of a lower Value, as the *Drachma* before mentioned. But as for the *σάτρη*, *Matth. 17. 27.* which we translate a piece of Money, (the same which was found in the Fish's Mouth) it was of the same Value with the *Hebrew Great Shekel*, and contained four *Drachms*, i. e. two Shillings six Pence in our Money. Wherefore you may observe that the *Stater* in the forenamed Place serv'd to pay the *Double Tax*, for our Saviour and *St. Peter*: *Take it, saith Christ, and give it to them (i. e. the Collectors) for me and thee; fifteen Pence for me, and fifteen Pence for thee.* But then it must be remembred, that there was not only a *Silver Stater*, but a *Golden one*, the Value of which was thirteen, some say fifteen, others sixteen Shillings, others eighteen; for of this as well as of other Coins there were *different sorts*. Or if we could tell which of these kinds is here meant, yet it will be a hard Task to adjust it to the Value of our *English Money*. The same may be said of *Other Coins*, and also of *Weights and Measures* in use

heretofore among the *Hebrews, Greeks and Romans*, some whereof are mention'd in the Holy Writings: There is no little Difference among the * Learned Authors, who have purposely treated of them, especially when they endeavour to reduce them to the Modern Coins, Weights and Measures in use among us. In expressing things of this Nature (not in the Great and Weighty Matters of Religion) the very Words which are used in Scripture are uncertain and doubtful; which is one reason why some Places are not interpreted with the same Facility that others are.

* Georgius Agricola, Budzus, Alciat, Porsius, Glareanus, Fuschius, Waserus, Brerewood, Dr. Cumberland.

C H A P. IX.

Two or three Different Names are given to the same Person in different places of Scripture, which may occasion Difficulty sometimes. Exemplified in several Texts, but more especially in Mat. 23. 35. Zacharias Son of Barachias. The Old Testament sometimes gives one Name to a Person, and Profane Writers another. Sometimes there is not properly Another Name attributed to the same Person in the Old Testament, but only a Name a little changed. In the New Testament also, the same Persons have Different Names, or somewhat Altered. Again, both in the Old and New Testament different Persons have sometimes the same Name. Further, sometimes the same Name is given to Persons of both Sexes. Moreover, one Name served for all the successive Kings of a Country, or at least for several of them. Lastly, the same Places which we read of in Scripture have different Appellations, which sometimes causes Obscurity. Or some Names of the same Place differ but a little, i. e. as to a Letter or two.

IN the Prosecution of the foregoing Head, viz. the Different acception of words used in Scripture, I might here take notice that two or three Different Names are given to the same Person in different places of Scripture, which hath occasion'd no little difficulty in understanding some Texts. But yet when we consider that this is a very usual thing in the Sacred Writings, the Difficulty must needs vanish. By comparing 2 Sam. 14. 27. with 1 Kings 15. 2. we find that the same Daughter of Absalom

Absalom was named *Tamar* and *Maacha*. The Person who is call'd *Jozachar* in *2 Kings* 12. 21. is named *Zabad* in *2 Chron.* 24. 26. *Azariah* and *Uzziah* are the Names of the same King of *Judah*, *2 Kings* 15. 1. *Isa.* 1. 1. *2 Kings* 14. 21. compared with *2 Chron.* 26. 1. The same King was called *Zedekiah* and *Mattaniah*, *2 Kings* 24. 17. *1 Chron.* 3. 15. Thus *Jeboiakim* and *Jechoniah* are the Names of the same King: which occasions that difficulty in *Mat.* 1. 11. *Josias* begat *Jechonias*; it appearing from *1 Chron.* 3. 16. that *Josias* begat *Jeboiakim*. But if it were usual for the Kings and others among the Jews to have a double Name, then it is likely that *Jeboiakim* had so too, and thus the Difficulty is salved: *Jeboiakim* was called *Jechoniah*. It is true, there is another way to reconcile this, by observing that in *Christ's Genealogy* (of which we shall speak afterwards) sometimes a Person is said to beget another who is not properly his Son, but one at a distance from him, his Grand-child, or some of his Lineage farther off; and so the words in *St. Matthew* may refer to a *Jechonias* that was afterwards, *1 Chron.* 3. 16. But from the places before mention'd, and several others which I shall produce afterwards, it is evident that some of the Jewish Kings and Other Persons besides them had two Names.

Which may give a Solution of that controverted place, *Mat.* 23. 35. That upon you may come all the righteous Blood shed upon the Earth, from the Blood of righteous *Abel* unto the Blood of *Zacharias* Son of *Barachias*, whom ye slew between the Temple and the Altar. Our Saviour without doubt here refers to the Old Testament, but we find no express mention there of *Zacharias* the Son of *Barachias's* being slain between the Temple and the Altar.

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Therefore some are of the opinion that the word *Zacharias* is crept into the Text, but should not be there. But this is an ill way of solving the Difficulty, because after this rate we may expunge what word we please out of the Bible, to make good our own Interpretation of the Place. Others think this *Zacharias* was the last but one of the Twelve Prophets, who is expressly said to be the Son of Barachias, *Zech.* 1. 1. But, 1. We read not in Scripture or any other History that this Prophet was slain by the Jews, and therefore there is no ground to believe that it was He who is spoken of here. 2. He could not be slain *between the Temple and the Altar*, for at that time, *viz.* the Return of the Jews from *Babylon*, neither the Temple nor Altar were erected. Or 3. Suppose they were, yet the Jews, so soon after their Captivity, were not arrived to that height of Wickedness to put their Prophets to Death. Again, *Baronius* endeavours to prove out of some of the Antients, that this was *John the Baptist's Father*, whose Name we know was *Zacharias*, *Luke* 1. 59. and that he was slain by *Herod* because he refused to deliver up his Son the Baptist into his hands to be put to Death by him. But first, though this be mention'd by some Writers of old, yet we find them not forward in attesting and confirming this Narrative; because, without doubt, there was no Evidence of it. Besides, as I suggested before, our Saviour seems to refer to something recorded in the *Old Testament*. Moreover, if *Zacharias* had been put to Death by *Herod*, it is highly probable that the *Evangelical History* would have taken particular notice of it, and have related the Death of the Father, as well as of the Son. Lastly, There is not the least hint that this *Zacharias* was the Son of *Barachids*.

Barabias. Next, It is said by Dr. *Hammond* and others, that Christ speaks here of *Zacharias* the Son of *Baruch*, mention'd by * *Iosephus*, who was kill'd a little before the final Overthrow of *Jerusalem*: For the Words of Christ relate not to any one who had been slain already, but they are a Prophecy concerning the last of all the Martyrs of the Jews, who should be put to Death before the Destruction of the last Temple, and the Dissolution of that Nation. Such a *Zachary*, the Son of *Baruch*, was kill'd in the middle of the Temple, as the Jewish Historian assures us. But first it is plain that Christ speaks of something that had already happen'd, not of something that was to come. It is not *ὁν φονδίσαιτε*, but *ὁν ἐφονδίσαιτε*, not a future but an aorist, and so denotes what hath been done before, not what shall be done afterwards. Therefore Christ's words are to be understood of one that had been in time past kill'd by the Jews. Secondly, It is unquestionable that Christ speaks of some very Holy Man, whose violent Death is recorded in the *Old Testament*; for you find this *Zacharias* joyn'd with *Abel*, of whom you read in *Gen.* 4. 8. and for that reason we may infer that this *Baruch* is not meant here. Thirdly, It is doubtful whether the Blood of this Person whom *Iosephus* speaks of, may be call'd *righteous Blood*, as this is here: for it was upon a Civil Account that that Son of *Baruch* was put to Death, viz. because he was thought to take part with the *Romans*, and so he cannot be well parallell'd with *Abel*.

You see how improbable the foresaid Opinions are: therefore I choose to imbrace that of St. *Je-*

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* De bel. Jud. l. 4. c. 18.

rom and some * Learned Men of late, who conceive that this *Zacharias* is he who is mentioned in 2 *Chron.* 24. 20. *And the Spirit of God came upon Zechariah the Son of Jehoiada the Priest, who stood above the People, and said unto them, Thus saith the Lord, Why, &c. And they conspired against him, and stoned him with stones at the Commandment of the King, in the Court of the House of the Lord. Thus Joash the King remembred not the Kindness which Jehoiada his Father had done to him, but slew his Son.* This is the Person whom our Saviour speaks of, and the shedding of whose righteous Blood he imputeth to the Jews of that Age. *Him ye slew, saith he; for though 'tis said, the King slew him, because he commanded him to be slain, yet 'tis said likewise, the People slew him, because they not only conspired against him (as you read) but actually stoned him.* And this they did in the Court of the House of the Lord, which is the same with what our Saviour saith, *between the Temple and the Altar.* And his Blood may justly deserve the Epithet of *Righteous*, and he may justly be reckon'd with *Righteous Abel*, because he lost his Life in a *Righteous Cause*, because with great Boldness and Zeal he reprov'd the People for their Sins, but especially for their Idolatry, and foretold them what Misery these would certainly bring upon them. For this zealous Freedom of his they took away his Life. This was a very Eminent Man among the Jews: There are in their Writings remarkable Stories concerning him, not only relating to his Life, but his Death. They kill'd him being both a Priest and a Prophet, and before the Temple, and on the day of Expiation; and from several other Circumstances his Murder

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* Grotius, Dr. Lightfoot.

is aggravated in the *Talmud*. This was *Zacharias* the Son of *Jehoiada*, but called here the Son of *Barachias*, because it was common to have two Names among the Jews. His Father's Name being both *Jehoiada* and *Barachias*, he is call'd in the *Chronicles* the Son of *Jehoiada*, and by our Saviour, the Son of *Barachias*. But in this it is likely Christ had reference to the words of *Isaiab*, Chap. 8. 2. [*Zachariah the Son of Jereberechiah*] or *Barachiah*; as the Septuagint and Vulgar Latin give it us. It appears hence, that *Barachiah* as well as *Jehoiada* was his Father's Name, as our Christian Rabbi makes it clear. Thus our Saviour's words are reconciled with those in the *Chronicles*, by attending to what I before observ'd, viz. That it is usual in Scripture to affix two Names to the same Person: one is given him in one place, and another in the other.

So that in *Mark* 2. 25, 26. may be understood, *Have ye never read what David did when he had need, and was an hungred? how he went into the House of God in the days of Abiathar the High-Priest, and did eat the Shew-bread?* If you look into *1 Sam.* 21. you will see that it was in the days of *Abimelech* the High-Priest: which *Abimelech*, it seems, was call'd also *Abiathar*, otherwise our Saviour would not have us'd that Name. Which I will yet further confirm to you by some other Instances. *Jerubbaal* and *Gideon* are the same Man, *Judg.* 6. 32. Ch. 7. 1. *Achish* and *Abimelech* are one Person, *1 Sam.* 21. 11. and the Title of the 34th Psalm. So are *Araunah* and *Ornan*, *2 Sam.* 24. *1 Chron.* 21. *Caleb* and *Carmi* are the same, *1 Chron.* 2. 18. Ch. 4. 1. So are *Joab* and *Etham*, *1 Chron.* 6. 21, 41. *Amminadab* and *Izhar*, *1 Chron.* 6. 2, 22. *Joel* and *Vashni*, *1 Sam.* 8. 2. *1 Chron.* 8. 28. The same is to be said

said of *Daniel* and *Chileab*, 1 Chron. 3. 1. 2 Sam. 9. 3. Of *Ammiel* and *Eliam*, 2 Sam. 11. 3. 1 Chron. 3. 5. Thus *Jeboiakim* & *Eliakim*, 2 Kings 23. 34. 1 Chron. 3. 15. *Abaziah* and *Azariah* are Names of the same Kings, 1 Chron. 3. 11. and 2 Chron. 22. 6. *Eshbual* and *Ishbosheth* are the same Son of *Saul*, 2 Sam. 21. 8. 1 Chron. 8. 33. *Mephibosheth* and *Atrib-baal*, are the same Son of *Jonathan*, 2 Sam. 4. 4. 1 Chron. 8. 34. *Zimri* and *Zabdi* are one Man, 1 Chron. 2. 6. Jos. 7. 1. *Esar-haddon* and *Asnappur* are the same, Exr. 4. 2, 10. So are *Salmanassar* and *Shalman*, 2 Kings 18. 34. Hof. 10. 14. *Zerubbabel* and *Shebazzar* are the same Person, Exr. 1. 8. compared with Exr. 5. 14. *Jeboabaz* and *Shallum* are the Names of the same King, as appears from comparing 2 Kings 23. 30. with Jer. 22. 11. The King of *Assyria* who is called *Sennacherib*, 2 Kings 18. 13. is called *Sargon*, Isa. 20. 1. Yea, we find three or four Names given to one, as *Moses's* Father-in-Law is call'd *Jethro*, Exod. 3. 1. Ch. 4. 18. *Jothor* by the *Septuagint*, Exod. 3. 1. *Raguel* by the same Interpreters, Exod. 2. 18. *Reuel* in the same place, according to the Original: *Hobab*, Numb. 10. 29. And I remember * *Josephus* saith, his Name was *Jethlegé*. Of *Solomon* the same is observable; besides that Name, he hath three others given him; for we find that he is call'd *Jedidiab*, 2 Sam. 12. 25. *Lemuel*, Prov. 31. 1. *Cobelesh*, Eccl. 1. 1. which last is rendred *Ecclesiastes* and *Preacher*; and a great deal of dispute there is why *Solomon* is call'd so, especially in the Feminine Gender: but if we take it to be his *Proper Name*, then all Questions of that nature are at an end; for neither the Derivation of the word, nor the Termination of it

* Antiqu. l. 2. c. 3.

it are to be insisted upon. Nay, some think *Agur* is a fourth Name given him, *Prov.* 30. 1. from the Participle *agur*; *collectus*, *receptus*; because he recover'd himself after his Follies, and was receiv'd into God's Favour. And some have thought he is call'd in the same place *the Son of Jakeh*, i. e. of the Obedient, to exprefs further his Repentance and Reformation.

Here it might be observ'd, that the *Old Testament* gives one Name to Persons, and *Profane Writers* another. He that is call'd *Nimrod* in the former, is named *Belus* in the latter, it is likely. He that is *Assur* in Scripture, is *Ninus* in Gentile History; for * he built *Nineve*, which bears his Name. This was the Chief Seat of the *Assyrian* Empire, call'd so from this *Assur*, Son of *Shem*. That *Assyrian* King that is call'd *Belochus* in *Profane Story*, is *Pul* in the Sacred one, *2 Kings* 15. 19. And in other Instances it might be shew'd that 'tis common to have two Names, one in the Bible, the other in *Heathen Writers*. *Artaxerxes* is the same with *Abasuerus*, *Esth.* 1. 1. according to the *LXX's* Version, and *Josephus*: but whether this be true or no, 'tis certain that other Kings had different Names among *Jews* and *Pagans*. In *Pagan Authors* there is no mention of *Salmanassar*, *Tiglath-Pileser*, *Sennacherib*, *Nebuchadnezzar*: The *Greek* and *Latin* *Historians* have not the Names of these *Assyrian* Kings, who are celebrated in Scripture: but it may be they are represented under other Names in those *Writers*; for the Names of Kings vary according to the Language of different Countries: which occasions some disagreement between *Profane* and *Sacred History*.

Further;

* *Gen.* 10. 11.

Further, I add that sometimes in the Old Testament there is not properly another Name given to the same Person, but only a Name a little Changed, by the Alteration or Addition of some one Letter or more; as that Great Captain who conducted the Israelites into Canaan is call'd *Josua*, *Jebosua*, Numb. 13. 16. *Oshea*, or *Hoshea*, Deut. 32. 44. (besides that in the New Testament he is called *Jesus*, Acts 7. 45. Heb. 4. 9.) *Abimelech*, 2 Sam. 8. 17. (who is the same, as I said, with *Abiathar*) is called *Abimelech*, 1 Chron. 18. 10. *Jehosaphat*, 1 Kings 15. 24. is *Josaphat*, Matth. 1. 8. *Jehoram*, 1 Kings 22. 50. is *Joram*, Matth. 1. 8. *Reboam*, 1 Chron. 3. 10. is *Roboam*, Matth. 1. 7. So we read of *Achar* and *Achan*, Josh. 7. 18. 1 Chron. 2. 7. *Ram* and *Aram*, 1 Chron. 2. 10. Matth. 1. 3. *Hamor* and *Emmor*, Gen. 33. 19. Acts 7. 16. *Caleb* and *Ghelubai*, 1 Chron. 2. 9, 18. *Absalom*, 2 Sam. 14. is *Abishalom*, 1 Kings 15. 1. *Uzziah* (who, as you have heard, was the same with *Azariah*) is call'd *Uzzah*, 2 Kings 21. 26. and *Ozias*, Matth. 1. 8. *Jehoiachim*, 2 Kings 23. 24. is (with the altering of one Letter only) *Jehoiachin*, 2 Kings 24. 8. *Jechoniah* in contempt is named *Coniah*, Jer. 22. 24. He that is call'd *Berodach* in 2 Kings 20. 12. is the same with *Merodach* in Isa. 39. 1. So *Nebuchadnezzar* (with the like literal Alteration) is written *Nebuchadnezzar*.

If you look into the New Testament also, you'll see that the same Persons have Different Names: as he who was nominated for the Apostleship is called *Joseph*, *Barsabas*, and *Justus*, Acts 1. 23. And *Joses* and *Barnabas* are Names of the same Apostle, Acts 4. 36. Yea, all the rest of the Apostles, except *John*, had more Names than one: But sometimes the Name is only somewhat altered,

but can't be said to be another Name, as *Simon* and *Simeon*, 2 Pet. 1. 1. Acts 15. 14. *Annas* the High Priest is call'd *Ananias*, Acts 23. 5. and is called so by *Josephus* the Jewish Historian. *Silvanus* and *Silas* are the same Name, 1 Thess. 1. 1. Acts 15. 22. ch. 16. 19. ch. 17. 4. 15. So are *Prisca* and *Priscilla*, Acts 18. 2. Tit. 4. 19. and *Epaphras* is the same with *Epaphroditus*, Col. 1. 7. ch. 4. 12. Phil. 2. 25. ch. 4. 18. Shall I take notice likewise that sometimes the Names of the same Persons mentioned in the Old Testament and the New, differ only as to the Greek or some other Termination which is given them in the latter? As *Hannah*, *Elkanah's* Wife, and *Anna* a Prophetess, Luke 2. 36. *Miriam*, *Aaron's* Sister; and *Marie*, or * *Mariam* a frequent Name in the New Testament. *Elisbea*, *Aaron's* Wife, Exod. 6. 23. and *Elizabeth* the Wife of *Zacharias*, and St. *John* the Baptist's Mother. *Jahannan*, 1 Chron. 3. 15. and *John*. These four are New-Testament as well as Old-Testament-Names, but with a small Alteration. And to these may be added *Jacob* and *James*, which are the same in the Greek. A varying as to some Letter in the beginning or ending of Names is observable also in *Kish*, 1 Sam. 9. 1. and *Cis*, Acts 13. 21. *Immanuel*, Isa. 7. 14. and *Emanuel*, Matth. 1. 23. *Hosea* and *Osee*, Rom. 9. 25. *Noah* and *Noë*, Luke 17. 26. *Korah* and *Core*, Jude 11. *Elijah* and *Elias*, Matth. 16. 14. *Elisba* and *Elizéus*, Luke 4. 27. *Jonah* and *Jonas*, Matth. 12. 39.

But as we have before observ'd that the same Men have different Names, so it is not altogether unworthy the remarking that different Persons have the same Name in Scripture: for by taking notice of this we shall be invited to attend to their

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* *Mariam*, Matth. 1. 20. ch. 13. 55. Luke 1. 27. and several other times in the same Evangelist.

Particular Characters, and the Different Relations which they have to the Texts where they are mentioned, whereby we shall avoid confounding one with the other, when we peruse the Holy Writings. *Jehoram* was the Name of two Kings of *Israel* and *Judah* that reign'd at the same time, *2 Kings* 1. 17. *Jehu* was a noted King, and *Jehu* is a Prophet, *2 Chron.* 20. 34. There were two *Nehemiabs*, he that was Chief of the Jews after the Captivity, *Neh.* 1. 1. and another, *Neh.* 3. 16. ch. 7. 5, 7. *Mephibosheth* is the Name not only of *Jonathan's* but *Saul's* Son, *2 Sam.* 4. 4. *2 Sam.* 21. 8. There is not only *Daniel* the Prophet, but *David's* Son by *Abigail*, *1 Chron.* 3. 1. There is *Abimelech* King of *Gerar*, *Gen.* 20. 2. and one of the *Israelites* Judges, *Judg.* 8. 31. and also a High Priest, *1 Chron.* 18. 6. There is in the New Testament mention of three *Herods*; 1. He that was surnamed the Great, and was the Son of *Antipater* the Idumæan; he was call'd the *Ascalonite*, from the particular Country where he was born. He was made King of the Jews in the tenth Year of *Augustus's* Empire, and reign'd thirty seven Years. In his time our Blessed Saviour was born, *Matth.* 2. 1. and this was he that barbarously massacred the Infants of *Retblehem*, *Matth.* 2. 16. 2. *Herod* surnamed *Antipas*, and call'd the *Tetrarch*, *Matth.* 4. 3. he murdered *John Baptist*, *Matth.* 14. 10. he set at nought and mocked our Saviour when he was brought before him to be judged, *Luke* 23. 11. and he scornfully sent him back to *Pilate*. 3. *Herod Agrippa*, the Son of *Aristobulus*, and the Nephew of *Herod* the Great; he killed *St. James*, and imprison'd *St. Peter*, *Acts* 12. 2, 3. and was at last devoured by Worms, *ver.* 23. There was also another *Agrippa*, who was the Nephew of this *Herod*, and it

is probable was called *Herod*, whose Incestuous Wife (for she was his Sister) is mentioned *Acts* 25. 13, 23. There was an *Ananias* who was struck dead, *Acts* 5. 5. There was another of that Name who was a Disciple at *Damascus*, and was sent to *Saul*, *Acts* 9. 10. There was a third that was High Priest, *Acts* 23. 2. Besides *Simeon* the Patriarch in the Old Testament, there is in the New one of that Name who was a devout Man of *Jerusalem*, and prophesied of Christ, *Luke* 2. 25. There is *Simeon* called *Niger*, a Teacher of the Christian Church at *Antioch*, *Acts* 13. 1. and *Peter* also is call'd by that Name, *Acts* 15. 14. There are six or seven *Josephs*; he that was one of the Patriarchs; one of those that had married strange Wives, *Ezr.* 10. 42. a Priest that went up with *Zorobabel*, *Neh.* 12. 14. the reputed Husband of *Mary*, the Virgin *Mary*: also a Wife Counsellor of *Arimathæa*, *Matth.* 27. 57. *Joseph* called *Barsabas*, *Acts* 1. 23. besides two others that were obscure Persons, *Numb.* 13. 7. 1 *Chron.* 25. 2. *Simon* is a Name of yet a larger Extent, but is found only in the New Testament, where by this Name is call'd the Apostle *Peter*, *Matth.* 16. 17. *Luke.* 4. 38. and in many other Places: another Apostle call'd the *Canaanite*, *Mat.* 10. 4. and *Zelotes*, *Luke* 6. 15. also one that was a *Leper*, *Matth.* 26. 6. call'd a *Pharisee* in *Luke* 7. 36. likewise the Father of *Judas Iscariot*, *John* 12. 4. *ch.* 13. 2. moreover, a Man of *Cyrene*, the same who bore Christ's Cross, *Matth.* 27. 32. and is call'd the Father of *Alexander* and *Rufus*, *Mark* 15. 21. Further, the Sorcerer of *Samaria*, *Acts* 8. 9. and lastly, a Tanner of *Joppa*, in whose House St. *Peter* lodged a considerable time, *Acts* 9. 43. There are four or five *Judas*es or *Jude*s mention'd in the New Testament. 1. He that was the Good Apo-
stle,

stle, the Brother of *Simon Peter*. 2. The Traitor call'd *Iscaiot*. 3. One surnamed *Barsabas*, a Companion of *Silas*, *Acts* 15. 27. though some think this to be the Apostle. 4. The Mutineer, *Judas of Galilee*, *Acts* 5. 37. 5. One in whose House *St. Paul* was, *Acts* 9. 11. There were three *Gaius's*, one of *Derbe*, *Acts* 20. 4. the other of *Macedonia*, *Acts* 19. 29. the other of *Corinth*, 1 *Cor.* 1. 14.

Of *Women* the same may be observed, viz. what different Persons of that Sex have the same Name, as that of *Deborah* is common to *Rebecca's* Nurse, *Gen.* 35. 8. and to the famous Prophetess and She-Judge, *Judg.* 4. 4. *Abigail* is the Name of *Nabal's* Wife, 1 *Sam.* 25. 3. and *David's* Sister, 1 *Chron.* 2. 16. so that *David* had a Wife (for *Abigail* was married to him after the Death of *Nabal*) and a Sister of the same Name. By the Name of *Tamar* is called the Wife of *Er*, *Judah's* incestuous Daughter, *Gen.* 38. 6. *Ruth* 4. 12. and inserted into our Saviour's Genealogy, *Matth.* 1. 3. so is named *Ab-salom's* fair Sister, ravish'd by *Amnon*, 2 *Sam.* 13. 1. likewise *Ab-salom's* fair and only Daughter, 2 *Sam.* 14. 27. There are more *Maries* than one in the New Testament, and to distinguish them aright is of very great Use. Besides *Mary the Mother of John*, whose Surname was *Mark*, *Acts* 12. 12. and another *Mary*, whom *St. Paul* greets, *Rom.* 16. 6. there are thought by some to be five more of that Name, viz. the Blessed Virgin, the Mother of our Lord: *Mary* the Sister of *Martha* and *Lazarus*, *Luk* 10. 39. *Joh.* 11. 1. *Mary Magdalene*, *Mar.* 15. 40. *Mary* the Mother of *James* and *Joses*, *Matth.* 27. 56. *Mar.* 15. 40. *Mary* the Wife (or Daughter) of *Cleophas*, *Joh.* 19. 25. But others reduce these to three, for Cardinal *Baronius* and our Learned Rabbi Dr. *Light-foot*, hold that *Mary Magdalene* was the same with

Mary the Sister of *Lazarus*. And the most profound *Dr. Pearson* avers, that *Mary* the Mother of *James* and *Joses*, and *Mary* the Wife of *Cleophas*, are the same: She had the former Denomination from her Sons, and the latter from her Husband *John* or *Cleophas*. These three *Maries* are particularly mention'd in *John* 19. 25. *There stood by the Cross of Jesus his Mother, and his Mother's Sister Mary the Wife of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalene.* In the rest of the * Evangelists we find at the same place *Mary Magdalene, and Mary the Mother of James and Joses*: And again at the Sepulcher, † *Mary Magdalene and the other Mary*. Wherefore, saith this Learned Writer, *this other Mary*, by the Conjunction of these Testimonies, appears to be *Mary* the Wife of *Cleophas*, and the Mother of *James* and *Joses*: and thence he infers that *James* and *Joses* who are said to be *Christ's Brethren*, were not the Sons of *Mary* his Mother, but of the *other Mary*, and are call'd his *Brethren*, according to the Language of the Jews, because the *other Mary* was the Sister of *Christ's* Mother, she was our Blessed Lord's Aunt on the Mother's side. And so the right understanding of these Places where the *Maries* are mentioned, may lead us to a true Notion of *Christ's Brethren* spoken of in the Evangelists, whereby we may know whether they were the Children of *Mary* the Blessed Virgin by *Joseph*, or of the Virgin's Sister, or of some other Mother akin to her, and therefore call'd the *Brethren* of *Christ*, because they were his *Kindred*.

Again, I could observe that sometimes the same Names in Scripture are given to Persons of both Sexes, as among us *Francis* and *Philip*, and some other Names are common to both Men and Women.

* *Matth.* 27. 56. *Mark* 15. 40. † *Matth.* 27. 61.

men. Not to mention *Gen. 5. 2.* he call'd their Name Adam, whence it is evident that Adam was the Name of both our first Parents at the beginning, though afterwards the Woman had another Name given her by her Husband, and he took the Name Adam as proper to himself, *Gen. 3. 20.* There are other plainer Instances in *Gen. 36. 2, 41.* and in the same Chapter, *ver. 12, 40.* and *1 Chron. 1. 36.* where you will see that *Abolishamah* was the Name both of a Man and of a Woman, and so was *Timna*. I find that *Noah* is the Name of a Woman, the Daughter of *Zelophebad*, *Numb. 36. 11.* but I confess the words differ in the Hebrew, one is *Noach*, the other *Nognab*. *John* and *Joanna*, especially the Greek *Ἰωάννης* and *Ἰωάννα*, (*Luk. 3. 27.*) are in a manner the same Name, but belonging to different Sexes. And further, to let you see how differently the same Names are bestowed, I could observe that *Michael* is the Name both of a Man, *1 Chron. 7. 3.* and of an Angel, *Dan. 12. 1.*

Moreover, under this Head it might be more material to observe that One Name served for all the Successive Kings of a Country, or at least for several of them. All Historians agree in the Catalogue of the Kings of *Persia*, viz. *Cyrus* the First, *Cambyfes* the Second, *Darius Hystaspis* the Third, *Xerxes* the Fourth, *Artaxerxes Longimanus* the Fifth, &c. Yet in the Book of *Ezra* we read, that These five were successively, viz. *Cyrus*, *Abasuerus*, *Artaxerxes*, *Darius*, *Artaxerxes*. How is this to be reconciled? Both by saying that the same *Persian* Kings had different Names, and also that several of them had one Name, which are both very true. One of them was call'd *Cambyfes* and *Abasuerus*, another had the Name *Darius* and *Artaxerxes*, a third was call'd *Xerxes* and *Darius*.

And besides this, they were all call'd by one General Name; that is, *Artaxerxes* was a common Name of the whole Race of the *Persian* Kings. Many of the * Learnedst Jews were of this Opinion, and it is the more probable, because this hath been usual in other Kingdoms and Countries, as we learn from the Sacred Records. There we find that there was one Common Name for all the Kings of *Philistia* or *Palestine*, and that was *Abimelech*, as is clear from *Gen.* 20. 2. *Ch.* 26. 1, 4. *Ch.* 34. 1. *1 Sam.* 21. 11. and also from the Title of the 34th Psalm it appears that this was the Universal Name of the Kings of the Philistines. So *Agag* was the Common Title of all the Kings of the *Amalekites*, as may be inferr'd from *Numb.* 24. 7. *1 Sam.* 15. 8. It is probable that *Hiram* was the Catholick Name of the Kings of *Tyre*: but that *Pharaoh* was so of all the Egyptian Kings of old is undeniably clear from *Gen.* 12. 15. which speaks of a *Pharaoh* in *Abraham's* time: from *Gen.* 39. 1, &c. where we read of another of that Name in *Joseph's* days. And in *Exodus* there is frequent mention of that *Pharaoh* that enslaved the Israelites and order'd all their Male-Children to be drowned, and of another whose Heart was hardned, and who was drown'd in the Red Sea. There was a *Pharaoh* in *Solomon's* time, *1 Kings* 3. 1. and in *Josias's*, *2 Kings* 23. 29. In *Isaiab* we read of a King of *Egypt* of this Name, *Ch.* 19. 11. *Ch.* 30. 2, 3. So in *Jeremiah*, *Ch.* 25. 19. *Ch.* 44. 30. *Ch.* 46. 17. and in *Ezekiel* very often. That this was the constant Title of the Egyptian Kings is attested by *Suidas*, *Eusebius*, and *Josephus*: yea, if we may believe this † last, *Pharaoh* in the Egyptian Tongue signifies a King. Which seems

† *R.* Solomon, *Aben Ezra*, &c. † *Antiqu.* l. 8; c. 6.

seems truly to be confirm'd from that passage in Gen. 41. 44. *I am Pharaoh*, which is as much as to say, I am King, I am Supreme Ruler, I will not part with this Name, *i. e.* I will not lose my Royal Dignity and Power. And accordingly he retain'd this Name himself, and gave *Joseph* another, as you read in the next Verse. It might well then be the General Name of their Kings, it signifying Royal Authority and Rule. But after the time of *Alexander* the Great, the Kings of *Egypt* were generally called *Ptolomees*: and after the renouncing of the Greek Emperour they were a long time call'd *Caliphs*: for the General of the Saracens, whom the Egyptians took for their King, was named *Caliph*: whence the succeeding Kings were denominated after his Name. To proceed in this Subject, *Attalus* was a Standing Title to all the Kings of *Pergamus*, though it is true some of them had a particular peculiar Name besides; whence that King of *Pergamus*, who was thought to be the Inventer of Parchment to write upon, is call'd *Attalus* by *Alian* and *St. Jerom*, but *Eumenes* by others. *Antiochus* was generally the Name of the Syrian Kings, and *Mitbridates* of those of *Pontus*. All the Kings or Dynasts of *Edeffa* in *Syria* had the Name of *Abgarus*. *Herod* was the Name common to all the Successors of *Herod* the first; as we learn from the Gospels and the *Acts*. * *Candace* gave the Denomination to all the Queens of *Ethiopia*, or of one part at least of that Country: *Arfaces* to all the Kings of *Parthia*, *Sylvius* to those of the *Albans*, *i. e.* the Latin Kings of the *Trojan* Race. *Chagan* was antiently the common word to express all the the

* Communis nomine Candace appellatur sunt. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 6. c. 29.

the Kings of the *Hunns*. *Cesar* was the Title for all the *Roman* Emperours after *Julius Caesar*. *Cosroe* or *Kosroes* was the Appellation of the Kings of *Persia* heretofore, (after that of *Artaxerxes*) as *Sopbi* of late: and *Sultan* is the distinguishing Title of the Turkish Empire: and *Miramolin* or *Miramomolin* of all the Princes of *Mauritania*. Thus briefly I have shew'd, that it was usual for all the Kings of a Country to have the same Name, for a very considerable time at least. The observing of which may be of some use to us in reading the Sacred History, when it refers to any of those Kings whom I first named, and in reading Profane Authors who mention any of the others.

Lastly, I could observe concerning *Places* in Scripture, the same that I have concerning Persons, viz. that sometimes they have different Names, which we ought carefully to heed in reading this Holy Book. One eminent Mountain in *Palestine* and the adjacent Parts, hath several Denominations; it is call'd *Zion*, *Psal.* 2. 6. and frequently in other Books of the Old Testament. It is also named *Moriah*, *2 Chron.* 3. 1. the same Mount where *Moses* saw the Burning Bush not consumed, and where *Isaac* was offer'd, and where the Temple afterwards was built. This Name was so celebrated, that from this the Land of *Canaan* is call'd the Land of *Moriah*, *Gen.* 22. 2. The same Mountain is named *Hermion*, as is evident from those express words, *Deut.* 4. 48. *Mount Sion, which is Hermion*. It is also call'd *Sirion*, *Deut.* 3. 9. which Name was given it by the *Sidonians*. And in the same place it hath the Name of *Sbenir*, which was given it by the *Amorites*. This Multiplicity of Names may, I conceive, be grounded on this, that

- *Sion* or *Hermion* (or call it by any of the other Names)

Names) is, properly speaking, a long Ledge of several Hills that go through *Palestine* and a great part of *Arabia*. Some add *Gilead* and *Seir*, and *Lebanon* (the famous *Alpes* of the *Holy Land*, upon the North and East part of it, noted for its snowy tops, its lofty Cedars and other Trees, and its fragrant Herbs and Plants.) Some, I say, add these to the foregoing ones, and rightly determine that they were but one continued Mountain with divers Names: as Mount *Taurus* (though far greater) is a ridg of Hills that hath several Names according to the different Parts of it. Hence *Psal.* 133.3. and some other places of Scripture mention some of those Names before spoken of, as if they belong'd to different Mountains: and the reason is, because though they are the same Mountain, yet those Names refer to the different parts of the same great ridg of Hills, and so are accounted as it were different Hills: and accordingly the great Mass of *Dew* which was in part distill'd on Mount *Hermon* (one division of that great Mountain) did partly also fall on Mount *Zion* (a neighbouring part of the same Mountain:) which I take to be the true and genuine meaning of those words of the Psalmist, which have exercised the Brains of so many Interpreters, *As the Dew of Hermon that descended* (as it is according to the Hebrew; or as we translate it, *As the Dew of Hermon, and as the Dew that descended*) upon the Mountains of *Zion*: both which Translations are reconcil'd by this Exposition, and the Sense is rendred entire and perfect. The Dew which descended on both these places was the same, for some of it fell on this part of the whole Mountain, and some on that; so that successively *Hermon* and *Zion* were partakers of this Blessing. Part of that Fructifying Moisture which

which came down upon the one, soon after came down upon the other.

In the Desarts of *Arabia*, the Mountain whence God gave the Law to *Moses* is call'd *Sinai*, *Exod.* 19. 18. and in other places: yet in *Deut.* 4. 10. and elsewhere, frequently *Horeb* is the Name of the same Mountain. Though *St. Jerom* is of a contrary Opinion, and thinks they are two distinct Mountains, or at least two ridges of one Mountain. The like may be said of Mount *Nebo*, the Arabian *Parnassus*, which had two Tops, *Pisgab* and *Hor*: and by these Names as well as by the other it was call'd, *Numb.* 20. 23, 25. *Ch.* 27. 12. *Deut.* 34. 1. and it was named also Mount *Abarim*, *Deut.* 32. 49. *Numb.* 27. 12. It may not be improbable that *Aaron* and *Moses* died on the same Mount, though they are represented under different Names. But it is most apparent that a double or treble Name is given to several other places: thus the *Salt-Sea*, *Gen.* 14. 3. *Numb.* 34. 3. the *Sea of the Desert*, *Deut.* 3. 19. and the *Sea of the Plain*, *Deut.* 4. 49. signify one and the same place, viz. the Sea of *Sodom*, which is call'd by others the *Dead Sea*, the Lake *Asphaltites*, which was caused by the Destruction of *Sodom*. The *Sea or Lake of Chinnereth*, *Numb.* 34. 11. of *Genesareth*, *Luke* 5. 1. of *Tiberias*, *John* 21. 1. of *Galilee*, *John* 6. 1. are but one Lake. Who doubts that *Assyria*, *Chaldea*, and *Babylon* are sometimes promiscuously used for the same Region, and that *Mesopotamia*, *Charan*, *Padan-Aram* are one Country? So *Galilee* and *Decapolis* are the same: so are *Sichem* and *Sychar*, *Gen.* 33. 18. *John* 4. 5. And the like is to be said of *Egypt* and *Sibor*, *Isa.* 23. 3. Thus Places have more Names than one in the Holy Writings: which we ought carefully to attend to, lest we run into Mistakes, as some

some have done by this Diversity of Names given to the same Place. And this Difference of Names might be observed in other Instances, which are frequent in Gentile Writers, as *Sparta* and *Lacedæmon*, *Troy* and *Ilium*, *Thracia* and *Romania*, &c.

And this likewise is to be noted, that some Names of the same Place differ but a little, *i. e.* as to a Letter or two, and no more, as *Haran*, Gen. 12. 5. and *Charran*, Acts 7. 2. are the same: so *Sechem*, *Shechem*, and *Sychem*, Gen. 33. 18. Josh. 20. 7. Acts 7. 16. The same is to be said of *Shiloh*, Isa. 8. 6. *Siloah*, Neh. 3. 15. *Siloam*, John 9. 7. Luk. 13. 4. all three the same: as *Kidron*, 2 Sam. 15. 23. and *Cedron*, John 18. 1. are the same Brook. So *Zarephath*, 1 Kings 17. 9. and *Sarepta*, Luk. 4. 26. are the same Town: *Megiddo*, 2 Kings 9. 27. and *Megiddon*, Zech. 12. 11. the same Valley: *Zin*, Numb. 13. 21. Deut. 32. 51. and *Sin*, Exod. 16. 1. Numb. 33. 12. the same Wilderness: (though some have thought these two latter words denote different places.) Concerning some things mention'd in Scripture we should distinguish between them, though they differ not much in Writing and Pronunciation, especially when they are of the same Species, as *Sardine*, Rev. 4. 3. *Sardius*, the same precious Stone, Rev. 21. 20. but *Sardonix* is a Stone different from that, Rev. 21. 20. Though some Names differ a little, yet they signify the same thing, as *Sycamine*, Luk. 17. 6. and *Sycamore*, Ch. 19. 4. But these are small things, and in which there is no great danger if there should be any mistake, and therefore I will not entertain you any longer with these, but hasten to more important Matter. But having spoken so largely of this First Head, I will be brief in that which followeth.

C H A P. X.

There are Words in the Hebrew Text which have not only Different but Contrary Significations : which is another cause of some Difficulty in Scripture. This exemplified in several Hebrew Nouns, more especially *Tfagnir*, Mic. 5. 2. which signifies both little and great, and accordingly this place is reconciled with Matth. 2. 6. Likewise Hebrew Verbs bear a Contrary Sense, of which sundry Instances are given. More particularly, the true import of the Verb *Barak*, Job 2. 9. is narrowly search'd into, and the Author's particular Sense concerning that Text is propounded and defended. Some Greek words in the New Testament signify Contrary things. And the like Discrepancy is observ'd in some words in other Greek Authors, and in some among the Latins.

I Proceed in the second place to observe, That there are words in the Hebrew Text which have not only Different but Contrary Significations, which cannot but render some parts of the Scripture difficult. That is, they will be so till we have thoroughly examin'd the words, and found out the peculiar Signification which they have in the Texts that are before us. Thus *Shephum* is rendred open, as in Numb. 24. 3. [*the Man whose Eyes are open :*] and yet this Hebrew word signifies in all other places of Scripture (where it is) shutting of the Eyes. *Ghesed* denotes Beneficence, Goodness, Piety, and the height of them, and also Cruelty, Malice, and all Excess of Evil, and whatever is Reproachful and Ignominious in the Life of Man : thence * some render

* R. Levi, Mercerus, Cocceius.

render those words *Kecheſed-leummim chattab*, Prov. 14. 34. *The Piety of Nations is Sin*, because whilst they worship Idols they think they ſerve God; and others underſtand the place according to our Tranſlation, *Sin is the Reproach of any People*: which is much to be preferr'd before the other Verſion, becauſe it exactly answers to the former Clause. The word *Cherem* is both that which is conſecrated to God, and that which is Accuſed and devoted to the Devil, as I have ſhew'd in another place. An impure Catamite, a Sodomite is call'd *Kadeſh*, from *Kadaſh*, *facer ſuit*: and *Kedeſhab*, which is no other than *Sanctificata*, is taken for a Common Proſtitute. The word *Tſagnir* is both *little* and *great*, and accordingly *Mich. 5. 2.* may be rendred either *Thou Bethlehem Ephratah, thou art little*, or *thou art great among the thouſands of Judah*. The not attending to this, hath occaſion'd no ſmall trouble among Expositors, whilst they labour to reconcile this Text with *Mat. 2. 6.* where it is quoted by the Jewish Doctors and Priests, and *Bethlehem* is ſaid to be *not the leaſt*. But the Learned Dr. Pocock on the place ſaith, that he had it from a very Underſtanding Jew, that the Hebrew word *Tſagnir* ſignifies both *little* and *great*, and others that have good Skill in that Tongue aſſert the ſame. It is to be underſtood in this place in the latter Senſe, and ſo the words ought to be rendred thus, *Thou Bethlehem Ephratah, thou art great among the Thouſands* (or among the *Princis*) of Judah; for the Principalities were divided into Chiliaads or Thouſands, *Judg. 6. 15.* & *Sam. 10. 19.* Thus the Prophet *Micah* and the Evangelist *Matthew* agree, for *great* and *not the leaſt* are here the ſame. And certainly it is a far better way of reconciling them,

them, than that which a * Late Writer propounds, viz. That whereas we read it *Tfagnir*, it should be read *תצא* *progredere*, go forth: for (besides that this somewhat marr's the Sense of the place) if we go this way to work, we may alter a great many places in the Old Testament, and in the New too, and substitute one word for another when we please, and so we shall lose a great part of the Bible in a short time: this therefore is not to be allow'd of by any means. There are other Nouns of a *Contrary Signification*, as *Terugnab*, which is both a *Joyful Shout*, Psal. 33. 3. and a *Mournful Cry*, Jer. 20. 16. *Cheset* is not only *Inconstancy* or *Levity*, but *Constancy* or *Stedfastness* and *Confidence*. And there is a very great *Discrepancy*, if not *Contrariety* in the rendrings of the word *Deshen*, which is sometimes *Asbes* and sometimes *Fatness*. But if we be mindful of the Subject Matter spoken of, we can't miss of the true Sense.

But the *Verbs* which bear a *Contrary Sense*, are most remarkable: thus *Sakal* is *lapidare*, *lapidibus obruere*, commonly: also *elapidare*, *lapides amovere*, Isa. 62. 10. *Chasar* is *consecrari*, Psal. 18. 26. and *execrari*, Prov. 25. 10. *Salah* is *estimare*, Job 28. 16, 19. and *spernere*, *conculcare*, Psal. 119. 118. *Shub* is *reducere*, *convertere*; and *avertere*, *rebellare*: both Senses are common in Scripture. *Japhang* is *to be bright and shining*: yet it may seem to be taken in a contrary Signification, in Job 10. 22. according to *Pagnin's Translation*, *tenebrescit sicut caligo*, and the *Vulgar Latin* favours it. *Tamam* or *tam*, hath a contrary Sense, for it signifies *to perfect or finish*, as

* *Sir Norton Knatchbull's Annotations on St. Matthew.*

as in *Dan.* 9. 24. to finish the Vision: and also to consume, as in *Ezek.* 22. 15. I will consume thy Filthiness out of thee. *Kadash*, in the usual Import of it, is to sanctify, but it is used in a quite opposite Sense in *Deut.* 22. 9. lest the Fruit of thy Vineyard be defiled. So for other Verbs, it is common to find them in Contrary Meanings; as *Jarash*, to possess or inherit, commonly in Scripture; and to dispossess or disinherit, to expel, reject and impoverish, *Gen.* 45. 11. and in other Places; both which contrary Senses occur together in *Josh.* 23. 5. He shall expel them from before you, and ye shall possess their Land. Expelling and Possessing are the same Hebrew Verb; though in different Conjugations. So *Chata* in *Kal* is to sin, but in *Piel* to expiate or take away Sin. There is no other way to know the proper Rendings of these and other Words before-mentioned, but by a diligent attending to the Scope and Design of the Texts where they are. And thus we shall perceive which of the Senses is designed, though sometimes this is done with some Difficulty. I will make choice of a Text to enlarge upon to this purpose. The Instances are very usual in Scripture.

Barak signifies both to bless and to curse, and in some Places it may seem not very easy to tell which of these is intended, as in those Words of *Job's* Wife, *Job* 2. 9. בָּרַךְ אֱלֹהִים, which the Vulgar Latin renders *benedic Deo*, bless God. *Arias Montanus* and *Munster* follow this Version, and so doth the Learned and Pious Mr. *Perkins*, and accordingly he renders the Verse thus, Dost thou still retain thine Integrity? bless God, and die; and makes this to be the Sense of it, "Thou being now sorely afflicted by God, and brought even to Death's Door, begin now at length to cast away thy

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"Con-

" Conceitedness of thy own Righteousness, ac-
 " knowledg God's Hand upon thee for thy Sins,
 " confess those Sins before him, pray for the Par-
 " don of them, and so end thy Days. This was
 " good Counsel, (saith this Worthy Person) al-
 " though the applying of it was mix'd with Mis-
 " take and Folly; and therefore Job told his Wife,
 " that she spoke like one of the foolish Women. But
 the Septuagint seem to take the Words in Another
 and Contrary Sense, and render [*Barek Elobim*] by
 ἐπὶ τοῦ τι ῥῆμα εἰς Κύριον, *Speak some Word, or say*
something against the Lord, (for the Preposition εἰς
 may signify so) which approacheth towards Our
 Translation, *Curse God*: As if Job's Wife had said
 to her Husband, Thou hast no reason to speak well
 of God, thou hast been undeservedly tormented by
 him; thou hast been an upright and righteous Man,
 and yet none hath met with such Calamities and
 Plagues as thou hast done; therefore my Advice to
 thee is, that thou wouldst even curse and blaspheme
 God himself, and then make an end of thy misera-
 ble Life, by laying violent Hands on thy self. In
 this Sense the word *Barak* is thought generally to
 be taken in 1 Kings 21. 13. Naboth *did blaspheme*
God, though even there the Greek Interpreters
 render it, *be blessed God*; unless by εὐλογεῖν (which
 is the Word used by them) be meant βλασφημεῖν,
 which very * Good Authors tell us is the Sense of
 the Word sometimes by an Antiphrasis. Thus as
 the † Apostle saith, *with the same Tongue, with the*
same Mouth, so with the same Word *we both bless*
and curse: for the same Word both in Hebrew and
 Greek is used sometimes for both. But it is my

Opi.

* 'Ευλόγω καὶ βλασφημέω. Suidas. 'Ευλόγουν, καὶ τὰς
 ἀντίφραστον βλασφημούν. Hesych. † Jam. 3. 9.

Opinion that the Word in the former Place need not be rendred either *blefs* or *curse*, but that there is a middle Signification of it there. That we may apprehend this the better, we must know what the first and original Sense of the Verb *Barak* is, which I perceive few have enquired into. It appears from the best Hebrew Grammarians and Lexicographers that I have met with, that this Word primitively signifies *to salute*, or *greet*; in which abstract Sense it is used twice in 2 Kings 4. 29. *If thou meet any Man, salute him not: and if any salute thee, answer him not again.* The Hebrew Word which we translate *salute*, is *Barak*. So in Gen. 47. 7. 10. this Word is used to express Jacob's solemn *Saluting* of Pharaoh at his coming before him, and at his going out of his Presence: *Jacob saluted* (we render it *blessed*) *Pharaoh*. But because *Kneeling* was a Posture of *Salutation*, *Barak* signifies also *to kneel*, or *to salute one with bowing the Knee*. And thence *Berek* a *Knee*, and thence some have imagin'd the word *Abrek* comes, which we read was proclaim'd before Joseph when he rid forth in State, signifying (as they think) that the People ought to *salute* him most humbly; and even to *bow the Knee* to him. This is certain that * *Barak* is a general Word for *Saluting* (whether at meeting or parting) either by Word or Gesture, and is equivalent with the Greek word ἀσπάζεσθαι. And because at such times they generally used to *bow the Knee*, it hath that particular Signification; as in 2 Chron. 16. 13. *τίσταν ἐν τῷ γόνατι*, according to the LXX. So in Dan. 6. 10. *καύνησαν ἐν τῷ γόνατι*. And in Gen. 24. 11. the *Kneeling down* of Camels

Z 2

mels

* Significat vel genu vel sermonem flectere ad aliquem alloqui cum geniculatione. Forster. Heb. Dict.

mels to take up their Burden is expressed by it; Yea, the word *Barak* is sometimes transferr'd from its signification of Civil Respect and Kneeling, and applied unto Religious Worship, as in 2 Chron. 6. 13. *Solomon* (when he pray'd) *kneeled upon his Knees*, &c. And in *Psal.* 95. 6. *Let us kneel before the Lord our Maker.* The Word is here made use of to denote bending the Knee in Divine Worship, and prostrating themselves before God. So that this word *Barak* in the Original Denotation of it answers to the word *Nashak*, which signifies *to salute in a lowly and humble manner*, to submit and do Obeisance: and more particularly *Kissing* is express'd by it, which was a Token of Homage and Subjection of old, 1 Sam. 10. 1. But from this first and simple Import of the Word another arises, which is this, *viz. to take leave of one*, because *Salutations* and *Greetings* at last end in this. Men part and go their way after a short saluting and accosting one another. Thus the Word is taken in 2 Sam. 14. 22. *Joab fell to the Ground on his Face, and bowed himself, and thanked the King*: Hebr. *Jeberek*, *he took his leave of him*; he made that Salutation which was becoming at his going out of his Presence. In which Notion it likewise answers to *Nashak*, which (besides its former Sense) signifies *to take leave of, to bid adieu to one*, as in Gen. 31. 28. therefore that Valedictory Salutation of Kissing was call'd *Neshikah Parashah*, *osculum separationis*, the Kiss at parting or taking their leave of one another. And then there is another derivative Sense of the Word, which flows both from this and the former meaning of it, and that is twofold; for Persons are wont at Saluting and taking Leave, to wish well or ill to one another, and to express these by good or evil Words; whence it is that *Barak* is either

either *benè* or *malè precari*, it imports either to *bleſs* or to *curſe*. This, as I take it, is the true and exact Account of the Word: and ſo you ſee what is the primary and more reſtrain'd Acception of it, and what is the ſecondary and more general Senſe of it. Now that which I offer is this, that the Word in that Place of *Job* is to be underſtood chiefly in the firſt and moſt proper Denotations of it, *i. e.* as it ſignifies *humblly to ſalute, to bow down and do Obeifance*: or, as it ſignifies, *to take one's leave*. According to the former Acception of the Word *Job's* Wife ſpeaks thus to him, Do not continue to retain *thine Integrity*, or to hold faſt thy *Perfection*, (as it is in the Original) Do not juſtify thy ſelf before God, as if thou wert void of all Guilt, but with humble Reverence bow thy ſelf before the Lord, adore and worſhip the moſt High, and ſubmit thy ſelf to him, and acknowledg thy Meaneſs and Sinfulneſs: Do thus, and then thou mayſt die with Peace and Comfort. In this only ſhe might incur the Imputation of *ſpeaking fooliſhly*, becauſe ſhe (like *Job's* Friends afterwards) had wrong Apprehenſions of this Good Man, and imagined that he juſtified himſelf, and was in his own Thoughts a Sinleſs Perſon. Or elſe this was the Worſer Language of that Woman, *Take now thy leave of God, and die, i. e.* ſeeing thou art in this miſerable Condition, *ſmote with ſore Boils from the Sole of thy Foot to the Crown of thy Head*, (ver. 7.) think not of living, but rather deſire to quit this World, and to be gone: Bid God adieu, take your Farewel of him, and only beg this of him, that you may die as ſoon as may be. Or, you may ſuppoſe this Woman's Language, or Meaning rather, to be much worſer yet, even after this ſort, *Take your laſt Vale of Heaven*, utterly renounce God, (as well as your

Integrity) shake him off, and have nothing to do with him, since he deals so severely with you; *abandon him* for ever, and hasten out of the World. Though this be not so harsh as downright *Cursing* of God, yet this was indeed *speaking like one of the foolish sottish Women*, as he roundly told her, v. 10. The Stile was something too rough to say, *Curse God*. She would not speak after that rate to her Pious Consort; but she impiously counsels him to *take his Leave* of God and Religion, and to bid an eternal Farewel to both. In three other Places in this Book the Word is taken in this latter Sense, (for it is most probable that in this particular Book the Word is always used in the same Meaning) as in *ch. 1. 5*. *It may be my Sons have as 'twere taken their leave of* (i. e. tacitely renounced) *God in their Hearts*, in the midst of their Pleasures and Entertainments: it may be they have had an *Aversion* to God, they have in some measure *departed from him*: for it is not likely that *Job's Children* openly blasphemed, or (strictly speaking) *curst God*. So that part of the 11th Verse of this Chapter, and of the 5th of the next, which we translate, *he will curse thee to thy Face*, seems to be too harsh a Representation (even from the Mouth of the Devil) of that Holy Man's Carriage; for though he *curst* the Day of his Birth, he never *curst* and blasphemed the Almighty, and that *to his Face*, i. e. openly and audaciously: but he might be said in some Degree to have *forsaken* and *abandoned God*, and to have *turned himself from him*, by indulging too much to Impatience and Murmuring. And not only these Places in *Job*, but that in *1 Kings* before-mentioned, which we translate thus, *Naboth blasphemed or curst God and the King*, may be understood in this Sense. He by certain Actions discovered (as

was

was pretended) that he had forsaken God, and revolted from his Duty to the King. But I submit this to the Judgment of the Learned. Thus you see that Words of *Different*, much more of *Contrary Significations*, occasion some Difficulty in interpreting the Texts where they are found. There are many * Other *Hebrew Words* in Scripture which signify *Contrary things*; the Sense sometimes as well as the Letters, must be read backwards.

Nor is the *Greek* wholly destitute of such Words, as in Tit. 1. 12. *ῥαδίς ἀργαί* may be rendred either *slow* or *quick Bellies*, for *ἀργός* is both *piger* and *celer*. The *Cretians*, of whom this is spoken, might be said to be *Slow Bellies*, because they were given to Idleness and Gluttony; or they might be call'd *Quick Bellies*, because they were Greedy and Fierce Eaters. Other *Greek Words* (some of which occur in the New Testament) might be taken notice of, which have both a good and a bad Sense, and so come under this Head: as *Ἀάω* (a remarkable Word, beginning with three Alpha's) is *valde noxius* and *innoxius*: *φλέγμα* is *Inflammatio* and *Pituita*, a cold Humour: *εἶδωλον* bears a good Sense in its Primitive Acception, and is no more than any *Likeness* or *Image*: but it also (and that most frequently) signifies such an Image or Representation to which is given Religious Worship. *πείρεσθαι* and *πείρερον*, were at first used to signify only *Curiosity*, but afterwards they were taken in a worse Sense by some Authors, and particularly by St. Luke, Acts 19. 19. *πλεονεκτεῖν* signifies *to have more than another*; but withal, *to have more than one ought to have*, *to defraud and circumvent*: yea, *to defraud and injure by Adultery*, as St. Chrysostom and Dr. Hammond observe on 1 Thess. 4. 6. So *ἀγαπᾶν*,

* See in the End of the Book.

παι, which is an honest Word, was applied heretofore to a bad sort of Women, little better than Concubines; yea, Harlots, as we read in * *Theodoret* and † *Epiphanius*. And so ἀργαῖον was abused, as St. || *Jerom* complains. The same is commonly said of πῶταρον, which was a good Word at first, and signified a *King*, but afterwards a *Tyrant*. Σοφιστής was a Professor of Wisdom, and one that excell'd in any useful Science; but at last it signified a mere Pretender to Art. So φάρμακον is a wholesome Medicine, and a deadly Poison. Μελέν, though it is well known it hath an ill Sense, yet (*) sometimes (like the Hebrew (†) רור) is no more than *ubertim compleri*. So among the *Latins*, the same Word sometimes hath a Contrary Meaning: thus *Expers* is one that hath not Experience or Skill, and one that hath. *Religio* is taken for downright Superstition and Bigotry, as well as the Due Worship of God. *Sacer*, by an usual Antiphrasis, is made to signify that Person or Thing which is so far from being *Holy*, that it is most Profane and Desecrate, most Cursed and Detestable, most Pernicious and Destructive. So *ignis sacer* is reckon'd among the most Dangerous sorts of Ulcers by (||) *Celsus*: it is also the Name of the *Erysipelas*, call'd by ||| *Pliny* *Zoster*, and was thought to be extremely pernicious and fatal when it encompassed the Part. And the *sacer ignis* in the Close of *Virgil's* third Book of *Georgicks* is interpreted to be the same by some Commentators; by others the ἑρπύς ἐριόμεινον, and call'd *sacer*, because of its Great Malignity. *Villanus* was once an honest Rustick, (as *Budæus* observes) but now is a Name of Infam-

* In *Epist. ad Philem.* v. 2. † *Hazref.* 78. || *Epist.* 22. ad *Eustoch.* (*) *John* 2. 10. (†) *Gen.* 43. 34. (||) *Lib.* 3. ||| *Lib.* 26. c. 11.

Infamy. So *Missa*, the Mass, was an innocent Word at first, and signified no other than the Service of the Church, but afterwards it degenerated into a very bad one, and is appropriated to the Idolatrous Worship of the Church of Rome. But enough of this.

C H A P. XI.

Some Difficulties in Scripture arise from the Matter or Manner of things delivered, wherein prejudiced Minds fancy some Repugnancy or Contradiction. The Cavils against Gen. 4. 14. largely and fully answered. Numb. 14. 30. reconciled with Josh. 14. 1. ch. 22. 13. The seeming Repugnancy of 1 Sam. 16. 22, 23, to chap. 17. ver. 55. removed. The Geometrical Scruple about the brazen Laver, 2 Chron. 4. 2. dispell'd. Another Objection concerning it founded on 1 Kings 7. 26. compared with 1 Chron. 4. 5. answered. The Contradiction which some fancy in 2 Chron. 14. 5. compared with 1 Kings 15. 14. taken away. A satisfactory Reply to the Cavil against Matth: 27. 9. The double Repugnancy conceived by some to be in Acts 7. 15. plainly solv'd. John 5. 31. considered with ch. 8. ver. 14. shew'd to be void of Contradiction. The same proved concerning our Saviour's Words in Matth. 10. 34. Heb. 9. 4. is not contrary to 1 Kings 8. 9.

IN the third Place I will shew, that not only from the Different and Contrary Significations of Words, but from Other Causes, viz. relating to the Matter it self, or the Manner of what is spoken of, or the Reference of one Text to another, or the Duration of

of *Time*, or some other Circumstances, the *Stile* of Scripture becomes Dark and Perplexed. Here I will produce some particular Scripture-Difficulties which arise on these Accounts; and I will endeavour to resolve them. First, There seem to be in the very *Matter* and *Manner* of things deliver'd in Scripture (for I will promiscuously speak of them both) very great Absurdities, Repugnances, and Contradictions. *There seem*, I say, *i. e.* to prejudiced and vitiated Minds there appear to be such; but no Man of deliberate Thoughts and an honest Heart will look upon them as so. I will not regard them so much as to insist long upon them, but a few I will mention, that they and the rest may not be thought Insuperable Difficulties. I will begin with *Gen. 4. 14.* which I find alledged by some as a great Blemish in Scripture, *It shall come to pass that every one that findeth me shall slay me.* I begin, I say, with this Passage of Holy Writ, not because it is really Difficult, but because it is represented such by some ill-minded Men, who thereby think to invalidate the Truth of the Sacred History. Mr. *Hobbes*, and others of the same temper, have taken notice of such Passages as these in the Bible, and endeavour by the exposing of them to diminish the Authority of the Scriptures, and at the same time to shake the Credit of the whole Body of the Inspired Writings. For thus they vent their Cavils against that place, "How
 " could *Cain* say, that *Every one* who found him
 " would slay him when there was nobody at that
 " time in the World but his Father and Mother,
 " and his Wife? Had the World been peopled,
 " then indeed the guilty Man (if we may call him
 " so) might have had occasion to fear that some
 " body would seek to revenge the Death of *Abel*.
 " But

“ But there could be no ground of Fear when
 “ the World was so empty as we read it was:
 “ wherefore these words of *Cain* contradict the
 “ plain History of *Moses*. When he saith, *Every*
 “ *one that finds me*, &c. it is implied that there
 “ were a great many at that time in the World,
 “ which disagrees with what the same History
 “ delivers, *viz.* That there were no more than
 “ *Adam* and his Wife, and their Son *Cain* and his
 “ Wife then extant. To which I answer,

1. It is with too much Confidence averr'd by
 these Objectors, that there were but four Persons
 at that time in being. For this is a thing which
 they can never prove: and the reason is, because
Adam might have more Children than *Cain* and
 his Wife, though they are not mention'd; and
 these Children might have Sons and Daughters:
 So that it is not improbable that Mankind was then
 considerably increas'd. He knows nothing of the
 Stile of Scripture who knows not this, that some
 things are *supposed*, others are *touched upon only*, and
 there are others that are *fully set down*, and some-
 times repeated. I am now speaking of the first
 sort of things: we must necessarily suppose them
 to be done, though there be no mention of them
 at all. A great many things (and those very con-
 siderable) as the Creation of Angels, the Cove-
 nant enter'd into between God and our First Pa-
 rents, the celebrating of the Seventh Day, the
 instituting of Sacrifices, and such like are omitted
 in the Book of *Genesis*. And when you observe
 that *Moses* in the six first Chapters of this Book
 (and those but brief ones) compriseth the History
 of the World from the Creation to the Flood, *i. e.*
 the Transactions of Sixteen hundred Years and up-
 ward, you cannot but acknowledg that a vast num-
 ber

ber of Passages which happen'd in that time are wholly left out. This in part we may gather from the Writings of the New Testament, where some particular things are mentioned that refer to the Affairs of the Old Testament, but we find them not named there. As *Enoch's* Prophecy concerning the Last Judgment is spoken of by *St. Jude*, ver. 14. but there's not a word of it in that place of *Genesis* which speaks of him. The particular Persons that *withstood Moses*, viz. *Jannes* and *Jambres*, are mention'd in *2 Tim.* 3. 8. but their Names are not set down in *Exodus*, which was the proper place for them. The famous Contrast of the Good and Evil Angels *about the Body of Moses*, i. e. the burying of it, is recorded by *St. Jude*, ver. 9. but there is not a word of it in *Deut.* 34. where there is particular mention of his burying, ver. 6. Whence it appears, that many things were done in those times concerning which *Moses* wrote (or Whosoever it was that made a Supplement to his Writings) which are not recorded. Nor are we to find fault with the Sacred History for this, for if it be part of the Work of an *Historian* (as one who was such acquaints us) * *to know what things are to be committed to History, and what things are to be past in silence, to know from whence to take his beginning, and how far he is to go*, certainly *Moses*, who was skill'd in all other Learning as well as that of the Egyptians, and who moreover was an Inspired Person, knew what belong'd to this part of an *Historian*, inserted into the Pentateuch those things only which the Holy Spirit thought fit to be committed to writing, and the rest (which were exceeding numerous) were passed by. But though

* *Dionys. Halicarn.*

though they were so, yet we have no reason wholly to disbelieve them, but where they are fairly *intimated* or *supposed* in the Sacred History, we ought to credit them as if they were *particularly* and *expressly* mention'd. Thus, in the present case, though 'tis not expressly recorded in the Fourth Chapter of *Genesis*, that there were any more Persons at that time on the Earth than those four, yet it is reasonable to think that there was a greater number, because we know that the History of *Moses* is very short and contracted, and is wont to leave out several considerable things, which we of our selves may gather and infer from what is in express terms set down. There might then be, and it is most probable that there were more People in the World at that time than those whose Names we meet with. *Moses* gives us but two Genealogies, one of *Cain*, the other of *Seth*, but it is likely there were some other Descents, whereby *Adam's* Race was increas'd and multiplied. Wherefore notwithstanding the small number of Persons named by this Writer, it is rational to believe that there were many more living on the Earth. We read presently after, *ver. 17.* that *Cain* built a City, which would employ a considerable number of Men; yea, though we suppose it to consist of some rude and slight Structures, and wall'd perhaps with Mud. This makes it probable that the number of Persons was greater than the Objectors imagine. Besides, *Cain* and his Wife there might be many other Sons and Daughters of *Adam*; and there might be many Sons of *Abel*, who this Murderer might justly fear would avenge their Father's Blood. Wherefore *Cain* had reason to say, *Every one that finds me shall slay me.*

But,

But, Secondly, Not granting but only supposing that there were then no more Persons in the World than *Adam* and *Eve*, and their ungracious Son *Cain* and his Wife, yet it is not to be wonder'd that he cried out, *Every one that finds me, &c.* for this is to be thought of, that his Guilty Conscience was able to make more Men in the World than there were. This Vile Murderer might be afraid of his Life, although we should grant that there were none in the World to take it away. The inward Fears and Horrors of his own Mind could present those things to his Imagination which really were not, and then 'tis not strange if he fancied every where Assassins and Murderers, as the just Recompensers of that innocent and righteous Blood which he had most barbarously spilt. It is weakly said by some in behalf of *Cain*, that he did not intend to kill his Brother, although he purpos'd to do him some harm, because (as * One represents their Opinion) he did not know whether there was any such thing as Killing or no: he was ignorant of Mortality, having never seen an Example of it. But though he had not seen such an Example, yet it doth not follow thence that he understood not what Death or Killing was: for then it may as well be said that *Adam* knew not the meaning of God's Words, when he said to him, *Thou shalt die the Death*, because at that time he had no Example of it before his Eyes. Besides, it is not to be question'd that there were Examples of it, though not in his own kind; for 'tis likely he daily beheld his Father *Adam* slaying of Sheep or other Animals, in order to the sacrificing of them, (for Sacrificing was the first Wor-
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* Dr. Brown's *Vulgar Errors*.

ship in the World) and he saw his Brother *Abel* do the like, as is expressly recorded in this Chapter, where 'tis said, that he offer'd the *Firstlings of his Flock, and of the fat thereof*, ver. 4. which he could not do without killing them first. So that *Cain* had an Example of Killing and Death just before he practis'd the same on his Brother. Yea, perhaps the one suggested to him the other, and being enraged with Anger against his Brother, he resolv'd that he should fall a Sacrifice to his Fury. And this Bloody Fact of his can admit of no Excuse, because it was the product of perfect Malice, as appears from that account which an Inspired Writer hath given of it, telling us, that *Cain was of that wicked one, viz. Satan, and therefore slew his Brother, because his own Works were Evil, and his Brother's Righteous*; 1 John 3: 12. The grand Aggravations of his Murder were, that he kill'd his Own Brother, and that he kill'd him because he was Good and Righteous. Now, we may reasonably think that this Guilty Wretch, when he came to entertain serious Thoughts, and to reflect on his Execrable Paricide, grew very Black and Melancholick. Though God reprieved this Malefactor as to his Life, yet he severely animadverted upon him by that Terror and Distraction of Mind, by that Horror of Conscience which he inflicted on him. He had *Pashur's* Doom of *Magor Missabib*, i. e. *Fear round about*, Jer. 20. 3. but especially (as it follows there) he was a Terror to himself. That this hath been the Fate of Murderers is evident from such Instances as these: *Herod*, who commanded *John Baptist* to be beheaded, was afterwards miserably tormented with the thoughts of it, and fancied that Holy Man was risen from the Dead, and was alive again, *Mark* 6. 16. *Tacitus* tells

tells us of the Emperour *Tiberius*, who was a Man of Blood, and under whom our Blessed Lord was crucified, that he was so troubled and haunted, * that neither his great Fortunes, nor the Retirement which he sometimes made trial of, could silence those Tortures which he felt in his Breast. *Nero*, that Bloody Villain, after he had put to Death his Cousin German, his Mother, his Wife, his Tutour, knew not what to do with himself; † he was affrighted with Specters, beaten by Furies, and burning Torches were flung at him; especially he was molested and plagued with the Apparition of his Mother's Ghost, whom he had inhumanely and unnaturally murder'd. *Theodorick* the King of *Goths*, was constantly haunted after the Murder of *Symmachus* and *Boethius*, and so ended his days in that torment of Mind. *Charles* the Ninth of *France* (as a || faithful Historian acquaints us) after the Parisian Massacre was a continual Terror to himself, though he used all Arts to divert his Thoughts, and when he awakned in the Nights, labour'd to chase away his Affrightments by Musick, which he constantly call'd for. These are some of the Transcripts which History affords us of that First Murderer's inward Terrors and Disquietudes. *Mine Iniquity*, saith he, *is greater than can be forgiven*; ver. 13. (for so the words may be rendred :) the Guilt of that Horrid Crime which I have committed is unpardonable, I utterly despair of the Divine Mercy. And this Despair was not only his Sin but his Punishment: (wherefore some read it, *My Punishment is greater than I can*

* Tiberium non fortunæ, non solitudines protegebant quin pectoris tormenta suasq; ipse poenas fateretur. *Annal. c. 8.*

† Sueton. in Nerone, cap. 34. || Thuanus.

can bear.) So that he anticipated the Miseries of the Damned, (of whom he was the first of Humane Kind) and was in Hell while he was here on Earth. Now it was that Dreadful Mormo's and Phantoms possess'd his restless Brain, and he encreas'd his Terrors by Imagination. He was afraid of his own Father and Mother, and of his Female-self, and his disorder'd Fancy represented many more Persons to him : for a Troubled Conscience fears where no Fear is, it fears Men where there are none in being. Whence such Language as this is very accountable, *Every one that finds me shall slay me.* This is a satisfactory Answer, upon Supposal (for I proceed only on that here) that there were no more Men in the World at that time than are expressly mention'd in *Genesis*. A Disturbed Mind hath a Creating Power, and can make more Inhabitants on the Earth than God hath made.

Thirdly, Supposing still that the Number of Men was not greater than it is represented in the Sacred Records, yet this Speech of *Cain* is very accountable, for we may understand it of People that were not yet born, but to come afterwards. Observe therefore that 'tis spoken in the future Tense, *It shall come to pass*, that every one that findeth me *shall* slay me. *Cain* being reprieved, and suffer'd to wander up and down, and consequently to live some Years afterwards, it may be rational to think that he refers in these words to what should be in those days. When Mankind shall be propagated, and the World be peopled, then I shall go in fear of my Life, then every one that finds me will slay me. And unto this the next words may have relation, *Whosoever slayeth Cain, Vengeance shall be taken of him sevenfold :* And moreover, *The Lord set a mark upon Cain, lest*

any finding him should kill him, ver. 15. Left in after-times any one hearing of this bloody and cursed Fact of his should be excited to revenge it on his own Head, there was a Mark set upon this Vile Wanderer, to distinguish him from the rest of Mankind: but what it was we know not, though the Jews have many idle and foolish Conjectures about it. And a Penalty was threatned to be inflicted on the Person who should dare to kill him: *he was to be punish'd seven-fold, ver. 15. or in the seventh Generation,* as *Munster* and some others interpret it: which implies, that *Cain* was to be a Long-liver, to continue *seven*, i. e. many Generations. So that we may look on these Words as having reference to the Times that were to come, and not to the present Season wherein they were spoke. It *shall* come to pass, saith he, that in future time, when the World is increased, *every one* who finds me *shall* be greedy to take away my Life, because I most inhumanely bereaved my Brother of his. Thus there is no Contradiction or Inconsistency in the words, when 'tis said, *Every one that findeth me, &c.*

But in the fourth and last place, it might be answer'd, (if what I have said already be not satisfactory) that this word *Kol, every one*, hath not reference to Men but to Beasts. *Every one* is *every Wild Beast*. He was afraid, saith * *Josephus*, lest while he wandred up and down in the Earth, (which was part of his Punishment) he should fall among some Beasts, and be slain by them. God bids him not fear any such thing, for he would set such a Mark on him, that the very Irrational Animals should be capable of knowing and discerning

* Antiqu. l. i. c. 3.

ing it. Every one is not necessarily to be understood of Men or Women, but may be meant of the Brutes which were then upon Earth, and might be Executioners of the Divine Vengeance on him who was so savage and brutish. It will be very hard for any Man to disprove this, and therefore it is sufficient to take off and null the Cavil of the Objectors. But, I confess, I rather think it is spoken not of this sort of Creatures, but of those Inhabitants of the Earth that were Intelligent. Thus you see there is no Absurdity or Inconsistency in those words which *Cain* utter'd, and which are set down by the Sacred Historian, whether you understand them of the then instant time, or of that which was afterwards. Some Men of Profane and Atheistical Spirits, and who have studied to impair the Truth and Authority of the Holy Scriptures, and particularly of *Moses's* Writings, have expos'd this Place as disagreeing with the rest of the Sacred Story concerning the first Rise and Propagation of the World. But this is a very shallow and vain Attempt, and grounded chiefly on Prejudice and Ill-will against the Inspired Volume of Scripture. I have made it clear, that there is no Absurdity, or any thing that looks like it, in the words above-mentioned: and I defy that Man who pretends to give any Satisfactory Answer to the Particulars which I have offered in defence of them.

Again, 'tis said, *That none save Caleb and Joshua should come into the Land of Canaan, Numb. 14. 30.* and yet we read that *Eleazar* and others entred into that Land, *Jos. 14. 1. Chap. 22. 13.* This is objected by some as a Passage in Scripture derogatory to the Truth of it. But if we will read the Holy Book with the same Candour and Ingenuity

wherewith we read other Authors, we shall not be offended at this, or the like Passages. For nothing is more common in the most serious and considerate Writers, than to speak things by way of Restriction and Limitation, (as those words are spoken) and yet to leave them to be understood with some Latitude, which shall afterwards be express'd and explain'd when they speak of the same Matter. So here we read that none but *Caleb* and *Joshua* entred into the Land of Promise, this being spoken of the Chief Leaders that had that Privilege and Honour; but then, if we consult other places, where this thing is more particularly related, we shall find that a Larger meaning was not excluded. We cannot think that the Tribe of *Levi* were denied entrance into that blessed Land, because 'tis evident from the History, that they *murmured not*, and 'tis as evident that 'twas threatned to the *Murmurers* only, that they *should not see the Land which God swore unto their Fathers*, Numb. 14. 22, 23. therefore *Eleazar* and *Phineas* being Priests, are excepted. Again, it cannot be meant of those that at that time were gone to spy the Land of *Canaan*, for they were none of the *Murmurers*, and therefore that Threatning before cited doth not reach them, and consequently those words are consistent with what we read in other places relating to this matter.

But That in 1 Sam. 16. 22, 23. is cried out against as an unanswerable Repugnancy to Chap. 17. 55. for in the former we are told, that *David* came to Court, and stood before King *Saul*, i. e. waited continually upon him, and play'd upon the Harp before him, and was greatly beloved of him, and became his Armour-bearer: and yet in the latter we read that *Saul* did not know *David*, but ask'd
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who he was, *Whose Son is this Youth?* These seem to be very repugnant to one another, but there is really no such thing: all is clear and obvious, for in *Chap. 17. 15.* it is said, *David went, and returned from Saul, to feed his Father's Sheep at Bethlehem.* He stay'd not long at Court, either because he liked not that manner of Life, or because *Saul* was weary of him. *David* then having been absent from *Saul* a considerable time, and following a Country-Life, and now appearing perhaps in his Shepherd's Weeds, it is no wonder that *Saul* did not well know him. This, I think is sufficient of it self, and clears the Text of all Contradiction: though I know there are other Solutions used by the Learned, as that of our English Rabbi, *Saul* (saith he) asked *whose Son David* was, not that he was ignorant who he was; but he only enquired who that was that had such a Son. The question is not of *David's* Person, but Parentage. So *Lightfoot*.

Others are more *Curious* in their Objections, as thus, Whereas the Diameter in respect of the Circumference, is as seven to two and twenty, this is not observ'd in *2 Chron. 4. 2.* speaking of the *brazen Laver*, and by consequence the *Geometry* of Scripture is faulty. In answer to these Men who are such Well-willers to the Mathematics, I say first, That the Proportion of a Diameter to its Circle is not exactly as seven to two and twenty: therefore these Gentlemen are not exact themselves. Secondly, I say this, that the Scripture oftentimes speaks after the Vulgar manner, (as I have shew'd elsewhere) and it is likely it doth so here, and then we must not expect Accuracy of Words or Things. The Bible was not calculated for them only that can square a Circle, or that

understand all the Mysteries of Algebra. Thirdly, If this doth not satisfy, I answer, that the Circumference of the *brazen Sea* was not exactly Round, but it may be towards an Oval Figure, which makes some alteration as to the Proportion of the Diameter. It was *ten Cubits from brim to brim, and a Line of thirty Cubits did compass it round about*, saith the Text : but if it had been quite orbicular, the Circumference must have been one and thirty Cubits. Or, perhaps in this place (as in several others) a round Number is express'd, and the remainder being so small and inconsiderable is omitted.

But further 'tis Objected, that this *Molten Sea* or Laver is said to contain 2000 Baths, 1 Kings 7. 26. but in 1 Chron. 4. 5. we read that it *received and held 3000 Baths*; therefore some infer, that one of these places is faulty, and ought to be corrected. I answer, there is no need of it; because both these are consistent. The Laver was of that vast dimension, that it could 'hold 3000 Baths of Water, but it generally and usually contain'd but 2000. In a Synagogue of the Jews at *Amsterdam*, there is one of these Lavers, and thence we may solve the seeming difficulty: they fill it up to the Neck, but not higher: but if they would fill it higher, it would contain much more. The Neck is large and of another figure, and is capable of receiving a third part more.

Another Place which they alledg, cannot, they will tell you, be answer'd any of these ways, for it plainly Contradicts another place of Scripture. It is said of *Asa*, 2 Chron. 14. 5. *he took away the high Places*; but in 1 Kings 15. 14. it is expressly recorded that *the high Places were not removed by him*. I answer first, there were two sorts of high Places,

Places, namely some where they worship'd Idols and False Gods, others where they worship'd the True God. The former were taken away, as is intimated to us when 'tis said, *he took away the high Places and Images*, i. e. the high Places where those Images were adored: but the latter were not taken away, the Reformation which he had set on foot had not gone so far. Besides, 'tis observable that he took away the high Places out of all the Cities of Judah; which signifies to us that he removed them out of all the Chief Places of his Kingdom, though he had not time to effect it in some other less considerable places; and so the meaning of those words [*the high Places were not removed*] may have reference only to these latter, and shew that he had not expell'd Idolatry out of every part of the Kingdom. The short is, this Good King took away very many, he removed most of the high Places, but not all. Where now is the Contradiction?

But in the New Testament perhaps they will be more successful. They are pleas'd to make or find there a great number of Contrarieties, as in *Mat.* 27. 9. this Evangelist quotes *Jeremiab the Prophet*, yet it was not *Jeremiab* but *Zechary* that spoke the words which are there quoted. Some have answer'd this by saying, here is a Mistake of the Transcribers, they have writ *Jeremiab* instead of *Zechariah*. But this is not to be allowed, seeing there is no need of flying to such a sorry Refuge as this. A Learned * Critick of our own, tells us, that it is an oversight in the Evangelist, it is a slip of his Memory; but this is much worse than the former: and if we should once admit any such thing, the Truth and

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* *Sir Norton Knatchbull on Mat. 27. 9.*

Authority of the Bible (as I have shew'd in a Former Discourse) are endanger'd. But one of these three Answers may remove the difficulty. 1. *Grotius* on the place salves it thus; many of the Old Prophets Sayings were not written down, but preserv'd in Memory, and deliver'd down to those that came afterwards, of which he gives some Instances: so that it is probable *Zechary* makes use of one of these Sayings and Oracles of *Jeremy*: but when our Saviour quotes this Passage, he mentions the first Author of it, *viz.* the Prophet *Jeremy*. The short is, though the words are in *Zechary*, yet he had them from *Jeremy*, that is, there was a Tradition, it is likely, that they were his. Which is confirmed by that Saying of the Jews, that *the Spirit of the Prophet Jeremy rested on Zechary*. For this reason, those words of *Zechary* may be said to be spoken by *Jeremy the Prophet*. 2. Those words are jointly to be found in *Jeremy* ad *Zechary*: but the former speaks only of *buying the Field*, *Jer.* 32. 9. the latter makes mention of the *Price*, *Zech.* 11. 12. But neither are these the *very words* which are in *Zechary's* Prophecy, but are recited with some considerable *alteration* (as is not unusual in Scripture, as you shall hear afterwards.) If then the Substance of the words be taken out of both the Prophets, the Evangelist might quote one of them only without any Error and Mistake, and particularly *Jeremy* might be named as the more known and eminent Prophet. 3. Dr. *Lightfoot* reconciles it another way, asserting, that there is no Mistake of Transcribers here, but that *Jeremy* was the Name first used in this place by St. *Matthew*, and yet *Zecharias* is not excluded, but intended. This he makes good from the ordering and ranging of the Books of Scripture in use among

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the Jews, in which this Learned Author was well skill'd. *Jeremiab* had the first Place among the Prophets, and he is mention'd above all the rest, because he stood first in the Volume of the Prophets: Therefore when *St. Matthew* produced a Text of *Zechary* under the Name of *Jeremy*, he cites the Words out of the Volume of the Prophets under his Name, who stood first in that Volume, that is the Prophet *Jeremiab*. Any of these Answers may satisfy a Man whose Mind is not tainted with Prejudice against the Sacred Writings.

Those Words of *St. Stephen*, *Acts* 7. 15. *Jacob went down into Egypt, and died, he and our Fathers, and were carried over into Sichem, and laid in the Sepulcher that Abraham bought for a Sum of Money of the Sons of Emmor the Father of Sichem*, seem to have a double Repugnancy in them to what is recorded in the History of *Moses*; for first we read there, that not *Jacob* but *Joseph* was carried to *Sichem*: And secondly that *Abraham* bought the Sepulcher not of the Sons of *Emmor*, but of *Ephron* the Hittite, *Gen.* 23. 17. *cb.* 49. 30. This latter is the greater Difficulty, and seems to be most inextricable, because 'tis so positively express'd, that *Abraham purchased the Field of Ephron the Son of Zoar*, and that *Jacob bought the Field of the Children of Emmor*, *Gen.* 32. 19. *Josh.* 24. 32. How therefore can it be said in the *Acts*, that *Abraham bought the Field for a Sepulcher of the Children of Emmor*? *Grotius* takes away this Repugnancy, by bidding us write *Ephron* for *Emmor*: but this way of answering the Scripture-Difficulties is not to be tolerated, as I have suggested already on the like occasion. Besides, this Alteration will not be sufficient to take away the Difficulty, because *Ephron* was not the Father of *Sichem*, which is here added. A late

Sagacious Critick tells us, that those of whom St. Stephen here speaks, viz. the Patriarchs, were part of them buried in *Sichem*, and part of them in the Field that was *Ephron's*. They were carried over into *Sichem*, i. e. saith he, our Fathers, not Jacob, were carried thither. And the Sense of the next Words he thinks he salves by a *Parenthesis* thus, [*and laid in the Sepulcher (which Abraham had bought for a Sum of Money) of the Sons of Emmor the Father of Sichem.*] So that this Place doth not say, the Fathers were laid in the Sepulcher which was bought by *Abraham* of the Sons of *Emmor*; no, for that contradicts the Sacred History, which assures us, that he bought it of *Ephron* the Hittite, but only they were laid in the Sepulcher of the Sons of *Emmor*. So Sir *Norton Knatchbull*. This doth in part satisfy the Scruple, but in my Judgment the best and shortest Solution of it is that which I have before suggested, and abundantly proved, that 'tis usual for Persons in Scripture to have two Names. So here, *Abraham* bought a Field for a Burial-place of *Ephron* the Son of *Zohar*, *Gen.* 23. 8, 9. and yet he bought it of the Son or Sons of *Emmor*; for this *Zohar* and *Emmor* were the same Man, only with two different Names which he was called by, as was very common among the Hebrews. This is a plain and easy resolving of the Doubt. And if there seems to be any Repugnancy as to the Places of Burial, *Sichem* and *Hebron*, I offer this, that the Bodies of the Patriarchs might be translated from the first Place, where they were deposited, to another, i. e. they might be entomb'd at *Sichem* the Sepulcher of the Sons of *Emmor*, and afterwards be carried to *Hebron*, and laid in a Sepulcher there. If we admit of this, then • *Moses's* History concerning their Burial might refer

refer to one Place, and St. Stephen's to another.

Those Places also may seem to be Contradictory, *If I bear witness of my self, my witness is not true,* John 5. 31. and *though I bear Record of my self, yet my Record is true,* ch. 8. 14. But the Resolution is easy, Christ's Testimony concerning himself *was not true,* i. e. valid in the Opinion of the Cavilling Jews to whom he spake, because their Law required two Witnesses: but his Testimony concerning himself *was true,* was authentick and valid, because he was an Extraordinary Person, even God Himself, and because likewise his Testimony concurr'd with that of his Father, and so there was a Double Witness. Thus he explains himself in *John 8. 16. My Judgment is true, for I am not alone, but I and the Father that sent me.* And again, *ver. 18. I am one that bear witness of my self: and the Father that sent me beareth witness of me.* Therefore it is plain that Christ doth not absolutely exclude his own Testimony concerning himself, and consequently the Texts above alledged do not oppose one another. This also may be referr'd to what we observed in the beginning of this Discourse, viz. a Negative is often put for a Comparative.

And that of our Saviour, *Think not that I am come to send Peace upon Earth, I came not to send Peace, but a Sword,* Matth. 10. 34. may seem to be repugnant to other Texts of Scripture which represent Christ as a Man of Peace. But this ariseth from our misunderstanding his Words: his Meaning is, not that he directly intended, or primarily design'd a Sword or Fire, (as *another Evangelist expresses it) i. e. Persecution and Division. But his

* Luke 12. 49.

his Words are to be understood as those in *John* 9. 39. *I came into this World for Judgment, i. e. Occasionally and by Accident his Coming would prove to be for Condemnation.* But this was not his Design, as he saith, *God sent not his Son into the World to condemn the World, John* 3. 17. And again, *I came not to judge the World, John* 12. 47. You hear what our Saviour saith, *he came for Judgment, and he came not for Judgment.* In such a different Sense *he came to send a Sword, and he came not to send a Sword:* that is, it is Accidental, and not by Design that Slaughter and Contentions happen by Christ's Coming. These are not the natural Effect and Consequence of his Doctrine, and of Christianity it self, but they proceed from the corrupt Nature and evil Dispositions of Men, who will not entertain so harmless and innocent an Institution, but are resolv'd to oppose it. The *Sword* which Christ is here said to *send*, is managed and wielded by the Hands of Irreligious and Prophane Men: *the Fire* is blown up and kindled by the Breath of Anger and Passion, the Fuel of it is our own wicked Nature, inordinate Lusts, and corrupt Manners. In a word, the Doctrine of Christ meeting with the Vices of Men, becomes an *occasion* of Quarrels, Divisions, Bloodshed and Persecution.

When Christ sent forth his Apostles, he forbid them to *provide Staves*, *Matth.* 10. 10. yet in *Mark* 6. 8. he permits them to take *these* for their Journey. But this seeming Inconsistency is removed by remembring that there is a Necessary Staff, a Staff to support them in their Travels, and there is an Offensive Staff to encounter the Enemy with. The latter was not allowed them, because they were not to use any Violence, especially at this time, when he sent them forth. So in the foresaid Place of
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St. *Matthew*, Christ forbids them the wearing of Shoes, yet in that of St. *Mark* he permits them Sandals. Some sort of Fence to their Feet they were not denied, but they must not be careful for the better sort of it; nay, they must not be solicitous about any, it becomes them not to be thoughtful for any kind of Provision; that is the plain Meaning of our Saviour's Words. But when he bids them buy Swords, Luke 22. 36. which may seem to be contrary to *Matth.* 26. 52. it is (as I have shew'd) an ironical way of Speaking, and so there is no Repugnancy.

That of the Apostle, *Heb.* 9. 4. is reckon'd by some as a gross Mistake; for speaking of the Ark of the Covenant, he tells us, that there were in it the Golden Pot that had Manna, and Aaron's Rod that budded, and the Tables of the Covenant: and yet we read that there was nothing in the Ark save the two Tables of Stone, 1 Kings 8. 9. To which *Theophylact*, upon the Place, answers, that though there was at first nothing in the Ark but the two Tables, yet it may be afterwards the Pot of Manna and Aaron's Rod were put into it; and this perhaps the Apostle had by Tradition from the Jews, saith he. But *Grotius* tells us, that it was the Opinion of the Old Rabbins, (in which he also acquiesces) that the Manna and the Rod were in the Ark in *Moses's* Days; but afterwards, lest they should be mouldy and putrify, they were taken out, and deposited in some subterraneous Vaults. But first this disagrees with the former Solution, and yet the Jewish Doctors are quoted for both. Again, I ask, were the Rabbins sure that these Holy Relicks were kept from moulding in those low Cells or Receptacles of the Earth? otherwise 'twas in vain to take them out of their old Place, and lodg them here. Therefore I look

look upon this as a mere Invention of the Rabinick Tribe, as 'tis well known they abound with such. Besides, we learn from the fore-cited Text in the *Kings*, that these Sacred things were not in the Ark, even in *Solomon's* time; and if they were not there then at all, it is not likely the Apostle would have said, *Wherein* (i. e. in the Ark) *was the Golden Pot of Manna, and Aaron's Rod*; for who can think that he refers to some after-Practice of the Jews, and not to what is so plainly recorded to have been at that time? therefore I look upon these Answers as groundless. Another is wont to be given, and it is this, that $\epsilon\nu\ \eta$ refers to $\sigma\alpha\nu\eta$, and not to $\alpha\lambda\epsilon\omega\iota$; which doth fully assail the Difficulty, if you can be perswaded that $\epsilon\nu\ \eta$ hath reference to a Word so far off, when there is another nearer to it, to which it may well agree. The Consideration of this made * *Drusus*, who once rested in the foresaid Solution, to quit it afterwards, and to find out another, viz. that η which is rendred by *in*, signifies here *ad, prope* or *juxta*: so the meaning is, that *near the Ark* stood the Pot of Manna: But he checks himself for this afterwards, apprehending it to be forced and strained. Wherefore, to avoid all these Inconveniencies, I reconcile that Place in the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, with the former one in the *Kings*, thus, The *Ark* is taken *strictly* in that former Place, but *largely* in the latter one. In the first Sense, that is, as it signifies the Principal Part or Division of the Ark, it had nothing in it but the *Tables*, for the Chief Apartment was designed for these, and therefore 'tis observable that the *Ark* hath its Name from them, and is call'd the *Ark of the Covenant*; by which

* Commentar. in Pentateuch.

which is meant the *Two Tables*, as you'll see in 1 Kings 8 21. But as the Ark is taken *largely*, that is, as it signifies the Whole Body of the Ark, and all its Receptacles and Boxes, it contain'd in it other things besides the *Tables*, viz. the Pot of Manna, and *Aaron's Rod*. This I propound as a plain and easy Solution of the two fore-cited Texts. The Manna and the Rod were in the Ark, and they were not in it, viz. in different Respects: they were in it, if you understand by it the Whole Sacred Chest; but they were not in it, if you mean by it the Chief and Eminent Part of it, which oftentimes gave a Denomination to the Whole.

C H A P. XII.

Answers to Objections against the Arithmetick of Scripture, as Gen. 46. 27. All the Souls of the House of Jacob which came into Egypt were threescore and ten, compared with Acts 7. 14. where they are said to be threescore and fifteen Souls. Numb. 25. 9. saith, that those that died of the Plague were twenty and four thousand: but we read in 1 Cor. 10. 8. that there fell in one Day three and twenty thousand. David is his Father's eighth Son, 1 Sam. 16. 10. yet he is reckon'd the seventh Son, 1 Chron. 2. 15. Other Numerical Difficulties in 2 Sam. 24. 9. 1 Chron. 21. 15. and in 1 Kings 4. 26. 2 Chron. 9. 25. cleared. A Resolution of several Geographical Scruples, as about the Place of Abraham's Nativity, Gen. 11. 28. ch. 24. 10. Joseph was sold to the Ismaelites, Gen. 37. 28. yet in the same Verse, and afterwards (ver. 36.) 'tis said, he was sold to the Midianites. Moses's Wife is call'd an Ethiopian, Numb. 12. 1.

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though she was of the Land of Midian, *Exod. 2. 15, 16.* She that is call'd a Woman of Candan, *Matth. 15. 22.* is said to be a Syrophenician, *Mark 7. 26.* The Chorography of the Scripture is sometimes different (i. e. it seems to be so) from that in *Prophane Authors*, because several Places mentioned in *Holy Writ* have not the same Names which they are known by in other Writers. Whether the Queen of Sheba came from Arabia or Ethiopia is uncertain. Ophir is unknown to us: So is Ararat: But Tarshish is so named from Tarsus, a Noted Town on the Mediterranean. How East and West in *Ezekiel* are to be understood. Different Meanings in Scripture arise from the Relation which certain Words have in Texts to the adjoining Chapters and Verses. Some Instances of this largely prosecuted.

BUT a great Cry there is that the Scripture is defective, or in plain Terms false in its *Arithmetick*: and here many Places are muster'd up, as That in *Gen. 46. 27.* All the Souls of the House of Jacob which came into Egypt, were threescore and ten. And again, *Deut. 10. 22.* they are said to be threescore and ten Persons: so many they were, reckoning Jacob and Joseph into the Number. But how doth this agree with St. Stephen's Account in *Acts 7. 14.* Joseph sent and call'd his Father Jacob to him, and all his Kindred, threescore and fifteen Souls? Here is an Addition of five to the former Number. But the Agreement of these Texts is not difficult, because we may say that Moses only reckons Jacob's Children and Grand-children, and not his Daughters in Law, the Wives of Jacob's Sons, which in all are seventy five. Or it may be said that St. Stephen reckons up how great the Number of Jacob's

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Family was before he came into *Egypt*, and so takes in *Jacob's Wives* and *Judab's Sons*, although then dead: Or thus, that he reckons some into the Number who were begot before they came into *Egypt*, but born after their coming thither. There might be such a Tradition as this among the Jews, and *Stephen* here makes use of it. Any of these Answers is satisfactory in a Matter of this nature. But by no means must we approve of *Grotius's* shift, viz. that it was the Fault of the Transcriber; he inserted five more than he should have done.

Again, some ask what Agreement there is between those two Places, viz. *Numb. 25. 9. Those that died in the Plague were twenty and four thousand*; and *1 Cor. 10. 8. (which speaks of the same thing) There fell in one Day three and twenty thousand*. Here is a Thousand short of the former Account: But if you look into the Context, you'll soon reconcile these two different Numbers, by taking notice that there were two different Judgments or Plagues upon the People at that time. The Apostle numbers those only that were kill'd with the Plague from Heaven, but *Moses* reckons those also who were kill'd with the Sword, and hung up by the Levites, *ver. 4, 5*. Or, I conceive, the Difference between the Numbers may lie in this, that *St. Paul* speaks only of what was done in one Day: the Emphasis may be in those Words, and so here is not excluded the other thousand which fell at another time. Some are dissatisfied because they read in *1 Sam. 16. 10. that David was his Father's eighth Son*: and again in *1 Sam. 17. 14. they find that he is call'd the youngest Son of eight*: and yet in *1 Chron. 2. 13. he is reckon'd the seventh Son*. But the Answer is short and plain, namely, that in this latter Place, where there is a particular Enumeration of

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Jesse's Sons, one of them is omitted, and it concerns us not to know why. Only we know that such Omissions are not unusual in Scripture.

Another Numerical Difficulty is in *2 Sam.* 24. 19. where the Sum of the Number of the People which *Joab* gave up, is said to be eight hundred thousand, viz. in *Israel*, and five hundred thousand in *Judah*, in all thirteen hundred thousand fighting Men: but look into the Account in *1 Chron.* 21. 15. and you will find a vast Difference between it and the former. But why should this seem strange, seeing there might be several Reasons why these Sums vary? I will mention one. *Joab* had not finished his numbring of *Israel*, but left off, because the Anger of the Lord was kindled against *Israel*, and so brought *David* the Number only which is mentioned in *Samuel*. * *Josephus* is more particular, and saith, that *Joab* left out the Tribe of *Benjamin*, and the Tribe of *Levi*, which two he had not at that time reckon'd: for *David* in the meantime (when this Number was taking) repented of what he did, and call'd back *Joab* before he had finish'd the Sum: But the Captains who were set about this Work in the remoter Parts, numbred three hundred thousand besides, which being put to the eight hundred thousand in *Israel*, make up exactly the Number in the *Chronicles*: and the same may be said of *Judah*. That Place likewise is objected, *Solomon* had four thousand Stalls for Horses, *2 Chron.* 9. 25. whereas we are told that he had forty thousand, *1 Kings* 4. 26. If we distinguish between Stalls and Stables, the Difficulty ceaseth; and we have reason to do so, because there is a Difference in the † *Hebrew* Words used in these Places. The

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* *Antiqu.* L. 7. c. 19. † *Urach*: *Urajoch*.

latter signifies distinct *Stalls* for Horses, where they stood asunder by themselves, one single Horse, in a Stall. But the former signifies *Stables* or *Stalls*, wherein ten Horses were placed: therefore there is a *Ten*, which is a Note of the number *ten*, inserted into this Word, to distinguish it from the other. There were half a score Horses in every one of these *Stables*, and so they amount to forty thousand. *Abarbanel* and some other Hebrew Doctors determine thus, that there were forty thousand Horses in four thousand *Stables*. Or if it were the very same Word in the Hebrew, yet it might be differently taken, and signify *Stalls* in one Place, and *Stables* in another, and so the Controversy is ended, i. e. every *Stable* or greater Place for Horses contained in it ten thousand distinct *Stalls*. We may say there were four thousand Great *Stables* which contain'd forty thousand Lesser ones. Thus far in answer to those that charge the Scripture with want of Truth as to *Numbers*.

Others complain that it is erroneous and false in its Geography, that is, as to the Places and Countries that are mentioned in it. Thus we find that *Ur of the Chaldees* is call'd the Land of *Haran*, and consequently of *Abraham's Nativity*, Gen. 11. 28; And in Gen. 12. 7. God reminded him that he brought him out of *Ur of the Chaldees*: therefore that was the Country which he first dwelt in. But if we consult Gen. 24. 10. we shall see that *Mesopotamia* was *Abraham's* native Country: and in *Jos*, 24. 2, 3. we read that he dwelt on the other side of the Flood, i. e. of *Euphrates*, (which is frequently call'd the Flood, by way of Eminency, in Scripture) and this parted *Canaan*, where *Abraham* afterwards dwelt, from *Mesopotamia* in *Syria*. This is the River which *Abraham* passed over, Gen. 31. 21: when

he came into *Canaan* out of his own Country, and from which *passing over* he had his Name, as is thought by many of the Learned. So that when 'tis said he dwelt on the other side of the Flood, it appears thence that he came out of *Mesopotamia*, which was divided from *Canaan* by that Flood. But how are these two consistent, viz. that he was a Chaldean and a Mesopotamian, i. e. a Syrian, when these have reference to two distinct Countries, *Chaldea* and *Syria*? This hath puzzled Jews and Christians: But the Answer which most of them acquiesce in is this, that *Mesopotamia* (*Aram Nabaraim*, (as 'tis call'd in the foremention'd Place in *Genesis*, and in *Judg.* 3. 8.) *Syria fluviorum*, because situated between two Rivers, *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, and call'd by the Antient Latins *Mediamna*, which answers exactly to the Greek Word) is taken in *Genesis* and other Places in a large Sense, and comprehends *Chaldea*. So the Arabian Geographers also refer *Chaldea* to *Mesopotamia*, saith * *Ludovicus de Dieu*. And they might very well do so, for † *Pliny* comprehends all *Assyria* under *Mesopotamia*: and in another Place tells us, that the whole Country of *Mesopotamia* belonged to the *Assyrians*, and in general speaking was part of *Babylon*. And truly this is no unusual thing to take the Names of Places sometimes in a stricter, sometimes in a more lax Sense. Wherefore *Mesopotamia* in the general and large way of speaking (and 'tis likely in the Estimation of the *Hebrews*) took in some other Places which were not within the Rivers of *Euphrates* and *Tigris*. This is a true

* Not. in A. B. † *Mesopotamia tota Assyriorum fuit, &c. Nat. Hist. l. 6. c. 6.* ‡ *Reliqua pars Mesopotamiae Assyriaque Babylonia appellata est.* S. C.

Answer, and a very good one: But I rather think this to be the plainest Solution of the Difficulty, viz. that *Mesopotamia*, as distinct from *Chaldea*, was *Abraham's* native Soil, and that *Ur* was a City or Town in that Country, (thus * *Ammianus* reckons it there, and not in *Chaldea*) and that this very City was the Birth-place of *Abraham*: and yet this *Ur* is said to be of the *Chaldees*, because it was possessed by the *Chaldeans* at that time. Persons have thought it was a part of *Chaldea*, and properly belonged to it, because they read it to be of the *Chaldees*: but this is a Mistake, for the true Import of this Addition to the Word is only this, that this part of *Mesopotamia*, as well as the rest of it, was under the Jurisdiction and Power of the *Chaldeans*, and was inhabited by them: as *Hebron* is call'd the Land of the *Hebrews*, Gen. 40. 15. because the *Hebrews* dwelt there. Besides, I might add, that this Place was defiled with the Idolatry of the *Chaldeans*, and therefore for that reason also is call'd *Ur of the Chaldees*. And from what hath been said, we may have a right understanding of those Words in *Acts* 7. 2, &c. The God of Glory appeared unto our Father *Abraham*, when he was in *Mesopotamia*, and said unto him, Get thee out of thy Country: — then came he out of the Land of the *Chaldeans*. It is plain that *Mesopotamia* and the Land of the *Chaldeans* (in a large Sense) are the same, which is according to what we find in the Old Testament, and particularly in the Places before-mentioned: Yet *Mesopotamia* and *Chaldea* (strictly speaking) were not the same: but the former was under the Power of the *Chaldean* Kings, and for that reason was rightly call'd the Land of the *Chaldeans*.

Means. So that *Grotius* needed not to have gone about to reconcile this Text, by telling us, that *St. Luke's* Memory fail'd him as to the exact Designation of the Place: which is as much as to say, that this Inspired Writer was mistaken, and in a palpable Error; and that is as much as to say, he was not Inspired; and so he contradicts himself, as well as defames the Holy Writings.

Another *Geographical* Scruple arises from *Gen.* 37. 28. where we read that *Joseph* was sold to the *Ismaelites*; and in the very same Verse, and afterwards, (*ver.* 36.) we are told that he was sold to the *Midianites*. How could he be sold to both? Very well, for these are Names of the same People of *Arabia*, either the *Desart* or *Stony*, or both, for there is a Dispute about this. Or if there were some Difference between the *Ismaelites* and *Midianites*, (as 'tis not unlikely) yet they were near Neighbours, and so passed for the same People: thence the *Kings of the Ismaelites* are call'd *Kings of Midian*, *Judg.* 8. 24, 26. Thus in the Gospel the *Gadarens*, *Luke* 8. 37. and the *Gergasens*, *Mat.* 8. 28. are represented as the same People, because *Gadara* and *Gergesa* were neighbouring Towns, their Fields lay close together. Every one grants that the Inhabitants of *Arabia* had several Names according to the Places and Regions they were seated in: they are call'd *Kenites*, *Numb.* 24. 21. and frequently in other places *Modvites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, *Hagarens*, (as in *Psal.* 83. 6.) from *Hagar* *Sarah's* Maid-servant, the Mother of *Ismael*, (which Name they have long since chang'd into that of *Saracens*, choosing to be call'd rather by the Name of the Mistress than of the Maid.) And here they are stiled *Ismaelites* and *Midianites*, the former inhabiting in one part of that Country, and the

the latter in another. *Joseph* then may be truly said to be sold both to the *Ismaelites* and *Midianites*; because the Company of Merchants who bought him, consisted of both; it is probable: they were joint-Traders; and did traffick in common. Thus we see here is nothing inconsistent.

Some object against the *Geography* of Scripture, because *Zippora*, *Moses's* Wife, is call'd an *Ethiopian*, *Numb.* 12. 1. although she was of another Country, namely, the Land of *Midian* as appears from *Exod.* 2. 15, 16. In answer to which *Josephus* would persuade us that *Moses* had two Wives, one an *Ethiopian*, the other a *Midianites* or *Arabian*: But there is no Foundation at all for this, and therefore some other Answer is to be given. Some are of opinion that *Cush*, which is the Word used in the Book of *Numbers*, should not be translated an *Ethiopian*, but an *Arabian Woman*; for *Arabia* was call'd *Cush*, because the Seat of *Cush*, the eldest Son of *Ham*, was there, saith Sir *W. Raleigh*. Whence he concludes that *Moses's* Wife was not an *Ethiopian*, though a *Woman* of *Cush*, but an *Arabian*. And *Rochart* asserts the same, and on the same Ground, viz. because *Cush* was seated in *Arabia*, not in *Ethiopia*. But this Opinion hath found but little Reception among those who have further enquired into this Matter; and have found that sometimes the word *Cush* in the Old Testament must necessarily be understood of *Ethiopia*. Therefore it is more reasonable to adhere to those Authors who affirm that *Cush* is an ambiguous Word, and that not only *Arabia* but *Ethiopia* is expressed by that Name. Or rather, there is a double *Ethiopia*; one in *Africa*, beyond *Egypt*, under the Torrid Zone; the other in *Asia*, and particularly in some part of *Arabia*. And

that there are both these *Ethiopia's*, is testified by *Philostratus*, *Herodotus*, and *Pausanias*. This latter, viz. the *Asiatick Ethiopia*, is meant in the fore-named Place, where 'tis said, *Moses* married a *Cushite*, an *Ethiopian Woman*: She was not of the *African* but the *Asian Cush* or *Ethiopia*; and so it well agrees with the other Text, where we are told she was a *Midianite*. Nor is this to be wondered at, that *Cush* is thus differently taken; for it might be proved from several Examples, that one and the same Name is given to two or three Countries. Thus there is *Cæsarea* in *Palestine* and in the Lesser *Asia*: There is *Antioch* in *Syria*, in *Pisidia*, and in *Caria*: There is *Babylon* in *Chaldea* and *Egypt*: There is *Thebes* in *Beotia*, in *Egypt*, and in *Cilicia*: There is *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*, in *Cœlosyria*, and *Cilicia*: There is *Albania* in *Greece* and *Armenia*: And so in our neighbouring Countries there is *Zeland* in *Denmark* and in the *Netherlands*. And not only in *France*, but *England*, several Places have the same Name. But although this be very satisfactory, yet I am inclined to offer another Resolution of the Place, viz. that *Midian* was divided from *Ethiopia* only by the Red Sea, a short Passage, and by reason of this Nearness *Midian* is call'd in Scripture the Land of *Cush* or *Ethiopia*; and thence *Zippora* is call'd a *Cushite*; ΑΙΘΙΟΠΙΣΣΑ, according to the Seventy Interpreters, an *Ethiopian*. She is call'd so, I say, because the *Midianites* dwelt near to the *African Ethiopians*, and thence sometimes had their Name communicated to them. *Midian* being a neighbouring Country, was call'd *Ethiopia*; and those other Parts of *Asia* and *Africa* that lay about the Red Sea had the like Denomination; as at this Day, among *Cosmographers*, some Places that border on other Countries are some-

sometimes said to belong to them, and to be Parts of them, and are call'd by their Name. Thus *Tyre* and *Sidon* of old were reckon'd both in *Syria* and *Palestine*. And in our modern Geography some Places in the *Netherlands* and *Germany* are sometimes rank'd among those of *France*. Some Geographers place *Lorain* in *Germany*, others in *France*. The *Alpes* are divided among the *Germans*, *Italians*, *French*, and so are said to belong to all of them. *Piedmont* is reckon'd both in *France* and *Italy*. So it is in the present Case; the Vicinity of the Place to some other, causes the Name to be communicated to both. The *Midianites* and other People, because they bordered on *Ethiopia*, were call'd *Ethiopians*: hence *Cushan* or *Ethiopia*, and the *Land of Midian* are join'd together, *Hab.* 3. 7. Lastly, it is probable that *Cush*, the eldest Son of *Cham*, was seated not only in *Ethiopia*, but in those Parts of *Arabia* which were bordering upon it: and thence it comes to pass that a *Cushite* or a *Woman of Cush* is an *Arabian* as well as an *Ethiopian* properly so call'd.

She that is call'd a *Woman of Canaan*, *Mat.* 15. 22. is call'd a *Syrophœnician*, *Mark* 7. 26. which some imagine are inconsistent, and therefore they think the former Word should be *Cana*, which was a Town in *Phœnicia*, and was known by the Name of the *Greater Cana*, for there was a *Lesser* in the lower *Galilee*, where * *Christ* turn'd Water into Wine. But there is no Necessity of changing the Word, because *Canaan* and *Phœnicia* are but different Names for the same Region. Thus in *Gen.* 16. 35. the Land of *Canaan* is call'd *Moab* by the *LXX* and in *Exod.* 6. 15. a *Canaanite*

tish

* John 2. 1.

the Woman is a Canaanite. We must know then that the whole Country of *Palestine* is a part of *Syria*, and *Phenicia* is a part of *Palestine*; and *Syria-Phenicia* as well as *Phenicia* is the North Part of *Canaan*. But especially the People of this Country that lived on the Sea-coasts were call'd *Phoenicians*, and that in a peculiar manner, as is evident from *Sacrob.* *Pliny* and others. Yea, and those were properly and strictly of old call'd *Canaanites* that dwelt at *Tyre* and *Sidon*, and inhabited near the Sea. The *Canaanites* dwell by the Sea, *Numb.* 13. 29. and some quote *Ish.* 23. 8. where the *Tyrians* are call'd *Canaanims*. So this *Woman* who came out of the Coasts of *Tyre* and *Sidon* (as is expressly said *Gen.* 24.) is rightly stiled both a *Canaanite* by *St. Matthew*, and a *Phenician* or *Syria-Phenician* by *St. Mark*; for the word *Syrian* is added (as *Gratius* well notes) only to distinguish the *Asian Phoenicians* from those of some Colonies in *Africa*. Thus there is no Reason to find fault with the *Chorography* of the Bible.

Here, for the better clearing some Passages in the Holy Writings, and the removing some Clavils which ill-disposed Men are wont to raise, I will further remark that the *Chorography* of the Scriptures is sometimes different from that in *Profane Authors*. Several Places mention'd in Holy Writ have not the same Names which they are known by in other Writers, (of which the Learned * *Mr. Selden* hath taken notice) which may sometimes occasion Dispute about certain Places in Scripture. *Babylon* is call'd *Shinar*, *Gen.* 11. 2. *Egypt* hath the Name of *Ham*, *Psal.* 78. 51. & 105. 23. and *Rahab*, *Psal.* 87. 4. & 89. 10. Of old *On* and *Bethshemesh*

* *De Dis Syr. Proleg.* c. 1.

Pharaoh were the Names of that Place in Egypt, which since is call'd *Heliopolis*; Gen. 41. 45, 50. Jer. 43. 18. Some gather from Gen. 2. 13. that Nile was at first call'd *Gibon*. *Memphis* had the Title of *Noph*, Isa. 19. 13. Jer. 46. 14. The City of *Alexandria* (call'd so from *Alexander* the Great, who built it after it had been laid waste by the Chaldeans, and gave it that Name) was at first call'd *No*, Jer. 46. 25. Ezek. 30. 15. Nahum 3. 8. The antient Name of *Mesopotamia* was *Padan Aram*, Gen. 25. 20. ch. 28. 6. Before *Cyrus's* time the Country which is now call'd *Persia* was known by no other Titles than *Cuth* and *Elam*, Isa. 11. 11. ch. 22. 6. but afterwards it had that new Denomination from *Paras* a Horse, because the Persians were great Riders on Horse-back. *Canaan* and the *Holy Land* are Terms in Scripture for that known Country which is stiled *Syria* and *Judea* by the Greek and Roman Writers. *Jerusalem* was first call'd *Salem*; then *Jebus*, then by putting both together * *Jebusalem*; and afterwards, for better sound sake *Jerusalem*. I might proceed, and observe this Change of Names in other Regions of the World, yea in our own: Thus *Albion* was the antient Name of this Isle, then *Britain*, then *England*. This I mention to remind us that there is a great Alteration of Names as to several Places and Countries. Either by Conquest or otherwise it hath come to pass, that the former ones by which they were known are worn off, and new ones are come in their room. Whence it happens sometimes that we have no Help from Profane Historians to understand many Places mentioned in the Bible; and we are not able to know to what Countries

* Joseph. Antiqu. l. 1.

tries and Nations some of those Names refer which we meet with in these Antient Records.

This I will more largely insist upon in some few particular Instances: And first that in *1 Kings 10.* doth partly belong to this Place; there is mention of the *Queen of Sheba*, who is call'd the *Queen of the South* by our Saviour, *Mat. 12. 42.* but whether she came from *Arabia* or *Ethiopia*, both which Countries are South of *Judea*, is as much controverted, as whether *Moses's* Wife was an Arabian or an Ethiopian. Monsieur *Bochart* and some others say she was the former, for there was a *Saba* or *Seba* (as * *Strabo* informs us) in that Country. Some tell us it is the Metropolis of *Arabia Felix*, now call'd *Zibet*, whence the *Zivet-Cat* hath its Name. The Inhabitants of this Place were antiently call'd † *Sabat* by the Latins. But for my part I cannot think that this was the Country whence this Royal Visitant came, and that for this one good Reason, because our Saviour himself hath informed us that || *she came from the utmost Parts of the Earth*, which cannot be said of her if she came from *Arabia*, for that was near to *Judea*. (*) *Josephus* saith, he found the antient Name of *Meroe* in *Africa* to be *Saba*, and thence he affirms that she was an African, viz. the *Queen of Egypt* and *Ethiopia*: and others more particularly vouch her to belong to the upper *Ethiopia*, i. e. the Kingdom of the *Abys-sines* and 'tis certain (as a late Inquisitive ||| Writer hath informed us) that the *Abassyne* People challenge her for theirs. But now if we come to examine things, and to make some Proof of this latter Opinion, viz. that the *Queen* who took a

* Lib. 16. † Virgil. Georg. 1, & 2. || Ex τῆς μεγίστης τῆς γῆς, Mat. 12. 42. (•) Antiqu. l. 2. c. 5. ||| Ludolph. Hist. Ethiop.

long Journey to visit King Solomon, and behold his Glory, was an Ethiopian, we are not able to effect any thing, for we cannot trust to the *Jewish Historian*, who had little Skill in foreign Matters; and we cannot rely upon *Pliny's* * *Saba Aethiopica*, or gather any thing certainly thence. And a more Authentick Writer tells us, that there was not only a † *Sheba* but a *Seba*: so that that *Saba* might refer to this latter rather than to the former. We have then no sure footing, but all that we are able to say is this, that there was a Nation of this Name in some very distant part of the World in a Southerly Position from *Judea*: but we have no Geographer to acquaint us what particular Region it was, and what the Name of it is at this Day; and consequently we cannot determine the Place whence that Brave Woman came. What the aforesaid || *Jewish Historian* observ'd hath great Truth in it, that the Names of Nations have been chang'd by new Comers, who with new Manners brought a Language of a resembling Quality, and alter'd the former Names of Places.

This we find true in another Instance, viz. *Ophir*, the Place that King Solomon's Navy went to, and from whence they furnish'd him with Plenty of Gold, 1 *Kings* 9. 26, &c. ch. 10. 11. But in what part of the Earth this *Ophir* was is hotly disputed. Some say it was in that Region of it which we now call *America*. They think that the *Phœnicians* or *Tyrians*, (for 'tis said that *Hiram*, the King of *Tyre*, sent in the Navy his Servants, Shipmen, that had Knowledge of the Sea, with the Servants of Solomon, 1 *Kings* 9. 27.) they think, I say, that these *Tyrians* (who were famous for their Skill in Navigation)

* *Nat. Hist.* l. 6. c. 29. † *Psal.* 72. 10. || *Antiqu.* l. 1. c. 6.

gation) sail'd to those remote Parts in *Solomon's* time, passing through the *Mediterranean* to this *Ophir*: which some imagine to have been in the *Pacifick Sea* in the Southern Part of *America*, for there is an Island in that Sea, which the Spaniards call'd the *Ile of Solomon*, because they thought that was the Place which *Solomon's* Ships were sent to for Gold. * *Arias Montanus*, and some others, are perswaded that *Ophir* is the same with *Peru*: and indeed there are the same Radical Letters in both, only with a Metathesis. And from *Peru* is the dual *Parvajim*, 2 *Chron.* 3. 6. as the foresaid Author thinks; which is a very Ingenious and Learned Conjecture, but is entertained but by few, because 'tis thought that *Columbus* was the first that found out the *Western World*. But whether that be true or no, it is not probable that they had Skill enough in *Solomon's* Days to conduct a Navy to the *West-Indies*. Navigation was not so perfect at that time, that they could find a safe Passage thither. *Hercules's Pillars* (which are now the *Cape of Good Hope*) were said to be the Limits of their Maritime Travels. Before the Use of the *Compass* it was impossible to navigate cross the Ocean; and consequently *Solomon's* Mariners could not find *Peru*, which is in *America*. Besides, some think that the Quality of some of the Commodities, viz. *Wood* and *Ivory*, which were brought home in the Ships, argues that they came not from that *Western Quarter* of the World. Again, 'tis added by some, that if *Solomon* had sent for Gold to the *West-Indies*, he would have set out his Fleet for that Voyage from some Port of the *Mediterranean*, and not of the *Red Sea*, as we read he did, 1 *Kings* 9. 26.

Others

Others therefore say it was a Country in the *East-Indies*: *Ophir* was so call'd from *Ophir* the Son of *Jotham*, Gen. 10. 29. who, as * *Josephus* saith, inhabited in the East. Wherefore it is likely (saith this Jewish Antiquary) that *Solomon's* Fleet sail'd to these Parts, and particularly to the *Golden Oserfomist*, and other Golden Regions there. It is an Island in the *East-Indies*, saith † *Bochart*, which is named *Zilan*. But others of late are inclined to believe that it is that Island or Islands in this Eastern Part of the World, which are call'd the *Moluccas*; but the Reasons which they alledg have no Cogency in them. || *Kircher* is more general, and avers, that *Ophir* was *India*; for this is not, he saith, an *Hebrew* (as hath been thought) but an *Egyptick* or *Coptick* Word, and among the *Egyptians* of old was the Name for *India*: But we have only his Word for this, and no more. Others hold it to be neither in the *East* nor *West-Indies*, but in *Africk*, which seems to me to be the most probable Perswasion. *Ortelius* and *Purchas* are of this Opinion, and they say it is an Island in the *Ethiopian* Sea, and is at this day call'd *Sopala*: But they might as well have assign'd any other Place and Name in this Country, if they had pleas'd, for here is no firm Ground to go upon; we have no Chard to direct us. *Ophir* is a Name not known to any Geographers: no Pagan Writers make mention of it. This happens because several Places have chang'd their Names, they are not the same now that they were heretofore. And how is it possible then that we should arrive to a certain Knowledge of them? And what though we do not? There is no reason why we should be troubled at it, much

* Antiqu. l. 8. c. 2. † In Phaleg. || China illustrata.

much less that we should be displeased with the Bible. Yea, rather we may make use of this to commend the Holy Writings, for this is an undeniable Argument of the unparallel'd Antiquity of them, (as hath been suggested before) and of their Transcendent Worth and Excellency, in that they record those Names of Places as well as Things which other Writers say nothing at all of.

To these Instances I will add one more, the Mountains of Ararat, Gen. 8. 4. on which the Ark rested. They are not mentioned under this Name by any Heathen Authors; and thence it is difficult to give an Account of them, i. e. to know where they were, and consequently where the Ark landed. The Hills of Armenia the Greater, call'd the Gordicau Hills, are meant, say Josephus, St. Jerom, Bochart, Grotius: and before these Berosus held the same. But there is another Opinion maintain'd by Goropius Becanus, Sir W. Raleigh, and Dr. Heylin, viz. that the Ark rested on Mount Taurus, but especially on the Top of Mount Caucasus (which is a Part of it) in the Confines of Tartaria, Persia, and India; which they think they prove from Gen. 11. 2. where we read that they who enter'd into the Valley of Shinar came from the East, i. e. from those Parts of Asia, on the South of Caucasus, which lie East from Shinar. And this is thought to be a sufficient Confutation of the former Opinion, for it is impossible they should come from the Mountains of Armenia, the Gordicau Mountains, because those lie not only full North of Shinar, but many Degrees unto the West. This Caucasus was part of the Mountain Taurus, the biggest Mountain in the World; or rather (as hath been said in another Place before) a continual Ridg of Mountains crossing all Asia from East to West, and di-

viding it as the Equator doth the Globe, into North and South. So that in short, *Ararat*, which according to these Authors is the Scripture-word for *Taurus*, is no more One Mountain than any one Hill among those that divide *Italy* from *France* is call'd the *Alpes*, or any one of those that part *France* from *Spain* is the *Pyrenæan*. But as these, being Continuations of many Hills, keep one Name in divers Countries, so all that long Ledge of Mountains (which *Pliny* calls by one Name *Taurus*) are of one general Name, and are call'd the Mountains of *Ararat*. These are the two different Opinions of the Learned about this Matter; but it is my Perswasion that a Man may easily compromise them: For, according to that Description which *Sir W. Raleigh* gives us of this great Multiplicity of Hills, the *Gordiean* ones may be taken in among those that make up *Taurus*, for this Learned Knight himself acknowledgeth that these Mountains (which go through so many diverse Countries and Kingdoms) seem to take their Rise from *Armonia*, or thereabouts. So that it is probable the *Gordiean* Hills, and those of *Taurus*, are to be reckon'd together. Thus we may moderate between these Dissenting Writers: but when all is done, it is impossible to define exactly what Mountains are meant by those of *Ararat*. This only is unquestionable that they were in the *East*; but as to their particular Situation, and whether they answer to the *Gordiean* Hills, or to *Caucasus*, we are wholly ignorant. And there is no Remedy for it, because *Ararat* is not a Name that we can find in any other Authors; and we are not certain that any other Denominations in Pagan Writers refer to it. Thus it must needs be, seeing the old Names of several Places are extinct, and others are introduced: so

that on that Account we can't expect to know some of those Places that are mention'd in Scripture. Nor is it necessary that we should, for it is a Matter of small Moment, and not worth the contending about.

Some dream of a great Geographical Difficulty in the word *Tarshish*, so often used in the Old Testament; but there is no reason for it, because it plainly refers to a known Place, and such as is expressly mention'd by *Lucan* and other Writers, besides those of the Bible, and that is *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*. The Sea which washed the Shores of this *Cilicia*, had its Name from this Metropolis of it, viz. *Tarsus*, and was usually called *Tarshish*. This is the first and more restrained Acceptation of the Word in the Old Testament, where we read that *Solomon had a Navy of Tarshish*, 1 *Kings* 10. 22. i. e. a Navy that frequented the *Mediterranean* or *African Sea*, especially that part of it which was near *Cilicia*, and was so noted for its Merchandizing. Thus when 'tis said that *Solomon's Ships went to Tarshish*, 2 *Chron.* 9. 21. * *Josephus* interprets it that they went to the *Mediterranean Sea*, where they traffick'd, and for the Goods they exported brought Gold and Silver, &c. But we are to observe that it is said there, *the King's Ships went to Tarshish with the Servants of Hiram*, i. e. as I conceive, they went to those Ports which the *Tyrian Navy* (with whom they were to go to *Ophir*) resorted to, and those were in the *Mediterranean*. And that the Ships of *Tarshish* belong properly to *Tyre*, is manifest from *Isa.* 23. 17. otherwise [Tyre], *no Ship of Tarshish* could not be part of the *Burden or Doom* of that Place, as we find it is so *Isa.* 23. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

the Kings of Tarshish, *Psal.* 72. 10. are those Kings properly that were seated upon the Mediterranean, especially that Part which was over against *Tarsus*, or *Cilicia*, which it washed. Secondly, the word is taken more largely for the Sea in general; for the African or Mediterranean Sea being the only Noted Sea to the Hebrews, they call'd all other Seas, and the Ocean it self, *Tarsis*, as the Latins call any Sea *Pontus*, though that word be proper only to one particular Sea. Thus *Tarshish* is used in *Psal.* 48. 7. *thou breakest the Ships of Tarshish*, (i. e. of the Sea) *with an East Wind*; and in *Isa.* 2. 12, 16. *The Day of the Lord of Hosts shall be upon all the Ships of Tarshish*, *θαλάσσης*, according to the Seventy. And in several other Places it hath this large Signification; but not in *Jon.* 1. 3. (as is said by many Interpreters) for *Tarshish* here is the City call'd *Tarsus*, a noted Place in *Cilicia*. Though *Tarshish* be a common Word in Scripture to signify the Sea, (as hath been said) yet here we must take it in the most restrained Sense of all, we must understand by it the Town of that Name; and from whence the Sea, but more particularly the Phœnician and Tyrian Sea, had the Denomination of *Tarshish*. The Reason which I give of this Interpretation is this, because in that Place of *Jonah*, *Tarshish* and the Sea are expressly distinguish'd, and that not once but often, as you may satisfy your selves by perusing *ver.* 3. and the rest that follow in that Chapter, where you will see that *Hajam* the Sea, is mentioned nine or ten times in distinction from *Tarshish*: whence I gather that this latter Word is not to be translated the Sea, but that it denotes that known City *Tarsus* of *Cilicia*. To this Place the Timorous Prophet had a mind to flee, because it was sufficiently remote, and also because there

was a safe Harbour to put into. There need not then be any Dispute about the word *Tarshish*, for where-ever it is used in Scripture (except in this Place last mentioned) it signifies either the Sea in general, or more especially the Phœnician or African Sea, which the Tyrian Merchants were most used to : but it hath its Name from *Tarsus* or *Tarsus*, near to which was the most famous Port of all the East Country, from whence they took Ship for *Africa* and *India*, and the most remote Parts of the World.

To close up all the *Geographical* Scruples, I will only adjoin this concerning the mentioning of *East* and *West* in the Old Testament, that these are generally to be understood according to the Situation of *Judea*, more especially *Jerusalem*, and as the Places spoken of had respect to these; but in the Prophecy of *Ezekiel* it is for the most part otherwise, because *Ezekiel* writ in *Babylon*; and thence it is that *East* and *West* are contrary here to what they are in other Prophets. This I thought fit to add to prevent Cavils against the Sacred Writ.

I might in the next place take notice of the different Meanings which arise from the Relation which certain Words in some Texts have to the neighbouring Verses. Thus it is said, the Poor shall never cease out of the Land, Deut. 15. 11. yet it is implied, if not expressed, ver. 4. that there shall be no Poor among them. But the Answer is, that this 4th Verse refers to the releasing and forgiving their Debtors, ver. 2, 3. They must not by their exacting make their Neighbours poor; yea, they must do what lies in their power, that there may be no Poor: but as to the Event, there will be Poor, and always shall be.

Their

Their Strength is to sit still, saith the Prophet, Isa. 30. 7. which [*their*] if you refer to the Egyptians who are named in that Verse, then the Sense is, Their Strength, their Aid, their Assistance is to no purpose; they had as good sit still as help the Jews. But if you refer *their* to the Jews, then the Interpretation is this, The Jews had best to sit still in their own Land, and not to require Aid from Egypt, for it shall not prosper. This is the true Sense of the Words, because their *Proper Reference* is to the Jewish People; which we are sure of, because these are the subject Matter of this Part of the Chapter. The right fixing of the *Relation* of the Words, especially of the Pronoun *their*, leads us to the true meaning of the Place. And this is put out of all Controversy by ver. 15. *In Returning and Rest ye shall be saved; in Quietness and Confidence shall be your Strength*: which is a plain Comment on the former Words, and shews that we have pitch'd upon the true Reference.

I interpret those Words in Heb. 12. 24. *The Blood of Sprinkling, which speaks better things than that of Abel*, by observing what they particularly refer to, viz. ver. 4. of the foregoing Chapter, *By it he being dead yet speaketh*. I conceive that this *Speaking* is referr'd to by the Apostle in the other Place; and so by searching into the true Meaning of λαλῶντι, *he speaks*, we shall be able to arrive to the true Sense of the other. This Word hath been variously interpreted; for Grotius seems to think it is meant, that he (i. e. Abel) *speaks in the Book of Genesis*, which speaks of him. But this is very dilute, because the Apostle mentions not here what Book speaks of Abel, but by what he himself speaks, viz. his Faith. Others say his Faith and Righteousness *speaks*, i. e. call to us to imitate and practise.

them: but this might have been said of any of the other Worthies mentioned in this Chapter, and therefore is not peculiar to *Abel* alone. Others take the word in a Passive Sense, and expound it, *he is yet spoken of*, his eminent Faith and Innocency are to this Day (as in several Generations before) spoken of, celebrated, praised, remembred with Honour. But this (as well as the former) is common to all the other Holy Patriarchs and Worthy Saints named in this Chapter, and therefore this doth not reach that particular and proper Meaning of the Place. Much less doth that odd Exposition of *Sir N. Knatchbull*, who reads it thus, *For it (i. e. his Faith) he is yet said to be dead*; for he will have *ἔναι* to be inserted after *ἀποθανών*, and then the meaning is, As *Abel* suffered at first for his Faith, so he is still to this Day said to have died for his Faith. But besides the needless inserting of *ἔναι*, and thereby making very bald Greek, he joins in Construction *δι' αὐτῆς* with *ἀποθανών*, whereas according to the usual way of *Trajection* (which he so often takes notice of in other Places, though he overlooks it here) it belongs to *λαλεῖται*, and so the Words are to run thus, *By it he, though he be dead, yet speaks*; that is, because of his Faith and Holiness he yet speaks aloud, or cries unto God for Vengeance against his Brother *Cain*, who inhumanly murder'd him; for he barbarously and maliciously took away his Life, because he was a faithful and righteous Person. Thus I interpret the Words, because I discern that the Apostle alludes to *Gen. 4. 10. The Voice of thy Brother's Blood crieth unto me from the Ground.* Wherefore when he saith, *Abel yet speaketh*, it is as much as if he had said, *his Blood speaketh or crieth.* It spake long ago, and it yet speaks, like the Souls under the Altar,

tar, Rev. 6. 10. *How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our Blood?* Now by this Text I expound that other in Heb. 12. 24. *The Blood of Sprinkling that speaketh better things than Abel*, for so it is in the Greek. The Apostle having said before, [*Abel yet speaks*] i. e. the Voice of his Blood speaketh or crieth to Heaven for Vengeance; he here with particular reference to that Passage assures us, that *Christ's Blood speaks better things than Abel*, or than the Blood of *Abel*, which was shed by his Brother: for whereas that spoke and cried for Punishment, this pleads for Mercy and Pardon: Christ's Oblation of himself on the Cross, by the Effusion of his Blood, *speaks better things*, doth more atone and appease the Wrath of God than the Blood of *Abel* (who was spitefully murder'd) did incense and provoke it. Thus this is a good way of interpreting Scripture sometimes, by comparing one Text with another, and observing their mutual Relation. Many obscure and less intelligible Passages are clear'd by this Means.

I will content myself with mentioning one Place more, viz. Mat. 24. 34. *This Generation shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled*: Which remarkable Words of our Saviour may seem to have been mistaken by those Interpreters that I have met with, and merely because they have not minded the Reference of the Words. Some have taken this *Generation* for the Generation then in being in our Saviour's time; and so they apprehend him to speak of something that was soon after to be accomplish'd, not unlike some of St. John's Visions which

** were to come to pass in a short time; and consequently that those Signs of his Coming, which he had*
mentioned to the Disciples of Christ
should be fulfilled in a short time
 Rev. 1. 1.

foretold in that Chapter, were to be every Day expected; and if they were meant of his General and Final Coming, then that the Overthrow of Jerusalem, and of the World, should be about the same time. And that *some* of the Signs mentioned by Christ are to be understood properly and peculiarly of the Jewish Nation, seems to be clear from that one Passage in ver. 20. *Pray that your Flight be not on the Sabbath-day*; which intimates that the Jewish People were particularly concern'd, who solemnly observed that Day. By *this Generation* then they understand the present Generation of the Jews which was at that time: and to confirm this, they observe that *this Generation* is applied by Christ to the Jews of that Age, *Mark 8. 12.* The Meaning then of [*this Generation shall not pass, &c.*] according to this Acceptation of the Word, is this, that whilst the Jews then living were upon the Earth, those things which our Saviour had foretold in that Chapter, yea all those things should be fulfill'd. This were a very good Interpretation of the Words, if the thing it self could be proved, that is, that within so short a time all those Predictions of Christ were accomplish'd. But the contrary is very evident, for the Chapter speaks of the Day of Judgment as well as of the Devastation of Jerusalem: wherefore all the things that our Lord spoke of were not fulfill'd within the Compass of *that Generation*, and consequently that Period of Time could not be meant when it is said, *This Generation shall, &c.* Secondly, therefore others who are sensible of the Invalidity of this Interpretation, understand *this Generation* in a wider and larger Sense, and think that by it is meant the Evangelical Dispensation, the whole Series of Time from our Saviour's Days to the End of the World, the

Final

final Upshot of all things. And this is a good Exposition of the Text, and salves the Sense very well; only there is no Proof that *γενεα* signifies the last Age of the World. This Period of Time is call'd by * St. John, *the last time*; by † St. Peter, *the End of all things*; and by || St. Paul, *the Ends of the World*; but I do not find that it is any where stiled *this Generation*; therefore I do not see any good Ground to apply it here in that manner, as some Expositors have done: Wherefore I will offer another Interpretation, which I hope will not be unacceptable to the Learned; though I confess I do not expect it should be presently received, because it is wholly new and unheard of. But let Impartial Minds judg of it, who will not suffer the mere Novelty of an Exposition to hinder their embracing of it. *γενεα* is as much as *γενεας*, the Generation of the Heaven and Earth, the Whole Creation of the World, this vast Mundane Fabrick: So St. James uses the word *γενεας*, *ch. 3. 6.* making it the same with *αιωνας* in *Rom. 8. 19, 22.* And even among Profane Authors *γενεα* hath sometimes the like Acception, and is rendred *Seculum*, the *World*. *This shall not pass*, i. e. be destroyed, *till all these things be fulfilled*: as if our Saviour had said, The World shall continue as it hath hitherto done, till all these things which I have foretold, but especially these concerning my Last Coming, be accomplished; but immediately after the fulfilling of them, this Generation of the Heavens and Earth, this Frame of the World shall be set on Fire, shall be consumed. And that *γενεα* hath this Signification here, i. e. that it imports this System of Heaven and Earth, I gather from the Reference of this Verse

* 1 John 2. 18. † 1 Pet. 4. 7. || 1 Cor. 10. 11.

Verse to the immediately ensuing one, *Heaven and Earth shall pass away, but my Words shall not pass away*: where you see $\gamma\epsilon\nu\alpha$ is explained by δ $\sigma\epsilon\alpha\text{-}\nu\delta\varsigma$ $\kappa\epsilon$ η $\gamma\omega$; *This Generation of Heaven and Earth shall pass away, but my Words* (my Predictions concerning future things, which you have just now heard from my Mouth) *shall not pass away*. Which is as much as if he had said, This great Structure of the World shall perish at last, Heaven and Earth shall be destroyed by a general Conflagration; but new Heavens and a new Earth shall arise in their room, which shall be a Building not made with Hands, not of perishing Materials, but such as shall last eternally. And of this Nature is my *Word* and *Promise*, such are all my *Predictions*, and particularly this of the Signs of my Coming, it shall never be null'd and abolish'd. The applying of the words *shall pass to the Heavens and Earth* immediately after, shews that Christ means by *this Generation* the whole World, expressed by *Heaven and Earth*. You see then how fitly 'tis said here, *Heaven and Earth shall pass away*, it referring to *this Generation's passing away*, viz. at the End of the World, the final Close of all things, when there shall be *new Heavens and a new Earth*, as * St. Peter informs us. Our Saviour here signifies the *Time* when the things he spoke of last (ver. 24, 25.) shall be accomplished. When *this Generation*, this present Creation of things shall be dissolved, then and not before *all these things shall be fulfilled*: Then shall be verified all those things which were said concerning the Dissolution of the World; yea, all the things mentioned in this Chapter: For we must know, that even the Predictions concerning the Destruction of

Jeru-

* 2 Epist. ch. 3. v. 13.

Jerusalem, shall be most signally fulfilled in the final Dissolution of Heaven and Earth, because that was designed to be a Type and Representation of this. And as for the word *this*, which is join'd with *Generation*, if any cavil at it, I can prove out of * abundance of Texts, that it is sometimes of the same Import with *the*: and so you might read it *the Generation*, viz. of the Heavens and Earth. But here, as I conceive, it is an Emphatical Word, and refers to the things spoken of before, viz. *the Sun, Moon, Stars, Earth and Sea*, ver. 29. of this Chapter: and *Luke 21. 26.* which further confirms the Acception of this Word which I propound, viz. that it is meant of *the Works of the Creation*. Or perhaps our Saviour did cast his Eyes about, and intently beheld the Heavens and the Earth, and then pronounced these Words, *This Generation*, this Fabrick of the World which I now behold, and all the Works in it, shall not be dissolv'd till that very time, when these my Predictions shall be verified. The fulfilling of my Words, and the Period of all things, shall happen at the same time. And lastly, I will not conceal my Conjecture that these Words of Christ refer to what he had said in his Excellent Sermon on the Mount; and if so, then this Interpretation which I have offered, will be thereby exceedingly confirmed. His Words there are these, *Verily I say unto you, till Heaven and Earth pass, one jot or one Tittle shall in no wise pass from the Law, till all be fulfilled, Mat. 5. 18.* And his Words here run thus, *Verily I say unto you, this Generation shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled:*

Flea-

* Mat. 26. 13. this Gospel: Acts 5. 20. this Life: and other Places. So that, Mat. 7. 22. 1 John 3. 12: and these, 1 Cor. 12. 2. 2 Tim. 1. 12. are prefixed, where there is no reference to any thing going before.

Heaven and Earth shall pass away, but my Words shall not pass away. By comparing which Texts it plainly appears, that there is the same Air and Aspect in them, the same Stile and Mode of Expression are used, so that we are hereby invited to expound one by the other. First, they begin with the same solemn Preface, *Verily I say unto you.* Secondly, the Verb *παρερχεσθαι* is used in both Places in the very same Signification, (for as *Grotius* observes on *Mat.* 5. 18. *παρερχεσθαι* is as much as *interire, perire*; and so it is here, it signifies *to be destroyed, to perish, to be annul'd*). Thirdly, that considerable Passage, *ὡς ἂν πάντα γένηται*, *till all be fulfilled*, is in both Places, and refers to the very same things, *viz. the Law, or Words, or Predictions of our Saviour, what he had said, or what had been said of him.* And, Fourthly, the Works of the Creation, the Fabrick and System of the World, are spoken of in both Places, though under different Expressions; for in the former they are stiled *Heaven and Earth*, in the latter *the Generation*. But that they are of the same Import, and express to us the same thing, is clear from this, that *παρερχεσθαι* is exactly applied to both: for though we make some little Difference in our English Translation, rendring the Greek Word by *passing* in one Verse, and *passing away* in the other, yet the Verb it self is the same in the Original, and accordingly should (if we would be accurate) be rendred alike in both Verses. Whence it appears that the *Generations passing*, and the *Heavens and Earth passing*, are Synonymous, which is the thing I aim'd at, and which puts a Key into our Hand to open these Words, *viz. that this Generation in ver. 34. is the same with Heaven and Earth in ver. 35. and that their passing is the very same.* If it be said that *this Generation*, in
some

some other Place, is applied to *that present Age* and People of the Jews, and therefore it must be so understood here; the Consequence must be denied, and that with very good Reason, for (besides what hath been said already) in several Places we find that the same Words and Expressions are not used and applied after the same manner, and to the same purpose. He is a Stranger to the Bible, and particularly the New Testament, who knows not this. And therefore from the Identity of Words we cannot necessarily infer that the same thing is intended. But we are to examine the Ambiguity of Expressions, and to apply them as we see occasion. This we must do here, and if we have Respect to the Context, (as we ought to have) we shall apply *this Generation* after the aforesaid manner. And indeed the Connection of these two Verses was that which led me first to this Interpretation, for the mention of *Heaven and Earth passing*, in this latter Verse, suggested to my Thoughts, that it had some Cog-
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nation with the like Expressions in the foregoing Verse; which, upon farther Examination, I found to be so indeed. Christ proceeds in *ver. 35.* to speak of *Heaven and Earth passing*, because he had in *ver. 34.* been speaking of the same thing; which gives us Assurance of what I propounded, that *this Generation's passing*, and *Heaven and Earth's passing*, are exegetical of each other. This is the Exposition which I give of this Place, and I submit it to the Censure of the Considerate and Judicious. This I only say, that as 'tis a fair Construction, and contains nothing inconsistent in it, so I deem it to be the best Solution whereby we can cleverly avoid the Quarrels of Expositors about the Words, especially about the Meaning of *ἡ γενεὰ αὐτῆς*, which (as several other Places of Scripture) is misunder-
•
stood,

stood, because the due *Reference* of the Words is not attended to.

CH A P. XIII.

Chronological Difficulties fully reconciled, as Gen. 15. 13. Thy Seed shall be a Stranger in a Land that is not theirs, and shall serve them, and they shall afflict them four hundred Years. Nay, thirty Years are added to this reckoning in Exod. 12. 40. whereas 'tis confess'd by all, that the Israelites Bondage in Egypt did not last above two hundred and fifteen Years. It is said, Acts 13. 20. After that he gave them Judges about the Space of four hundred and fifty Years, until Samuel the Prophet: Yet, according to the usual Computation, there were but three hundred and thirty nine Years from the first Judg till Samuel, God gave unto them Saul by the Space of forty Years, Acts 13. 21. yet no Man thinks that he reigned so long. This salves many Chronological Difficulties, that the Kings of Israel often made their Sons Kings, in their own Reign. Other Doubts in Chronology are cleared by Interregnums, by omitting the Years of Bad Kings, and of the Years of Oppression, Captivity, and Anarchy. The Difficulties in our Saviour's Genealogy in Mat. 1. & Luke 3. resolved, viz. how it can be said, Ozias begat Joatham, A Scruple about the three Tesseradecads, Another about Jechonias's begetting Salathiel. How Cainan came to be inserted, How either of the Genealogies in St. Mark or St. Luke can be said to be Christ's, when they both give an Account of Joseph's Pedigree. How one may be said to be Joseph's, and the other Mary's Genealogy. How Joseph can be the Son of Jacob

Jacob and of Heli. Several Occasions (besides what have been mention'd before) of the Difficulties in Scripture, viz. it was writ by Different Persons: It refers to Antient Practices now almost unknown or forgot, (where the Author's Conjecture about the *μεμνησθαι* in 2 Tim. 4. 13. is propounded). The Hebrew Text especially hath some things proper to it self, which render it obscure in some Places. It is the way of the Hebrews to express things briefly, concisely, abruptly. Their peculiar Idiom admits not of an exact Translation. Order and Time are not always observed. The Abstrusity of Scripture in some Places is an Argument of its Worth and Excellency.

I Will now, according to my propounded Method, speak of those Difficulties which arise from the Duration of Time wherein such and such things were done, or came to pass. The first Chronological Doubt which I shall mention is that in Gen. 15. 13. Thy Seed shall be a Stranger in a Land that is not theirs, and shall serve them, and they shall afflict them four hundred Years. So long the Israelites were to serve the Egyptians, and be afflicted by them: Which is confirmed in ver. 16. In the fourth Generation they shall come hither again, that is, after four hundred Years (mentioned before) the Israelites shall be delivered from their Slavery in Egypt, and shall return to Canaan. But it is well known and confess'd by all Men, that the Israelites were not in Egypt so long a time, and consequently did not serve them, nor were afflicted by them so many years. It is generally acknowledged that their Bondage in Egypt did not last above two hundred and 13 Years at most. And so the *Jewish Historian him-

himself computes it. Here then seems to be a great Mistake as to *Time*: But really there is none, but those rather who think the forementioned Words are spoken wholly of the Time of the Israelites Servitude in *Egypt* are mistaken, which we shall the better apprehend if we take notice of the Text as it is quoted by St. Stephen in *Acts* 7. 6. *God spake in this wise that his Seed should sojourn in a strange Land, and that they should bring them into Bondage, and intreat them evilly four hundred Years.* The four hundred Years, as you may observe, refer not only to the latter but the former part of the Verse, viz. to the *sojourning in a strange Land*, which may be applied to *Canaan* as well as *Egypt*: so that this Term of four hundred Years includes all the Time from *Abraham's* leaving his own Country till the Departure out of *Egypt*. In all this space of Time *Abraham's* Seed were *Sojourners* and *Pilgrims*, were *evilly intreated*, and suffer'd *Bondage* and *Persecution*. But the Difficulty is renewed by what we meet with in *Exod.* 12. 40. *The sojourning of the Children of Israel, who dwelt in Egypt (the last eminent Place of their sojourning) was four hundred and thirty Years.* Here are thirty Years added to the former Reckoning: how shall we reconcile this? Very well, for this latter Account is precise and exact, but the former was not, which is no unusual thing in Holy Scripture, as well as in other Good Writers. The Years are not always precisely set down, the odd and lesser Numbers are omitted, and the great round Number only is mentioned. Thus in the forenamed Places the round Number of four hundred is put for four hundred and thirty, which latter is the whole time of the sojourning both of *Abraham* and his Seed in *Canaan*, and afterwards of their Posterity in *Egypt*. This

Exact

Exact Number is mention'd by the Apostle, whose Words will give us farther Light into this Computation; *The Covenant*, saith he, *that was confirmed before of God in Christ, the Law (which was four hundred and thirty Years after.) cannot disannul.* It is certain that *the Covenant* he here speaks of, is that Covenant which God made with *Abraham*, (as the preceding Verses shew) and *the Law* is that Body of Moral Precepts and Prohibitions which was given on Mount *Sinai*, in the very Year of the Israelites coming out of *Egypt*. Hence we plainly discover the beginning and ending of the four hundred and thirty Years: they began when *Abraham* left his own Country, (for then God entred into Covenant with him) and they ended when the Israelites left *Egypt*, and thereupon received the Law from *Moses* on the Mount. Though it be true then that the Israelites Servitude in *Egypt* was not above two hundred and odd Years, yet the full time of their whole Peregrination was four hundred and thirty; which is to be reckon'd from the Calling of *Abraham*, and his coming out of *Ur*, until the Israelites leaving of *Egypt* under the Conduct of *Moses*. This is the full and exact Account, and the other before-mentioned fell short of it, because the odd Numbers were omitted, as is frequent among the best Writers. And indeed a great many Difficulties in Chronology are answered by this, that a Great or Round Number is oftentimes used in Scripture for an Odd or Imperfect one, though it be more Exact. Thus it is threatned and foretold in *Numb. 14. 33.* that the Murmuring Israelites should wander in the Wilderness *forty Years*: yet if you compare *Numb. 33. 3.* with *Josh. 4. 19.* you will see that some Days, if not Weeks, were wanting to make up the Number: But because *forty Years* was a round and com-

pleat Number ; and because in so many Years a few Days were inconsiderable, therefore *Moses* delivers it in this manner. The like you may observe in *Judg.* 11. 26. where you read that the Israelites dwelt in the Land of the Amorites *three hundred Years* ; whereas from the first time that the Israelites began to enter upon the Land of *Canaan* (when *Joshua* was made their Leader) to *Jephthah's* Reign, there were not above two hundred threescore and seven Years. But because the other was a Round Number, and because ~~this~~ ^{it} was nearer to three hundred than to two hundred, it is thus express'd. And other Instances of this sort might be produced, (which I now wave) wherein the lesser and more imperfect Numbers are omitted ; especially in very Great Sums the small Number is neglected, and comes not under any Account.

There is another difficult Passage in Chronology, and that respects the time of the Judges, *Acts* 13. 20. *After that he gave them Judges about the space of four hundred and fifty Years, until Samuel the Prophet* : yet, according to the usual Computation, it is generally said, that there were but three hundred and thirty nine Years from *Othniel* the first Judg, till the beginning of *Samuel's* Government, who was the last : So that hence it appears there are above a hundred Years too much in that Account. *Beza* and some others lay the Fault on the *Amanensis*, telling us, that *τετρακοσις* is written instead of *τριακοσις*, four hundred for three hundred. But this Expedient for taking away the Difficulty is not to be approved of, and I have given the Reason of it before. Some think to help it by insisting on the Particle *as* in the Words, which signifies *about*, or *as it were*, and so implies a Latitude in the Chronology. It is true, this shews that the time is not pun-

punctually determined here : but then any Man may see that the vast Difference between four hundred and fifty, and three hundred thirty nine Years, is not decided by this. *Grotius* on this Place tells us, that the four hundred and fifty Years began from the going out of *Egypt*, and ended at the time when *David* expell'd the Jebusites out of *Sion* ; for so long it was before the Jews were settled in that Seat which God designed for them. But this doth not in the least clear the Doubt, for *St. Stephen's* Words are, *After that, i. e. after the seven Nations were destroyed, and the Land was divided by Lot to the Israelites*, as you read in the foregoing Verse. Μετὰ ταῦτα, *after these things he gave them Judges about the space of, &c.* Therefore the Calculation cannot commence from the going out of *Egypt*.

* Others, though of very great Learning, are yet more extravagant, for they refer these Words to those in *ver. 17.* of this Chapter, *The God of this People of Israel chose our Fathers* ; which was about the Birth of *Isaac*, in whose Family the Covenant was to rest. And they proceed to compute thus ; from *Isaac's* Birth to that of *Jacob* sixty Years ; from thence to their going into *Egypt* one hundred and thirty Years ; from thence to their coming out two hundred and ten ; from thence to their Entrance into the Land of *Canaan* forty ; and from thence to the Division of the Land, and settling the Government by Judges, seven Years : in all four hundred and forty seven. But besides that this falls short three Years of the intended Number, *viz.* four hundred and fifty, this also is to be said, that it is nothing to the purpose, for the Text we are treating of speaks of the *Time of the*
D d 2 *Judges* ;

* *Usher, Knatchbull.*

Judges; but these Interpreters run back as far as *Isaac's Birth*, which was above four hundred Years before there were any *Judges*.

In the next Place therefore, This and only this can reconcile the Difference, *viz.* that the Apostle follows the Ordinary and Vulgar Accompt in use among the Jewish People, who made the Number of Years from the coming out of *Egypt* till the building of the Temple to be about an hundred and twelve more than is express'd in *1 Kings 6. 1.* as appears from *Josephus*, who makes the Distance between the one and the other to be five hundred and ninety two Years; the which Enlarging of the Accompt arose from their computing the Years of the Oppressions of *Israel* between the times of the *Judges*, as distinct from the Years which are allowed to each particular *Judg.* The Apostle, who intended not Accuracy in Chronology, but spoke as the Vulgar, follows this Computation; and by putting the Sum of both these together, *viz.* the Years under the *Judges* and under the Oppressors, he makes up the just Number of four hundred and fifty Years; particularly thus, he joins with the three hundred and thirty nine Years of the thirteen *Judges*, one hundred and eleven Years in which the *Israelites* were in Trouble and Servitude under several Enemies; which Years are numbred in the History by themselves, *Judg. 3. 8. & 3. 14. & 4. 3. & 6. 1. & 10. 8. & 13. 1.* Now these being added to, or included in three hundred and thirty nine Years of the *Judges*, make up exactly four hundred and fifty Years.

As to the forty Years Reign of *Saul*, which is mentioned by the Apostle in the next Verse, *Acts 13. 21. God gave unto them Saul by the space of forty Years,* it may seem very hard to reconcile it with

1 Sam. 13. 1. where *Saul's* Reign seems to be terminated within *three Years*; some think *within two Years*. I answer, that Place is misunderstood, *Saul reigned one Year, and when he had reigned two Years over Israel, he chose him three thousand Men, &c.* Here is not assigned the full Term of Years in which *Saul* reigned; but all that is meant is this, that at that time when the *Thunder in Harvest* happened, (of which you read in the preceding Chapter, v. 18. and to which the beginning of this Chapter refers) *Saul* had been King one Year, namely, since his first anointing by *Samuel*, to his second anointing; and that when he had reign'd another Year, or two Years more, he chose him those three thousand Men to be his Guard. This is all that can be gather'd from those Words, and therefore none can infer thence that *Saul* reigned but three Years in all. But still the greatest part of the Difficulty remains; for though *Saul* reigned more than three Years, yet it is impossible he should have reigned *forty*, which is the Space of time that the Apostle here assigneth him: for if he was King so long, it would certainly follow that there were almost five hundred Years from the Departure out of *Egypt* to the building of *Solomon's Temple*: neither could *Saul* be a *young Man* when he was elected King (as we read he was:) nay, it would follow that *David* was not born at that time when he is said to have vanquish'd *Goliath*: and other such Consequences might be drawn thence. How then did *Saul* reign *forty Years*? I answer, this may truly be said, because with *Saul's* Government *Samuel's* also is computed in this Place of the Apostle. How this *forty Years* is to be divided betwixt them is not agreed. * *Josephus* comes pretty near to the space

Dd 3. of

* Antiq. Jud. l. 6. c. 15.

of Time mentioned here, asserting that *Saul* reigned eighteen Years with *Samuel*, and twenty Years afterwards. An * Ingenious Man of late hath so adjusted the time, that he concludes *Saul* to have reigned ten Years of this forty, and he allows the remaining thirty for the Government of *Samuel*. Others make up the forty Years between them in another manner. But all is Conjecture, and we know nothing certainly here. This only we may rest in as a very great Probability, that the times both of *Samuel* and *Saul*'s Government are joined together in these forty Years. *Samuel* was Judge of *Israel*, and being set over them by God, was their rightful Governour. They had no Authority to depose him, and to choose a King in his room, and therefore *Samuel* might be look'd upon as their True and Lawful Governour as long as he lived. Yet this time of his Rule is made here a part of *Saul*'s Reign, because he was forced at last to anoint him King, and because he suffered his own Government to be swallowed of his. Hence it is that the forty Years assigned to him by *St. Paul* do include *Samuel*'s Judicature, that is, *Samuel* and *Saul* reigned forty Years together.

This also will salve many Chronological Differences, that the Kings of *Israel* did often make their Sons Kings in their own Reign, to settle them in the Kingdom before their Death; and so the time of the Reign is sometimes set down as it respects the Father only, sometimes as it respects the Son, and sometimes as it includes both. *Jehoram* is said to have reigned eight Years in *Jerusalem*, *2 Kings* 8. 17. but by Collection out of the Text it is clear that either seven of those eight Years, or at

at least four, are to be reckoned in the Life of his Father *Jehosaphat* ; for *Jehoram* reign'd as Vice-roy in his Father's time, or he reigned with his Father, and so his Father's Years and his are reckoned too. But when, upon the Death of his Father, he came to reign alone, then 'tis said, *Jehoram his Son reigned in his stead*, 2 Chron. 21. 1. So *Jotham* reigned sixteen Years, 2 Kings 15. 33. yet mention was made before of his twentieth Year, ver. 30. which we reconcile thus, *Jotham* reigned alone sixteen Years only, but with his Father *Uzziah* (who was a *Lep*er, and therefore unfit for the sole Government) four Years before, which makes twenty. Thus we take away that seeming Repugnancy between 2 Kings 24. 8. *Jehoiachin was eighteen Years old when he began to reign*, and 2 Chron. 36. 9. *He was eight Years old when he began to reign* : that is, he was eight Years old when he began to reign with his Father, but he was eighteen when he began to reign by himself. It was common both with the Kings of *Judah* and *Israel* to take their Sons into Partnership with them in the Throne. This is the way of resolving other Places of the like Nature in the Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*. Sometimes the Sons are made Kings with their Fathers, and the Years of their Joint Reign are put together : At other times they are spoken of as ruling separately ; and hence it comes to pass that the Years vary. We are concern'd then to take notice that in the foresaid Books the Reigns of some Kings are mentioned twice ; first as they were Contemporarry and Sharers with some others ; and then as they ruled alone.

We may sometimes solve the Doubts about the different Account which is given us of the Duration of some Kings Reigus by *Interregnums* or Vacancy

cancy of Kingly Government for few or more Years, which was not unusual. Thus of King *Abaziah*, who succeeded *Jehoram* in the Throne, it is recorded (2 Kings 8. 26.) that *he was two and twenty Years old when he began to reign*: but in 2 Chron. 22. 2. it is said, *he was forty and two Years old when he began to reign*. If this latter Account be true, then besides that it is a contradicting of the former, it will follow hence that the Son was two Years older than the Father; for of *Jehoram*, who was his Father, it is said in 2 Chron. 21. 20. *Thirty and two Years old was he when he began to reign, and he reign'd in Jerusalem eight Years*: whence it appears that he was forty Years old when he died: but of his Son who succeeded him in the Throne it is said, *He was two and forty Years old when he began to reign*, 2 Chron. 22. 1. This is thought to be so great a Difficulty, that *Malvenda* and others cry out, it is not to be solved. But why, I pray? Because, say they, according to this Relation the Father died at forty; and the Son, who immediately succeeded him, was above forty: so then *Jehoram* begat his Son two Years before himself was born; which to assert, is as ridiculous as the thing is impossible. But those who talk after this manner make Difficulties, and then complain there is no possibility of answering them. They affirm that *Abaziah* immediately succeeded *Jehoram*; whereas they find not this asserted in the History. There might be an Interruption of the Royal Government, *Abaziah* might be kept from the actual Possession of the Throne a long time. So then it is truly said, *He was two and twenty Years old when he began to reign*, if you reckon from his Father's Death, for then a King's Heir is said to begin his Reign. But if you compute from the time when he

he was peaceably settled in the Kingdom, he was two and forty Years old when he began to reign: for by that time he got securely to the Throne, twenty Years were expired: and after this he reigned but one Year, as we read in the same Place. Thus (besides that it might have been said, that *Abaziah* reigned with his Father twenty two Years) the Difficulty is answer'd by supposing an *Interregnum* for several Years, which was very frequent in those Days: and there is Reason sometimes to grant this *Vacancy* to have been, although it be not expressly mention'd in the Place; for many things of this kind are omitted in the Sacred History, and are left to be inferr'd from the Reasonableness of the thing it self, and from the Circumstances which attend it.

Again, there are those who avoid some Scruples in *Chronology*, by holding that the Years of Bad Kings are sometimes omitted, as if they had not reigned at all. So some have interpreted that Place, *1 Sam. 13. 1.* which speaks of the two Years Reign of *Saul*; not but that he reign'd many more, which are not there reckon'd, because of his evil Government. Thus *Solomon*, they say, reigned many more Years than are set down, for the time of his sinful and idolatrous Reign is suppressed. Lastly, it hath been observed (in order to the taking away those Doubts which arise about the different Assignment of Time in the Old Testament) that the Scripture gives us the Computation of the Times of the Jewish Republick or Kingdom, but altogether omits the Spaces of *Servitude*, *Oppression*, *Captivity*, and *Anarchy*, excepting only the time of the Egyptian Bondage, which is reckoned by *Moses*. The Author of *Seder Olam*, and Other Jewish Writers, and the Learned Brough-

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ton *, from them give an Account of some Chronological Disputes by adhering to this Expedient. With whom agrees † Dr. *Lightfoot*, who hath admirably performed this Task, adding several things of his own Observation, whereby the Differences in Chronology are fully reconciled. The Result then of what we have said is this, that if in some Places of Scripture the Years seem not to be rightly set down, we may recur to the foregoing Resolutions, and satisfy our selves with them, but not condemn the Text as corrupted and falsified; nay, as if it had had Mistakes and Errors in it at the first. This latter is Mr. *Hobbs's* way, but we may plainly see that he makes it his Business to expose the Scripture, and to represent it as a Book fraught with many Inconsistencies and Falsities. If he had dealt thus with *Virgil* or some other Writer of that strain, if he had impeach'd that Poet's Chronology in making *Aeneas* and *Dido* contemporary, it had been tolerable, yea laudable, for some are of Opinion that *Dido* was not in being till above a hundred and fifty Years after *Aeneas's* Death. It was high Poetical Fiction to make that Queen fall in love with the fugitive Trojan so long a time after he was dead. But in the Sacred Writings there is nothing that looks like such Defect in Synchronism: both Time and Place are truly assigned, though sometimes by reason of the things before mentioned we cannot presently discover the Truth of it, and make it appear how it is.

Lastly, I conclude all with those *Genealogical Difficulties* in *Mat. 1.* and *Luke 3.* I begin with our Saviour's *Genealogy*, as 'tis drawn up in the first
Chap-

* *Consent of Scripture.* † *The Chronicle of the Times of the Old Testament.*

Chapter of St. *Matthew*. Here some Heretick Christians of old, (as the *Ebionites* and *Manichees*) here some of the Notablest Pagans (as *Celsus*, *Julian*, and *Porphyrius*) found Matter of Cavil; and some of late have thought that here are such Knots as are impossible to be dissolved. As first, the Genealogy runs thus in *ver. 9. Ozias begat Joatham*; whereas 'tis clear from *1 Chron. 3. 11, 12.* that *Joash*, *Amaziah*, and *Azariah*, were between *Ozias* and *Joatham*. The Answer is, that this Genealogist reckons sometimes *per saltum*: when he saith such a Person *begat* another, it is not always meant of Father and Son properly, but he is said to *beget* another from whom that Person or others proceed at a distance. An immediate Generation (such as the Father's is in respect of his Son) is not to be understood in this Place, nor indeed in some others in this Genealogy, where you cannot but observe that sundry Persons are wholly omitted. It is evident therefore that the Design of St. *Matthew* was not to be strict and accurate in this Pedigree, and to give us a compleat Enumeration of Persons, but only to present us with a general and loose Draught of Christ's Descent. And this should teach us not to be over-curious in scanning the Parts of this *Genealogy*; for if the Evangelist was not Critical and Exact in composing it, why should we shew our selves so in examining it?

Again, 'tis objected that the Genealogy is said to be divided into *three Fourteens*, and yet in one of them there are only thirteen Persons to be found. This is solved by some *Manuscripts*, which insert *Jachim* into *ver. 11.* thus, *Jolias begat Jachim*, and *Jachim begat Jechoniah*: and others interpose *Abner* in *ver. 13.* as thus, *Eliakim begat Abner*, and *Abner begat Azor*. But there is no need of flying

to Other Copies in this case ; for the plain Resolution of the Difficulty is this, that in *ver. 11, 12.* under one Name, *viz. Jechonias*, two Persons, *viz. the Father and the Son* are understood : for that *Jechonias*, mention'd in *ver. 11.* had two Names, and was called *Jehoiakim* (as you read in *1 Chron. 3. 15, 16.*) who was the Father of that *Jechonias* mention'd in *ver. 12.* The first *Jechonias* was the Son of *Josias*, the second was the Father of *Salathiel*, and the Son of the former *Jechonias*. Now if the former *Jechonias*, the Father of the latter, be numbred in the second *Tesseradecad* ; and if the latter *Jechonias*, the Father of *Salathiel*, be inserted into the third *Tesseradecad* ; or, which is the same thing, if the Father be meant in *ver. 11.* and the Son in *ver. 12.* the Difficulty vanisheth ; for here are *thrice fourteen Generations*, according to this way which I have propounded. And the way is obvious and easy, and cannot seem strange to any Person who observes the manner of the Lineages in this Genealogy, which are not set down with Accuracy, but something is left to be supplied by us in the several Branches of it, and particularly in this which I last mention'd. But it is further Objected, how could *Jechonias* beget *Salathiel*, (*v. 12.*) when 'tis said concerning him, *Write ye this Man childless*, *Jer. 22. 30* ? If *Jechonias* was childless, *Salathiel* could not be his Son. But I answer, 1st. [*Childless*] may import no other than this, that he should be *bare, solitary, desolate, distressed*, as the *Greek* renders it, and as the next Words may be thought to explain it [*a Man that shall not prosper in his Days*]. Or, 2^{dly}. the meaning is, that *Jechonias's* Children should be cut off, and not one of them succeed him in the Throne, as is said likewise in the following Words, [*No Man of his Seed shall*

shall prosper, sitting upon the Throne of David, and ruling any more in Judah. This is here to be childless: and so though Jechoniah had a Son, viz. Salathiel, yet this Son was not his Successor in the Kingdom.

Then, as to the *Genealogy* of Christ from Joseph upwards, which we have in *Luke* 3. it is Objected, that *Cainan* is inserted between *Arphaxad* and *Sala*, ver. 36. but is not so in *Gen.* 11. 12. where these Generations are first recorded. I answer, *Cainan* is omitted by *Moses* for Brevity sake, and *Arphaxad* is said to beget *Salah*, that is, not immediately, but *Cainan* intervening. But what was left out in the Hebrew Text the *Septuagint* supplied, who in their Greek Version expressly mention *Cainan*: and St. *Luke* following this Version put *Cainan* into the *Genealogy*. And it was better to do so than to alter it according to the Hebrew Original, because the *LXX's* Version was in great Repute: and if he had alter'd it, it would have given Offence to the Weak. Besides, this might be by Tradition among the Jews, (as St. *Paul's* *Jannes* and *Jambres*, 2 Tim. 3. 8.) and that gave farther Occasion to him of inserting it, though it was not in the Hebrew.

But how can either of these *Genealogies* (in St. *Matthew* and St. *Luke*) be said to be *Christ's*, when they both give an Account only of the Lineage of *Joseph*? To satisfy this Scruple we must know that the Virgin *Mary's* *Genealogy* is included in that of *Joseph*, and consequently *Christ's* Descent is here set down because he sprang from the Virgin *Mary*. *Joseph* being a Good Man, and an Observer of the Law, would not marry one that was not of his Tribe or Family; so that *Mary's* *Genealogy* is in a manner his, because she was of the same Family and Stock with him: which is partly intimated in the

Close

Close of that Genealogy which is in *St. Matthew*, ver. 16. *Jacob begat Joseph the Husband of Mary*; giving us to understand that *Mary* and *Joseph* were of the same Family and Descent, viz. of the Stock and Lineage of *David*; for according to the Mo-
saick Law and Custom one Tribe and Generation did not mix with another, but they were to match together: wherefore in giving the Pedigree of one, that of the other also is given at the same time. Hence Christ is call'd *the Son of David*, *Mat. 1. 1.* and in other Places; not that he was so in respect of an Earthly Father, for he had none, but by reason of his Mother, who was of the House of *David*. So then the Genealogy of *Joseph* and *Mary* is to be reckon'd as the same, and that is the reason why one of them only, viz. *Joseph*, is distinctly mentioned.

And yet you may observe a very Great Difference in the Genealogies of *St. Matthew* and *St. Luke*; and one may be said to be *Joseph's*, and the other *Mary's* Genealogy; that is, those Persons from whom more immediately *Joseph* descended, are mention'd by the former Evangelist, and those from whom more directly *Mary* descended, are mention'd by the latter. *St. Matthew's* Genealogy gives *Joseph's* Pedigree from the House of *Solomon*, and *St. Luke's* gives the Blessed Virgin *Mary's* from the House of *Nathan*. The one, saith *St. * Hilary*, sets down the Royal Stock of Christ by *Solomon*; the other shews his Priestly Lineage by *Nathan*. *Grotius* speaks more consistently, telling us, that *St. Matthew* takes notice of the Right Succession in his Genealogy, but *St. Luke* hath regard to the Right of Consanguinity. The short is, we have Christ's

* Comment. in S. Matth.

Christ's Genealogy, not only as it respects his Reputed Father, but his Own Mother. *Matthew* being a Jew, doth, according to the Legal way, deduce the Line of *Joseph*, the supposed Father of Jesus. *Luke* being a Gentile, follows the Law of Nature, and writeth *Mary's* Descent, from whom (being his Mother) Christ really came. And yet after all this, and much more which hath plausibly and probably been said by Writers on this Subject, we are certain of this, that both St. *Matthew* and St. *Luke's* Genealogy derive Christ's Line from *Joseph*. We find that both of them terminate expressly in Him. *Jacob begat Joseph*, saith St. *Matthew*, ver. 16. and so ends the Descent. St. *Luke*, who reckons another way, yet makes the lineal Descent of Christ from *Joseph*, *Jesus being (as was supposed) the Son of Joseph*, *Luke* 3. 23. This we must assert, and we can't do otherwise, because the thing is so plain before us, that he that runs may read it in express terms. Moreover, this was according to the constant Custom of the Jews, who always deduced the Pedigree from the Father: and we know that *Joseph* was our Saviour's reputed Father. But then you will say, if both the Genealogies belong to *Joseph*, what is the reason that they differ so much? Whence is it that the same Names and Persons are not mentioned in one that are in the other, if they be the same Genealogy? This Query hath been warmly pursued, and divers Answers have been return'd to it. But the true one is this, that where there were so many Names and Persons, the Evangelists might pitch on whom they pleased. It being their Design only to draw up a Pedigree in a desultory way, and not to mention all from whom our Saviour descended, it was in their choice to take who they thought fit, either
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Persons nearer or further off; they might insist on this or the other Stock as they saw convenient. It is no wonder then that the Names and Number of the Persons in the two Genealogies vary, for St. Matthew and St. Luke proceed in a different way, and derive the Pedigree from distinct Stocks. This is the true reason why there is so great a Difference in the two Genealogies; why the Persons whence the Lineage is drawn, are not the same in both the Evangelists. Yet it evidently appears from both ways of framing the lineal Descent, that our Lord sprang from the *House of David*, which was the main thing designed and aimed at in these Genealogies. Now, this is effectually done by propounding of *Joseph's Descent*: for seeing none Genealogies were reckon'd among the Jews by the Woman's side; and seeing the Pedigrees of Women were not wont to be recorded among them, (no more than their *Age*; whence the only Woman whose Years of her whole Life are recorded in Scripture is *Sarah*, Gen. 23. 1.) it is manifest that when *Joseph's* Lineage is set down, that also of his Wife, and consequently of her Son, is set down also: Which is grounded on what I said before, viz. that the Jews generally married within their Tribes, that the Inheritances might be preserved in the same Tribe they were in, and not be translated to another. The Injunction was plain and positive, *Numb. 36. 6. To the Family of the Tribe of their Father shall they marry*: and though afterwards a special Reason is given, viz. because the Inheritance should not be alienated, yet the Injunction was General, and concern'd both Rich and Poor; and though there be some Examples of a contrary Practice in the Sacred History, yet we cannot thence argue that the Law was not General. Yea, the

the Jewish Masters tell us, that the Woman, after the Contract of Marriage, though she was before by her Family of another Tribe and Lineage, different from her Husband, yet by virtue of that Contract she was adopted into the same Tribe with him to whom she was espoused, and so was ever after legally reckon'd to be of that Tribe: and the Progeny which afterwards was born of this Woman, was accounted to be of the same Tribe. Thus it is plain that when *Joseph's Lineage* is described by the Evangelists, that also of the Blessed Virgin *Mary*, and of our Lord himself is determined. We have reason then to assert this Proposition, that the Pedigrees mentioned by St. *Matthew* and St. *Luke*, are both of them properly the Genealogies of *Joseph*: Which I find most Writers on this Theme are loth to acknowledg; yea, they tell us positively, that one is *Joseph's*, and the other is the Virgin's Genealogy. But if we will make use of our Eyes, and behold and read the Pedigrees themselves as they are delivered by the Evangelists, we must be forced to confess that *Joseph* is in the beginning of the Genealogy in St. *Luke*, and in the end of that other in St. *Matthew*; only in this the one differs from the other, that the former reckons *Joseph's* Lineage upward, and the latter downward. But this is common to them both, that in the Line of Progenitors which they set down, they skip over many Persons; and when this or the other Person was the Son of such an one, 'tis sometimes meant, that at a great Distance he was his Son, or rather his Kinsman, as the Hebrews use the word Son. If we take but this one thing along with us in our perusing of these Pedigrees, it will help us to go through most of the Difficulties we meet with in them: and this you will find

made use of to this purpose by those that have travell'd with great Industry in this Point, and have undertaken to solve the hard Passages in either of the Genealogies.

If it be Objected in the last Place, How can *Joseph* be the Son of *Jacob* in one Genealogy, *Mat.* i. 16. and the Son of *Heli* in the other, *Luke* 3. 23. it is answer'd by some, that because *Joseph* married *Mary*, *Heli's* Daughter, therefore he is call'd his Son, *i. e.* his Son by Marriage of his Daughter. Others say, *Heli* and *Jacob* were Brethren, and the former dying without Children, the latter married his Widow, as the Law in that case required: so that *Jacob* was the Natural Father of *Joseph*, and *Heli* was his Father-in-law. This is the Sentiment of several of the * Antients and † Moderns, and we have no Argument to confute it. This was a Tradition among the Jews themselves, as you may see in *Grotius* on *Luke* 3. Or if this be not satisfactory, we may quash the Difficulty by what I have formerly propounded, *viz.* that 'tis usual among the Jews to have two Names. It may be *Jacob* and *Heli* are Names of the same Person; and *St. Matthew* makes use of one, and *St. Luke* of the other. To conclude, though we were not able to reconcile some Passages in the foresaid Genealogies, yet we have no reason to take occasion thence to question the Truth and Consistency of them, for 'tis ridiculous to think that *St. Matthew* would expose this Genealogy, and in the very Entrance of his Gospel, unless he knew it was true, and as to the main unexceptionable. And the very same we may say of *St. Luke*, who without doubt would not

* *Jul. African. Greg. Nazianz. Augustin. Jerom. Eusebius, Ambrose.* † *Baronius, Jansenius, &c.*

not have offer'd to publick View a Pedigree where-
in the Chiefest of that Nation were concern'd, if
he had not been assured that it was impossible to
confute it. And suppose we are not able to give
an Account of some part of it, yet let that of *Gro-
tius* be thought of, *viz.* that the Jews had a way of
drawing up Genealogies, which is as to some things
unknown to us: they reckoned the Generations in
a manner that was different from what is now in
use.

So much touching the *Difficulties* of the Stile of
Holy Scripture, and the *Occasions* of them. No
intelligent Person could expect but that it should
contain in it some things hard to be understood,
if he ever weigh'd the Particulars before specified
in this Discourse, and if he consider moreover,
that,

1. The Scriptures are a *Collection of Different
Writers*, some of which leave out those Passages
which others put in, and upon that account there
seems sometimes to be a Discrepancy among them,
and one is thought to assert that which another
seems to deny.

2. We are ignorant of many Particulars re-
lating to the *Names* of things, to *Rites*, *Opini-
ons*, *Customs*, *Proverbs*, and peculiar Circum-
stances of those Times of which the Holy Wri-
tings speak: and this is another Reason why seve-
ral things in them are obscure and unintelligible.
We read of the *Synagogue of the Libertines*, Acts 6.
p. but whether it was so call'd because 'twas built
by *Jews* that were made free of Rome, or from a
Man or *Men* of that Name, or from a Country
and People of that Denomination, or whether *Li-
bertine* be corruptly for *Labratheni*, (because as

* *Fr. Junius* observes, *Labratha* was the old Word for a *Synagogue* or *School*) no Man can tell: For we must needs be ignorant of the true occasion of Words and Things, if there be no particular Record concerning them. How were it possible to understand the Psalmist's Complaint, *Psal.* 119. 83. *I am become like a Bottle in the Smoke*, if we had not read that Antiently the Eastern People used to hang up the Skins, of which Bottles were made, in the Smoke, to dry and harden them? Besides, if they were long hung up in the Fire or Smoke, they were subject to be parched and shriveled. I am dried up and wither'd like such a *Bottle*, saith he. We could not reach the Sense of those other Words of his, *The Rod of the Wicked shall not rest on the Lot of the Righteous*, *Psal.* 125. 3. which is an Allusion to the dividing of the Lands among the Jews, if we did not know that the *Rod* or *Staff* was used in *Sortition*, the assigning of Land or Ground by *Lot*. Again, let not the Reader be surprized when I add, that it may be when *St. Paul* orders the *μαρσέλαι*, to be brought to him from *Troas*, *2 Tim.* 4. 13. he means the *Skins* which he was to make use of in his Trade of Tent-making: For he was brought up to a Trade, (as was usual in those Days, and in those Eastern Countries) and particularly to this, as we read in *Acts* 18. 3. And therefore when at other times he acquaints us that he labour'd with his Hands, it is not to be question'd that he means his working in this Calling in which he was skill'd, and was bred up to. And this questionless was a considerable Employment, and sufficiently gainful, because there was great use of
Tents

* *Academ.* cap. 2.

Tents and *Booths* in those open and hot Countries: and they were much bought up by those whose Employment was in the Fields, especially they were useful for Souldiers. Now the great Materials which were used in this Occupation, were *Skins* or *Hides* of Beasts dress'd. Accordingly we read that the Covering of the *Tabernacle* of *Testimony* was made of *Skins*, *Exod.* 35. 23. Yea, *Skins* are simply and absolutely put for *Tents* or *Tabernacles* in these following Places and others, 2 *Sam.* 7. 2. 1 *Chron.* 17. 1. *Cant.* 1. 5. *Hab.* 3. 7. *Jer.* 10. 20. *Serignab* is constantly rendred *Pellis* by the *Latin Interpreter*, because the *Tents* were made of *Skins*. And that *Tents* and *Pavilions* were made of these, we may sufficiently inform our selves from *Pagan History*. This we learn from *Q. Curtius*, who tells us, that * such kind of Membranous *Tents* were used in *Alexander* the Great's Camp. And † *Arrianus* is very positive in this Matter. These *Tents* of *Skins* or *Hides* were not only among the *Greeks* but *Romans*, and both || *Livy* and (*) *Florus* pretend to assign the Date of them. (†) *Cæsar* mentions this sort of *Tents*, and (||) *Valerius Maximus* tells us, that those Souldiers who behaved themselves amiss, had this as part of their Punishment, *ne tentorium ex pellibus haberent*, they were not suffer'd to lie in these *Tents* in the Field. Hence in *Tully* we shall find, that ||| *sub pellibus esse*, is to be safely entrenched, and lie secure in their *Tents*. It is probable that *St. Paul* sent to *Timothy* to bring or convey to him these *Skins* wherewith he made his

Ee 3 *Tents,*

* *Scepe pellibus tabernaculi allevatis, ut conspiceres hostium ignes.* *Hist. lib.* 7. † *Tentoria militum erant ex pellibus, &c.* *De gest. Alex. M.* l. 1. || *Decad.* 1. lib. 5. (*) *Lib.* 1. cap. 12. (†) *De Bello Gall.* l. 3. c. 4. (||) *Lib.* 8. cap. 2. ||| 4 *Acad.*

Tents, and at that time especially when he was in Bonds at Rome, (the time of his writing this Epistle) and had no other way to gain a Livelihood, than by exercising himself in his Calling. Wherefore he writes to his beloved Timothy, to send him not only his Cloak and his Books, but *μαδίλα*, chiefly, especially his *μεμβρα*, his Skins for Tent-making, which he most of all wanted at that time: for he was unwilling to be burdensom, and to rely wholly on the Charity of the Christian Brethren. These were some choice Skins which he had left behind him at Troas, when he wrought in this his Trade there. And if it be objected that Troas was a great way off, the Answer is, that they might as easily be brought to him as the Books he writ for, if these were of any considerable Number and Bigness. And this Notion is yet more probable, if you consider that St. Paul was in way of Contempt call'd by the Pagans *σκυτολόμῃ* and *Coriarius*, because he cut out Hides and Skins in order to the making of Tents. Yea, some of the Christian Writers give him the foresaid Titles, thereby to magnify the Grace of God towards him. He is often stiled *σκυτολόμῃ* by * Theodoret; and so he is by † Chrysostom. *Coriarius Cilix* is the Epithet given by || Jerom. This makes it not improbable that the fore-mention'd Text hath reference to the Practice of those times, the making of Tents, or the covering of Booths and Pavilions with Skins. These, it is likely, are the *μεμβρα* St. Paul speaks of. As he sends for his Cloak to defend himself from the Cold, so he sends for the Skins (which he left behind him) to make

* Therapeut. † Hom. 5. in 2 Tim. || Comments in Epist. ad Ephes.

make Tents to shelter and keep others warm. For though it is granted that one Signification of *Membrana* is *Parchment*, of which I had occasion to speak before; yet it also signifies the *Uppermost Skin or Hide* of any Creature, as appears from that of * *Lucretius*;

Membranas mittunt vituli de corpore summo.

And it hath its Denomination from *Membrum*, saith † *Priscian*, because it covers the Limbs and other external Parts. Nay, you must note that this is the *first* and *most proper* Signification of the word *Membrana* in *Tully*, *Pliny*, and other Authors: whereas afterwards in a *secondary* Sense it came to signify *Parchment*. These things may render my Interpretation of this Place not improbable. However, I presumed to offer the Criticism on the Word, and let the Learned entertain it as they please. But this is not to be question'd, that the not attending to the Usages and Practices of old in the Countries to which some things spoken of in Scripture belong, is one Reason why we miss of the right Sense of some Places.

3. The Hebrew Text (which is the greater part of the Bible) hath some things proper to it self, which render it perplex'd and obscure in some Places, for in Hebrew there are no *Moods* in the Verbs but the *Indicative* and *Infinitive*: no *Tenses* but the *Past* and *Future*, *Participles* being made use of to express the Present Time, which oftentimes renders the Meaning obscure and intricate. Instead of an *Interrogative* Point the Hebrews make

Ee 4 use

* Lib. 4. † Voss. Etymolog.

use of their Interrogative *He*; otherwise there are no *Notes* or *Marks* of Interrogation, which is another Cause (as might be shew'd) of misunderstanding the Text sometimes. There are frequent *Parenteses* in the Hebrew Bible, and if they be not diligently observed, they mar the Sense, as to instance but in one Place at present, *Isa. 9. 3, &c.* The 3^d, 4th and 5th Verses are a *Parentesis*; you must join the 6th Verse to the 2^d, and then you will see how the word *for* in the 6th Verse comes in, not otherwise. But there are no *Adarks* or *Characters* whereby we may know when there is such a *Parentesis*, which cannot but trouble the Sense very much, and confound the Meaning of the Place, unless it be with extraordinary Care taken notice of. And I might add, that the *Pauses* and *Periods* in the Hebrew Copies are not so distinct as might be wished. The greater ought our Care and Diligence to be in perusing and studying this Holy Book.

4. It is the way of the *Hebrews* (and indeed of all the *Eastern Writers*) to express things in a brief and concise manner, which renders the Place sometimes dark and confused. In the *second Psalm* several Persons are introduced speaking, but it is not in the least intimated that there is this Change of Persons, but all is express'd in a short and promiscuous way. The whole Psalm is a *Dialogue*, wherein the *Church* speaks, *ver. 1, 2.* then the *Enemies* of the Church, *v. 3.* the *Church* again, *v. 4, 5.* then *God*, *ver. 6.* then *Christ* the Son of God, *ver. 7, 8, 9.* And lastly the Psalmist ends with his own Exhortation. All which Parts, if we do not take notice of, (though they are not distinguish'd for Brevity sake) the true Import and Scope of the

the Psalm are lost. It is common to recite Words which are said by Persons, and yet to bring them in abruptly, and not to signify that they are said or spoken by them. As in *Psal.* 22. 8. *He trusted in the Lord, i. e. they said so:* but this is not here express'd. Thus in *Isa.* 33. 14. *Who among us, &c. i. e. the Sinners in Zion,* mentioned in that Verse, said those Words. In *v.* 18. *where is the Scribe?* &c. to make the Sense perfect you must insert, *thou shalt say.* So in *Isa.* 49. 24. these Words [*say the Enemies*] must be inserted. In *Jer.* 6. 4. these or such like Words are left out [*the Enemy shall say*]. The like is observable in *Jer.* 22. 28. *ch.* 31. 20. In *Hos.* 5. 15. the word [*saying*] is necessarily implied, for the first Verse of the next Chapter contains the Words which were to be said. Sometimes this is supplied by the Translation, though it be not in the Hebrew, as in *2 Sam.* 2. *Isa.* 64. 11. But in *Obadiab*, ver. 1. before *Arise ye* the word *saying* is to be supposed. In *1 Cor.* 15. 45. *but* is left out: otherwise you can't understand the Apostle. And many other Words are omitted in the Old and New Testament, and ought to be supplied by the diligent Reader, who on that account is obliged to be very Attentive when he reads these Sacred Writings, for their short and contracted way of speaking makes them the less intelligible; whereas when Matters are amplified by Words, they become more clear and plain.

5. There is in the Hebrew Language a certain Peculiar Idiom or Force of Signification, which when it comes to be translated into another Tongue, is wholly lost; at least a great part of its Vigour and Elegancy is taken away; and at the same time it is not so well understood, because it is

a Strange Idiom, and no ways agreeable to our manner of expressing our selves.

6. *Order and Time* are not always observ'd in these Holy Writings, which too often begets Mistakes. Upon these several Accounts, and others, there must needs be some *Obscurity and Difficulty* in the Stile of Holy Writ. But you may observe that this happens, through the All-wise Providence of God, in those Places where the Great and Momentous things of Religion are not concern'd, where the Grand Truths of the Law and the Gospel are not in the least endanger'd. And when in other Parts of the Bible we meet with Hard and Dark Passages, we ought to be so far from blaming and disparaging this Divine Book, because of these, that we should rather reckon them an Ornament to it. The Dubiousness of Scripture in some things is part of its Excellency. It is a great Commendation of this Sacred Volume, that it is not destitute of Abstrusities and Difficulties; that we are not wholly tied up and confined in our Interpretation of it; that there is a Freedom of Disquisition allowed us; that in several Places every Man is at his Liberty to imbrace what Sense he pleaseth of the Words, so it be according to the Analogy of Faith, and the Tenour of the other Parts of this Inspired Book. This gives us an opportunity of exciting our Care, of exerting our Industry, of improving our Knowledge, of enlarging our Faculties by continual Researches and Examinations. Thus the Obscurity of some Parts of Scripture is of great and excellent Use. But then where-ever the Indispensible and Necessary Points of Faith and Manners are treated of in these Writings, their Stile is
suffi-

sufficiently clear and plain, and the Matter which is express'd by it is easy to be understood. In brief, the Scripture is plain where it should be so. But if in some other Places there be Controversy and Perplexity, if some Texts seem to oppose and clash with one another, let us remember this, that the Scriptures were inspired by the Holy Ghost, and therefore there can be no real Oppositions or Repugnancies in them, because Truth cannot contradict it self. By impartial Study and Enquiry let us dive into the Meaning of these Antient Writings, and by the Helps which I have tendred in the foregoing Discourse, endeavour to reconcile those Places which seem to differ: but let us never be so daring as to accuse the Scriptures, which were endited by God himself, of Contradiction.

FINIS.

A D.

ADDENDA.

Refer this to Page 267. Line 19.

HEBREW Verbs of different Significations:
 1. Those of two Significations; *Anah* in *Kal*, to grieve or mourn, *Isa.* 3. 26. *ch.* 19. 8. in *Piel* to deliver up, *Exod.* 21. 13. *Dabar* in *Kal* to speak, in *Piel* to reduce into order. *Chalatz* in *Piel* to save, in *Hipbil* to arm. *Jaal* in *Hipbil* to will or desire, in *Niphal* to be foolish or mad. *Pala* in *Niphal* to be admired, in *Piel* to separate. *Alam* in *Niphal* to be silent, in *Piel* to gather. *Mafshal* in *Kal* to rule, in *Niphal* to be compared with or likened to any thing or Person. *Sabar* in *Kal* to consider, in *Piel* to expect, to hope for. *Rakab* in *Kal* to spit, in *Hipbil* to attenuate. *Tanah* in *Kal* and *Niphal* to hire, in *Piel* to discourse with. *Gaal* in *Kal* to redeem, in *Piel* to pollute. *Bara* in *Kal* to create, in *Hiph.* to make fat. *Cacash* in *Kal* to be lean, in *Piel* to tell a Lie. *Lamad* in *Kal* to learn, in *Piel* to teach. *Cabad* in *Kal* to be heavy, in *Piel* and *Niph.* to be honoured. *Puk* to stumble, to produce. *Gnarak* to ordain, to esteem. *Saphak* to suffice, to clap Hands. *Shabar* to break, to buy. *Kut* to loath or abominate, to contend. *Katar* to offer Incense, to bind. *Kam* or *Kum* to stand or rise, to be dim-sighted. *Ragang* to quiet, to break or cut asunder. *Ramah* to dart, to deceive. *Sbaal* to request, to borrow. *Panah* to behold, to remove. *Nakab* to bore or make a Hole, to curse. *Samaab* to rejoice, to shine. *Pharash* to separate, to interpret. *Lutz* to laugh, to argue or dispute. *Zachab* to be innocent, to overcome. *Lacham* to eat, to fight,

fight. *Gnatfam* to strengthen, to shut. *Gnatfab* to disturb, to fashion or form. *Gnaraph* to cut the Throat, to distil. *Gnathak* to wax old, to be removed. 2. Those of three Significations, *Rab* or *Rabab*, (and so the Verb *Rabab*) to be many or much, to shoot Arrows, to educate. *Ragal* to search, to calumniate, to walk, or make to walk or go. *Halal* to praise, to shine, to be mad. *Shalam* to be peaceable, to be perfect, to recompense. *Gnabar* to pass, to be with Child, to be angry. *Nashab* to forget, to let out Money upon Interest, to put out of joint. *Gnur*, to be watchful, to make blind, to make naked. *Alaph* to learn, to teach, to make or produce a thousand. *Ruang* to do Evil, to break or bruise, to make a great Noise. *Charash* to plough, to think, to be silent. *Gnarab* to be emptied or poured out, to make naked, to adhere. *Mabar* to make haste, to be liberal, to be foolish or inconsiderate. *Gur* to travel abroad, to gather together, to fear. *Damab* to be quiet, to be like to one, to consent. *Pharang* to be open or naked, to be free, to vindicate. *Aphab* to boil, to bake, to fry. *Zur* to abhor, to sneeze, to compress. *Gnanab* to answer, to humble, to commit Adultery. *Sbar* to sing, to walk, to observe. *Shalah* to be quiet, to be fortunate, to err or be faulty. *Kutz* to rise or awake betimes, to be weary of, or nauseate, to summer, or spend the Summer-time. *Kara* to call, to read, to meet one. 3. Verbs of four or more Significations; *Natzab* to bud forth, to fly, to fight, to overcome. *Salad* to strengthen, to warm or heat, to harden, to desire or beg. *Kalat* to be light or vile, to curse, to destroy, to polish. *Shagnab* to behold, to be astonish'd, to abstain or desist, to shut. *Patbach* to open, to engrave, to plough,

plough, to expose, to loose. *Carab* to open, to pierce, to dig, to prepare, to entertain one with a Feast, to traffick or merchandize. *Chalat* to begin, to profane, to bring forth Young, to wound, to mourn or grieve, to cut or bore, to leap. Lastly, no Verb in the Holy Tongue hath so many different Significations as *Gnarab*, the Import of which is to mingle, to negotiate, to be sweet or pleasant, to undertake for, or be Surety, to be dusky, as in the Evening, &c.

Refer this to Page 274. Linè 1.

Hebrew Nouns of two Significations; *Ed* a Vapour, Calamity. *Siach* a Shrub, Speech. *Tagnar* a Whetstone, a Sheath. *Goel* a Redeemer, a Kinsman. *Sheber* Corn or any Food, interpreting or unriddling. *Racham* the Womb, a Girl, (so *Mother* hath this double Signification with us). *Labat* a Flame, the Edg of a Sword. *Kesil* a Fool, a certain Constellation. *Aven* Iniquity, Vanity. *Nagnal* a Shoe, a Glove. Nouns of three Significations; *Nachal* an Inheritance, a Floud or Torrent, a Valley. *Aluph* a Teacher, a Prince, a Bull or Ox. *Keren* a Horn, Strength, Splendor. *Gevah* Pride, Excellency, a Body. Nouns of four or more Significations; *Chebel* Corruption, Grief, a Rope or Cable, a Croud or Multitude, besides other collateral ones, as an Inheritance, &c. *Shebet* a Rod, a Staff, a Scepter, a Tribe, a Stroke or Plague, a Quill, a Writing-Pen. *Charutz* cut off, industrious, Gold, pretious, a Ditch, a Flail, a Rake.

Refer

Refer this to Page 343. Line 7.

Hebrew Words that have Contrary Significations;
Nacar to be known, to be unknown. *Kalas* in *Piel* to slight or difesteem, in *Fithpacl* to praise or extol. *Ragang* to move and roll up and down, to rest or be quiet. *Shagaph* to take root, to eradicate or extirpate. *Taab* to desire in *Kal*, to abominate in *Piel*. *Gnaph* to shine, to be obscure. *Natzar* to save, to destroy. *Gnazab* to desert, to help. *Batzar* to rob or prey, to defend one's self from Robbers. *Bara* to make or create, also to remove or destroy. *Salab* to tread under foot, to esteem. *Garaph* to gather, to disperse. *Asaph* to gather or preserve, also to remove or destroy. *Nacham* to grieve or repent, to abandon Grief, or to be comforted. *Chiffed* to consecrate, to desecrate.

There are Instances of all or most of these (*viz.* the same Hebrew Verbs and Nouns, which have not only *Different* but *Contrary* Senses) in the Writings of the Old Testament, which the Reader may consider at his leisure, and thereby be help'd to a distinct understanding of the Words in those Texts where they occur.

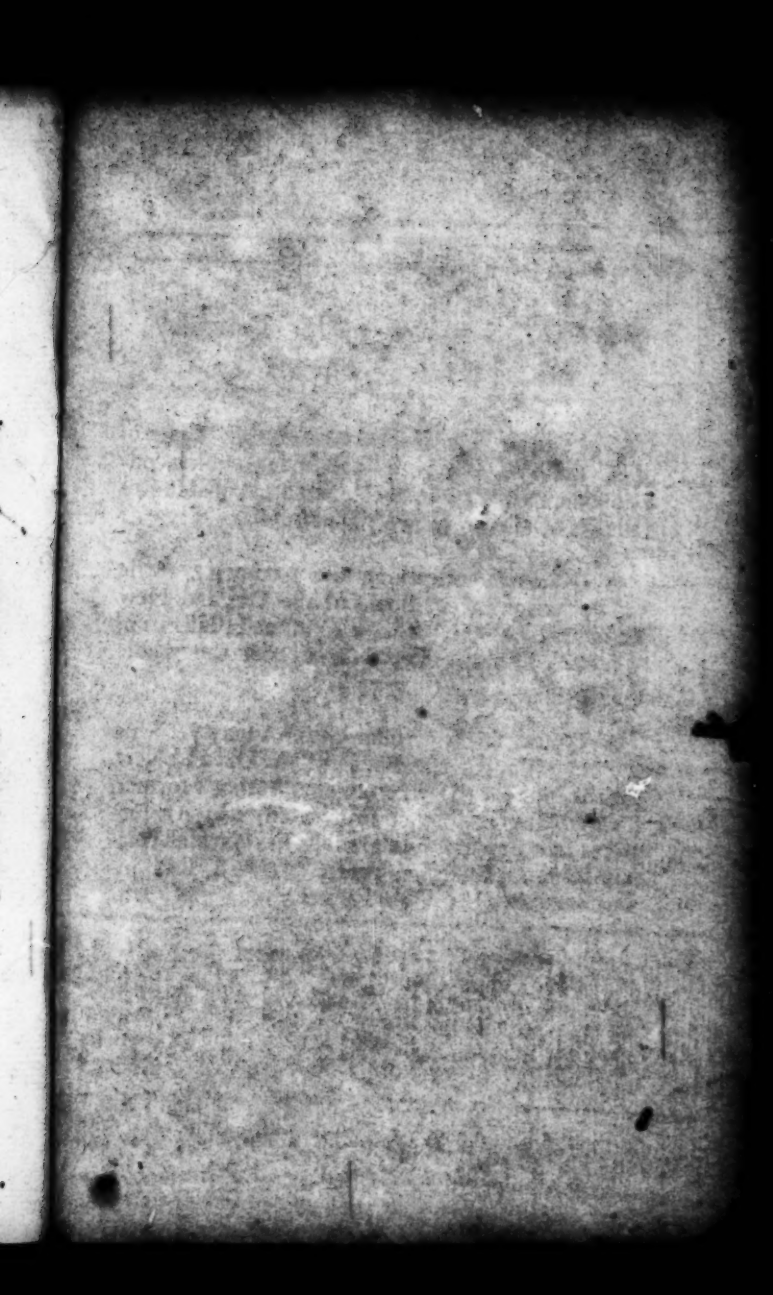
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TO THE

Most Reverend Father in God,

His Grace

THOMAS

Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*,

Primate and Metropolitan of all *England*;
and one of his Majesties most Ho-
nourable Privy Council.

May it please Your Grace;

I mbrace this welcome Opportunity
of congratulating Your late Access
to the Highest Station in our
Church, which all Wise and Good Men
look upon as an Happy Omen of the
future Felicity of these Realms. For in
Your Grace conspire all those things

which can render us, by the Divine Blessing, a Prosperous People, viz. Your unstained Faithfulness and Loyalty to his Majesty, Your most Ardent Love to Your Country, Your Great Ability for Publick Counsels and Affairs, Your perfect Abhorrence of all Immorality and Debauchery, Your Zealous Concern for the Church of *England*, and in that for the whole Protestant Religion. Of this last You have afforded the World such an Illustrious Proof as will give an immortal Reputation to Your Name. For you have not only with Your Learned Pen encountred the *Idolatry of the Church of Rome*, and therein vindicated the *Reformed Cause*, but in all Your Actions You have demonstrated Your singular Care for this latter, and Your Detestation of the former. Especially, when in the late Reign this Idol began to be set up again, and too many fell down to it, You with the utmost Zeal, Vigour and Courage, remonstrated against this Practice. You bore

bore the Insolencies and Insults of the Enemy with an unimitable Bravery ; You withstood their Boldness with a Confidence becoming the Goodness of Your Cause : You obviated their Folly and Madness with a profound Wisdom and Prudence : You defeated their Diligence by a more unwearied Industry : And, in brief, You were the Successful Maul and Scourge of the Hectoring Jesuits that lifted up their Heads in that Day. For this You were hated and defamed, and are so at this Hour, by all the sworn Friends to the Pontifical Interest, who look upon You (and that justly) as their most Dreadful Enemy. But this very thing deservedly makes Your Grace to be loved, admired and honoured by all Sincere *Protestants* and True *English-men*.

I am one that glory in being of that Number, and accordingly I now attempt to express my infinite Regards and Veneration of Your Grace's Transcendent Undertakings in behalf of our

Religion and our Church, and of the Whole Nation. And, as a Testimony of my Resentments and Duty, I here offer to Your Grace a *Discourse of the Perfection of the Holy Scriptures*, which was designed to be presented to Your Lordship before you were advanced to this Supreme See, to which Your Merits have called You. Wherefore I having then consecrated it to Your Name, I hold it unlawful *now* to alienate it; especially it being the Choicest and Noblest Subject that I have yet treated of, and therefore I hope not unworthy of Your Grace's Patronage. I submit the Work wholly to Your Grace's Judgment, and beg leave to have the Honour of professing my self to be

Your Grace's most Humble

and Obedient Son and Servant,

JOHN EDWARDS.

The PREFACE.

I Now present the Reader with that Part of my Discourses concerning the Holy Scriptures, wherein I have attempted to display the matchless Worth and Perfection of those Divine Records. Besides the Great and Important Remarks which I have offer'd, I could have mention'd other things barely Critical; and which, though they be of an inferiour Nature in comparison of those which I have insisted upon, are deemed to be Excellencies and Embellishments in other Authors of good Rank. Thus some Criticks have observed concerning that of Virgil, *Æn.* 8.

Quadrupedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula
(campum ;

That in the very Sound of the Words the swift Career of the Horses beating and shaking the Ground with their Hoofs seems to strike the Ear. The Poetick Feet are so form'd that they express those of the Steeds. And so in the same Writer, *Æn.* 3.—*Procumbit humi bos*, is thought to be a great Elegancy and Pulchritude, as if it represented in a lively manner the Dull and Heavy Fall of that Creature. Both in this and the former

mer Instance the very Noise of the Words, the very Composure of the Syllables, are justly applauded by the Admirers of that Poet. The like I could have observ'd in the Inspired Writings, especially those that are Poetical, among which I reckon the Book of Isaiah to be one; for tho it be not in Verse, yet a Poetick Genius and Strain may be observ'd in most Parts of it. Those Words, ch. 21. v. 5. Prepare the Table, watch in the Watch-Tower, eat, drink, arise ye Princes, anoint the Shield, express the Speediness of the Preparations made for Babylon's Fall. They are so order'd that the Quickness of the Dispatch is signified by them. There are six Parts or Divisions in this Verse without a Copulative, meerly to signify the Celerity of the Undertaking. And the Visson wherein this Speedy Ruine of that Nation is foretold is thus represented, v. 7. He saw a Chariot, a couple of Horsemen, a Chariot of Asses, a Chariot of Camels. There is Expedition in the very Words, there is no Conjunctive Particle to retard them. You may in the very Frame of the Words perceive the Chariots running speedily. But if we look into those Parts of the Bible which are strictly and properly Poetical, that is, which consist of certain Measures and Numbers, we shall find Examples of this sort very frequently. The Egyptians furious Pursuit after the Israelites is thus express'd in Moses's Song, Exod. 15. 9. I will pursue, I will overtake, &c. Where there are six Verbs denoting
Action

Action and Expedition, and not one Conjunction between them. In the Conciseness and Roundness of the Words, especially if we consult the Original, which is more Emphatick, we may discern the Speediness of the thing it self spoken of. The like might be taken notice of in the Song of Deborah, Judg. 5. and in several Places of the Psalms, and the Lamentations. Thus, if we would be very Curious, we might parallel the Inspired Poetry with that of the best Masters in that Art among the Gentiles.

But because these things are but mean in respect of those Weightier ones wherein the Bible's Excellency doth appear, I have not inserted them, or any other Observations of the like Nature, into the ensuing Discourse; and the rather, because it was my Design to mention only those Particulars which are of Universal Use, and which may without Exception be acceptable to all Persons who have a due Esteem either of True Learning or Piety. Those who value the former, and are well acquainted with it, will most readily give their Suffrage here, and proclaim to the World that Scripture-Learning outvies all others, that the Original of most Arts and Sciences is to be fetch'd hence, that a Library without the Bible is an imperfect thing. Those who have a Sense of the latter will be as forward to assert the Prebeminence of this Sacred Volume, for here is the Source of all Religion; and no Man can be Devout and Pious who is a Stranger

to this. Wherefore when, with a becoming Repetition, I saw that the Sense of Religion and Piety is generally lost among us at this Day, I apprehended that the best way to retrieve it, is to read and peruse the Scriptures: And that this may be done with Success I thought it requisite to set forth the Excellency and Perfection of this Holy Book, that thence Persons might be effectually invited to acquaint themselves with it. And I hope, how meanly soever I have performed this Task, some who light upon these Papers will from them be inspired with a hearty Regard and Reverence, an entire Love and Veneration of the Holy Writ, and be reminded from what is here suggested, to converse more intimately with it themselves, and to encourage others to follow their Example. This would in a short time make a great Change in the World, and the Bible it self would be read in the Lives and Behaviour of Mankind. Wherefore with great Seriousness and Importunity I request the Reader that he would entertain such Thoughts and Persuasions as these, that Bible-Learning is the Highest Accomplishment, that this Book is the most Valuable of any upon Earth, that here is a Library in one single Volume, that this alone is sufficient for us, tho all the Libraries and Books in the World were destroyed. And this is the Grand Truth which I have laboured to demonstrate in the following Papers.

A CATALOGUE of most of the *Texts of Scripture* which are interpreted in the following Discourse, according to the *Author's Particular Judgment.*

GENESIS.

THE whole first Chapter. Page 310
 Chap. 3. v. 7. *They made themselves Aprons.* What the word *Chagoroth* signifies. P. 235

Ver. 21. *Unto them the Lord God made Coats of Skins.* Why so called. P. 237

Ch. 4. v. 20. *Jabal was the Father of such as dwell in Tents.* P. 112

Ch. 18. v. 7. *He took the Calf which he had dressed, and set it before them.* P. 117

Ch. 24. v. 22. *The Man took a Golden Ear-ring.* What is meant by *Nezem zahab*. P. 242

Ch. 50. v. 2. *Joseph commanded the Physicians [Rophim] to embalm his Father.* The large Extent of that Word is fully shew'd. P. 187

EXODUS.

Ch. 21. v. 7. *His Master shall bore his Ear through with an Awl, and he shall serve him for ever.* P. 247

NUMBERS.

Ch. 21. v. 14. — *The Book of the Wars of the Lord.* Besides several other Texts from which some endeavour to infer that some part of the Writings belonging to the Bible is lost. P. 453

JOSHUA.

Ch. 2. v. 4. *The Woman took the two Men, and bid them.* P. 153

Ch. 7. v. 26. *They raised over him a great Heap of Stones.* P. 280
 Ch.



Ch. 23. v. 2. Joshua called for their Elders, and for their Heads, and for their Judges, and their Officers.

p. 85

JUDGES.

Ch. 20. v. 16. There were seven hundred chosen Men left-handed, or shut of their right Hands.

p. 212

SAMUEL, Book I.

Ch. 17. v. 6. He had a Target [Cidon] of Brass between his Shoulders.

p. 204

SAMUEL, Book II.

Ch. 1. v. 21. There the Shield of the Mighty is vilely cast away: the Shield of Saul, as though he [rather, it] had not been anointed with Oil.

p. 206, 207

Ch. 3. v. 35. All the People came to cause David to eat Bread.

KINGS, Book I.

Ch. 9. v. 28. And they came to Ophir. In what Part of the World this is.

p. 194

CHRONICLES, Book II.

Ch. 21. v. 19. His People made no Burning for him, like the Burning of his Fathers.

p. 273

JOB.

Ch. 1. v. 21. Naked came I out of my Mother's Womb, and naked shall I return thither.

p. 264

PROVERBS.

Ch. 1. v. 17. Surely in vain is the Net spread in the Sight of any Bird.

p. 385

JEREMIAH.

Ch. 34. v. 5. He died with the Burnings of his Fathers.

p. 272

EZEKIEL.

Ch. 24. v. 17. Bind the Tire of thy Head upon thee.

p. 275

AMOS.

Ch. 2. v. 8. They lay themselves down upon Clothes.

p. 134
Sr.

expounded and resolved. xv

St. LUKE.

Ch. 10. v. 42. *Mary hath chosen the good Part.* p. 141

ACTS.

Ch. 7. v. 22. *He was mighty in Words and in Deeds.*
p. 312, &c.

CORINTHIANS, 1 Epist.

Ch. 5. v. 9. *I wrote unto you in an Epistle.* p. 467

Ch. 7. v. 6. *I speak this of Permission, and not of
Command.* p. 472

Ver. 12. *To the rest speak I, not the Lord.* ibid.

CORINTHIANS, 2 Epist.

Ch. 3. v. 17. *Now the Lord is that Spirit.* p. 434

Ch. 8. v. 8. *I speak not by Commandment.* p. 472

Ch. 11. v. 6. *Though I be rude in Speech.* p. 437

Ver. 17. *I speak not after the Lord.* p. 472

St. JAMES.

Ch. 4. v. 5, 6. *Do you think that the Scripture saith in
vain, The Spirit that dwelleth in us lusteth to Envy?
But he giveth more Grace.* p. 463

St. PETER, 2 Epist.

Ch. 3. v. 5. *This they are willingly ignorant of, that
by the Word of God the Heavens were of old, and the
Earth standing out of the Water, and in the Wa-
ter.* p. 62

St. JOHN, 2 Epist.

Ver. 12. *I will not write with Paper, διὰ χροῦς, p. 167*

Besides sundry Texts mention'd in that Part of
the Discourse where the Emendation of the
present English Version of the New Testa-
ment is attempted.

ERRATA.

Page 30. line 10. r. *able fully to.* P. 79. l. 29. r. *who were.* P. 104. l. 33. r. *ar.* P. 110. l. 5. r. *Founders.* P. 117. l. 28. r. *Greeks.* P. 121. l. 33. r. *εαβδζηω.* P. 139. l. 25. r. *ar.* P. 140. l. 33. r. *from its.* P. 146. l. 27. r. *require either of.* P. 159. l. 15. r. *recorded that the Letters of their Alphabet were.* P. 188. l. 14 after *Times* dele (.) l. 15. after *these* dele (.) P. 196. in the Margin r. *νῆαυον.* P. 206. l. 20. r. *this.* P. 216. l. 1. r. *which we read of in.* P. 230. l. 15. r. *Places.* P. 244. l. 27. r. *which we,* and include the following words (*which is rendered τετραγωνος, i.e. rotula, by the LXX*) in a Parenthesis. P. 322. l. 33, 34. r. *the former, and f. were r. was.* P. 336. l. 30. r. *mighr.* P. 340. l. 3. r. *the deadly.* P. 361. l. ult. r. *Lives.* P. 432. l. 1. after *thus* insert (.) P. 433. l. 3. before *but leave one* (.) P. 491. l. 13. r. *that.* P. 493. l. 4. r. *inaba.* P. 504. l. antepenult. r. *Συμψύχω.* P. 554. l. 32. dele all. P. 558. l. 9. r. *they did.* P. 562. l. 5. r. *for one.* P. 563. l. 30. r. *miss.* P. 565. l. 15. r. *ar.* The Faults in the Hebrew are left to be corrected by the Learned.

The CONTENTS of the Several CHAPTERS.

CH A P. I.

THE different Esteem and Sentiment of Persons concerning the Authors they make choice of to read. No Writings can equal the Bible. It hath been highly valued in all Ages by Men of the greatest Learning, Wit and Judgment. A Scheme of the following Discourse briefly propounded. The Holy Scriptures are the perfect Rule of Faith. They are the best Conduct of our Lives and Actions. They are the only Ground of solid Consolation, Joy and Happiness. This Perfection of Scripture is opposed by many of the Rabbins. An Account of their Cabala and Oral Law. The Papiſts by preferring their Traditions before the Scriptures, and by endeavouring to keep these latter in an unknown Tongue, deny the Perfection of them. So do Familists, Quakers, and all Enthusiasts. pag. i

CH A P. II.

The Bible is furnish'd with all sorts of Humane (as well as Divine) Learning. Hebrew, wherein the Old Testament was written, is the Primitive Language of the World. The True Origine of the World is plainly recorded in no other Writings but these. The first Chapter of Genesis is a real History, and records Matter of fact. It is largely proved that the Mosaick History gives us a

xviii The CONTENTS.

particular Account of the first Rise of the several Nations and People of the Earth, and of the Places of their Habitation. Also the true Knowledge of the Original of Civil Government, and the Increases of it, and the different Changes it underwent, is derived from these Writings. The Courts of Judicature, and the several kinds of Punishment among the Jews distinctly treated of. The Government among the Heathen Nations. The four Celebrated Monarchies or Empires of the World. P. 45

CHAP. III.

In these Sacred Writings we have the first and earliest Account of all useful Employments and Callings, viz. Gardening, Husbandry, feeding of Sheep, preparing of Food. The antient manner of Threshing, Grinding of Corn, and making Bread is enquired into. What was the Primitive Drink. The Posture which they used at eating and drinking. Sitting preceded Disembation. The particular manner of placing themselves on their Beds. Eating in common not always used. Disalceation and Washing the Feet were the Attendants of Eating and Feasting. So was Anointing. They had a Master or Governour of their Feasts. Who were the first Inventors of Mechanick Arts. The first Examples of Architecture. Houses were built flat at top, and why. P. 111

CHAP. IV.

The first Original of Letters and Writing is recorded here. The several kinds of Materials they wrote upon of old. The Instruments with which they formed their Letters or Characters. The Antientest (as well as the most Excellent) History is in the Bible. So is the Antientest and most Admired Poetry. The first Invention and Practice of Musick, and

The CONTENTS. xix

and on what Occasions it was wout to be made use of. The Rise of Natural Philosophy, and who were the first Founders of it. The Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures necessary in order to the due Study of Natural Philosophy. The first Instances of Anatomy, Medicks, Chirurgery, Embalming, and the Apothecaries Employment, are in the Old Testament. Here are the first Examples of Shipping and Navigation. An Enquiry into the Place whither Solomon's Navy went every three Years: A Conjecture concerning Ophir. Astronomy and Judiciary Astrology mention'd in Scripture. Of War and Skill in Arms. The Nature of those Military Weapons which are spoken of in Scripture, particularly and distinctly enquir'd into. The Antiquity of Martial Ensigns and Standards. The vast Numbers which the Armies of old consisted of. The Scripture is not silent concerning Sportive Diversions and Exercises: some of which, but especially Dancing, are considered. p. 157.

C H A P. V.

We are furnish'd in the Bible with the Knowledge of the first Usages relating to Matrimony. Of Nuptial Feasts; and other Antient Feasts. We have here the first Notices of Buying and Selling, and the Antient use of Money. We learn hence what was the first Apparel, and what Additions there were afterwards. The chief Ornaments of Men and Women, viz. Crowns, Mitres, Frontal Jewels, Ear-rings, (the occasion of wearing these at first, and among what Persons and Nations, together with the Abuse of them) Chains, Bracelets, Finger-Rings and Signets. Changes of Garments. The Antient Use of White Apparel. Fullers Earth. Looking-Glasses. Rending of the Garments. p. 225

C H A P. VI.

Here we are informed concerning the Primitive Institution of Burying. Graves and Sepulchres were generally in the Fields, and without the Walls of Cities. They usually embalmed the dead Bodies. Why they sometimes burnt them. Burning also signifies Embalming. There was a Difference between the Funeral Burning of the Jews and of the Heathens. The Manner and Time of Mourning for the Dead. Both Vocal and Instrumental Musick used at Funerals. The Antiquity of Funeral Monuments. The old way of erecting great Heaps of Stones over the Dead. Stone-heng is a Sepulchral Monument, and in imitation of it. Anah's Invention of Mules. Writers borrow from one another. The Bible only is the Book that is beholden to no other. Here is the Antientest Learning in the World: and that of all Kinds. 'Tis common with Authors to contradict themselves, and one another: they are uncertain, lubricious, and fabulous. But the Divine Writers alone are certain and infallible. How strange and improbable soever some of the Contents of this Holy Book may seem to be, they justly command our firm Assent to them.

p. 263

C H A P. VII.

A particular Distribution of the several Books of the Old Testament. Genesis (the first of them, together with the four following ones) being written by Moses, his ample Character or Panegyrick is attempted, wherein there is a full Account of his Birth, Education, Flight from Court, retired Life, his Return to Egypt, his conducting of the Israelites thence, his immediate Converse with God in the Mount, his delivering the Law, his Divine Eloquence, his Humility and Meekness, his Sufferings, his Miracles, and

The CONTENTS. xxi

and his particular Fitness to write these Books. A Summary of the several Heads contain'd in Genesis: to which is added a brief but distinct View of the Six Days Works, wherein is explained the Mosaick Draught of the Origine of all things, and at the same time the bold Hypotheses of a late Writer (designed to confront the First Chapter of the Bible) are exposed and refuted. The Contents of the Book of Exodus: to which is adjoined a short Comment on the Ten Plagues of Egypt. A Rehearsal of the remarkable Particulars treated of in Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy. That Moses was the Penman and Author of the Pentateuch, notwithstanding what some have lately objected against it. P. 305

C H A P. VIII.

A short Survey of the Books of Joshua, Judges, Ruth, (which is a Supplement to the History of the Judges) Samuel, the Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, (which is a Continuation of the Chronicles) Nehemiah, Esther. The Author, Stile, Composure, Matter of the Book of Job discuss'd. An Enquiry into the Penmen, Subjects, Kinds, Titles, Poetick Meter and Rhythm of the Psalms. P. 350

C H A P. IX.

The Book of Proverbs, why so call'd. The transcendent Excellency of these Divine and Inspired Aphorisms. Some Instances of the Different Application of the Similitudes used by this Author. The Book of Ecclesiastes, why so entituled. The Admirable Subject of it succinctly displayed. The particular Nature of the Canticle or Mystical Song of Solomon briefly set forth. It is evinc'd from very cogent Arguments, that Solomon died in the Favour of God, and was saved. The Books of the Four Great Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, with his Lamentations, Eze-

xxii The CONTENTS.

Ezekiel, Daniel, are described. So are those of the Twelve Lesser Prophets, Hosea, &c. P. 379

CH A P. X.

An Account of the Writings of the Four Evangelists: the peculiar Time, Order, Stile, Design of their Gospels. The Acts of the Apostles shew'd to be an Incomparable History of the Primitive Church. The Epistles of St. Paul particularly delineated. He is proved to be the Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. An Enquiry into the Nature of this Apostle's Stile and manner of Writing. The excellent Matter and Design of the Epistles of St. James, St. Peter, St. John, St. Jude. An Historical Series or Order is not observ'd in the Book of the Revelation. F. 415

CH A P. XI.

None of the Books of the Holy Scripture are lost: Not the Book of the Covenant: Nor the Book of the Wars of the Lord: Nor the Book of Jasher: Nor the Acts of Uzziah. An Account of the Book of Samuel the Seer, the Book of Nathan the Prophet, the Book of Gad the Seer, the Book of Iddo, the Books of Shemaiah, Jehu, &c. What is to be thought concerning the Books of Solomon, mention'd 1 Kings 4. 32, 33. Objections drawn from Jam. 4. 5. from Luke 11. 49. from Acts 20. 35. from Jude v. 14. from 1 Cor. 5. 9. from Col. 4. 16. fully satisfied. Other Objections from 1 Cor. 7. 6, 12, 25. 2 Cor. 8. 8. & 11. 17. particularly answer'd. P. 451

CH A P. XII.

A short View of the Eastern Translations of the Old Testament, especially of the Targums. The several Greek Translations, more especially that of the LXX Jewish Elders. The impartial History of them, and their

The CONTENTS. xxiii

their Version. Some immoderately extol it; others as excessively inveigh against it. The true Grounds of the Difference between the Hebrew Text and the Greek Translation of the Septuagint assigned, viz. One Hebrew Vowel is put for another: One Consonant for another, sometimes both Vowels and Consonants are mistaken: The Difference of the Signification of some Hebrew Words is another Cause: Sometimes the Sense rather than the Word it self is attended to: Some Faults are to be attributed to the Transcribers: Some, because the LXX are Paraphrasts rather than Translators, they take the liberty to insert Words and Passages of their own. The Greek Version hath been designedly corrupted in several Places. Why the Apostles in their Sermons and Writings made use of this Version, though it was faulty. Sometimes the Sacred Writers keep close to the Hebrew Text, and take no notice of the Seventy's Translation of the Words. At other times in their Quotations they confine themselves to neither, but use a Latitude. The Greek Version is to be read with Candour and Caution: and must always give way to the Hebrew Original. The chief Latin Translations of the Bible, especially the Vulgar, examined. Modern Latin Translations, and lastly our own English one, consider'd.

P. 477

C H A P. XIII.

Our English Translation shew'd to be faulty and defective in some Places of the Old Testament. But more largely and fully this is performed in the several Books of the New Testament, where abundant Instances are produced of this Defect: and particular Emendations are all along offer'd, in order to the rendring our Translation more exact and compleat. The Date of the Division of the Bible into Chapters and Verses.

P. 532

C H A P.

C H A P. XIV.

The Reader is invited to the Study of the Bible, as he values the Repute of a Scholar and a Learned Man. That he may successfully study this Holy Book, he must be furnish'd with Tongues, Arts, History, &c. It is necessary that he be very Inquisitive and Diligent in searching into the Mind and Design of the Sacred Writers: In examining the Coherence of the Words: In Comparing Places together: In observing and discovering the peculiar Grace and Elegancy, and sometimes the Verbal Allusions and Cadences of the Holy Scripture, of which several Instances are given. He must also be Morally qualified to read this Book, i. e. he ought to banish all Prejudice: He must be Modest and Humble: He must endeavour to free himself from the Love of all Vice: He must with great Earnestness implore the Assistance of the Holy Spirit.

P. 369

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OF THE
EXCELLENCY & PERFECTION
OF THE
Holy Scriptures.

CHAP. I.

The different Esteem and Sentiment of Persons concerning the Authors they make choice of to read. No Writings can equal the Bible. It hath been highly valued in all Ages by Men of the greatest Learning, Wit and Judgment. A Scheme of the following Discourse briefly propounded. The Holy Scriptures are the perfect Rule of Faith. They are the best Conduct of our Lives and Actions. They are the only Ground of solid Consolation, Joy and Happiness. This Perfection of Scripture is opposed by many of the Rabbins. An Account of their Cabala and Oral Law. The Papists by preferring their Traditions before the Scriptures, and by endeavouring to keep these latter in an unknown Tongue, deny the Perfection of them. So do Familists, Quakers, and all Enthusiasts.

IT may be observed that the Minds of Men have been differently disposed as to the choice of the *Authors* they would read; and their Esteem and Value of them have been as various. It hath been usual for Persons to express a

particular Kindness for one Writer above another. Thus *Homer* of old was excessively magnified by those famous Warriors *Agésilas* and *Alexander the Great*: The former read him continually at home and in the Camp, and whenever he had any time to spare for Reading: The latter could not sleep without his *Iliads* under his Pillow. *Scipio*, surnamed the *African*, had a great Opinion of *Xenophon's Institution of Cyrus*, and was always consulting it, and valued it at a high rate. So among Christians, *St. Cyprian* was a great Admirer of *Tertullian*; and when he had a mind to read him, his usual Saying was, Give me my Master. *Charles the Great* was hugely taken with *St. Augustine de Civitate Dei*, and had it constantly read to him, yea even at Supper. King *Alphonfus* in all his Expeditions, and at all other times, carried *Julius Caesar's Commentaries*, others say *Livy's History*, with him. *Theodore Gaza* gave his Vote for *Plutarch's Works*, and was so pleased with them, that he protested if he could have but one Man's Writings, he would certainly choose His before all others. *Thomas Aquinas* was no less in love with *St. Chrysostom* on *St. Matthew*, and expressed his high Esteem of him by saying, he preferred him before the goodly City of *Paris*. *Charles the Vth* gave a greater Deference to *Comines* than to any other Writer, and perpetually conversed with him. *Scaliger* would rather be the Author of the ninth Ode of *Horace* than be Emperor of *Germany*. And to come down yet lower, *Grotius* gives *Cicero* the Preference to all the other Commentators on the Imperial Laws. *Salmasius* admired no Divine so much as *Calvin*, and particularly preferred his *Institutions*. And the Reverend Mr. *B. Oley* tells us, if he were to be confined to one Author, he would choose

choose Dr. Jackson's Works. Thus have Mens Sentiments and Esteems been various about Books, some preferring one Writer, and some another, according as their Genius or Studies led them.

But when we mention the *Bible*, i. e. the Book of Books, we are certain there is no Comparison between This and any others whatsoever. This Sacred Volume is emphatically, and by way of Eminence, call'd τὰ βιβλία, as if other Books in respect of This deserv'd not the Name. For in what other Writings can we descry those Excellencies which we find in This? None of them can equal it in *Antiquity*, for the first Penman of the Sacred Scripture (who relates the Origine of the World, and whose Writings contain the Acts and Monuments of the *Patriarchs*) hath the start of all Philosophers, Poets and Historians, and is absolutely the Antientest Writer extant in the World. No Writings are equal to these of the *Bible*, if we mention only the stock of *Humane Learning* contain'd in them. Here *Linguists* and *Philologists* may find that which is to be found no where else. Here *Rhetoricians* and *Orators* may be entertained with a more lofty Eloquence, with a choicer Composure of Words, and with greater Variety of Stile than any other Writers can afford them. Here is a Book where more is understood than express'd, where Words are few, but the Sense is full and redundant. No Books equal This in *Authority*, because it is the Word of God himself, and dictated by an unerring Spirit. It excels all other Writings in the Excellency of its *Matter*, which is the Highest, Noblest, and Worthiest, and of the Greatest Concern to Mankind. Lastly, (to name no more at present, that I may not anticipate what is intended in the following Discourse) the Scriptures tran-

scend all other Writings in their Power and Efficacy. This *Word of God* is pure, enlightning the Eyes, irradiating Mens Minds with Supernatural Truth, affecting their Hearts and Consciences, subduing the Refractoriness of their Wills, transforming their Lives, and changing them into other Persons. Thence it is that all Men of well-disposed Souls find a plain Difference between their reading This and other Books. When they read those, it is true they are something affected and pleased, the Stile or the Matter give them some Satisfaction; but if they read them often, and confine themselves to them, their former Pleasure and Satisfaction abate, and the Authors seem not to be so entertaining and acceptable as they were before, and at length they become burdensom and nauseous; and hence it is that some Writers grow out of fashion, and other New ones are called for. But it is far otherwise with this Holy Book: the Affection and Pleasure which you feel in the reading it are lasting and durable, because this Blessed Word sinks down into the Center of the Soul, and is always present with it. Though you lay this Book aside, and afterwards take it up, and do so again and again, yea never so often, you will not find it grow worse, but much better, *i. e.* it will yield you greater Delight and Satisfaction; and the oftner you converse with it, the more you will discern the Worth of it, yea the more pleasing will the very Words and Syllables of these Divine Writings be to you. For what the Great Critick observes of *Homer's Poem*; that there is a certain kind of Peculiar Easiness and Sliding in his Verse, which are not to be found in any other Poets, is eminently true of the Holy Scrip.

Scriptures, if compared with other Authors: there is a peculiar Sweetness, a matchless Softness and Pleasantness in the Style of these Holy Books; the Words as well as the Matter are Winning and Ravishing, and all pure and sanctified Minds have a clear Perception of this, yea the clearer, because they so frequently converse with these Inspired Writers. We may then on this Account, as well as on others, challenge the World to shew us where there is any Book like this, where there is any Author comparable to it. In all Humane Writers there is something wanting, something imperfect; but in this Sacred Volume there are all things, and every thing here is compleat. To the Holy Scriptures therefore all other Writings must vail, to this Best of Books they must all submit, and acknowledg their Meanness and Inferiority.

Hence it was that the Wifest and Best Men (as we may observe) did always extol the Scriptures. ³ *I adore the Plenitude of the Scripture*, said *Tertullian*; and to him have ecchoed the rest of the Antient Fathers, especially *St. Cyprian*, *Jerom*, *Augustine*, *Chrysostom*, who have highly magnified the Writings of the Prophets and Apostles, and have been very Rhetorical in their Panegyricks upon them. These and some other Brave Men in the first Ages of the Church signalized themselves by their Reverence and Esteem of the Scriptures; and some of them consecrated their Wit and Poetry to this Noble Cause. Nor have these latter Ages been destitute of Persons of the most Celebrated Parts and Learning that have adored the Fulness and Perfection of the Scripture, and have used their Wit

B 3

and

³ Lib. advers. Hermogenem. ⁴ Juvenecus, Nazianzen, Basil, Sedulius, Prudentius, Arator, Rusticus Elpidius.

6 *The Excellency and Perfection*

and Eloquence in setting forth its Praises. *Marcus* *Ficinus*, that Great Philosophick Soul, and the Noble *Pious Mirandula*, who was the best Linguist and Scholar of his Age, two as Learned *Italians* as that Nation ever bred, (and who may more than compound for those two other *Italians* mentioned in my former Discourse, who so impiously vilified the Sacred Writings) after they had read all good Authors, rested in the Bible as the only Book; and particularly it was pronounced by the latter of them, that now *he had found the True Eloquence and Wisdom*. Yea, these last Times have produced Men of the Choicest Brains, of the Briskest Parts, of the Greatest Humane Learning, who have employed these excellent Talents in embellishing the Sacred Scriptures; witness *Cassellio*, who hath turned the Whole Bible into Pure, Terse, Elegant Latin, able to tempt us to read this Book: And *Grotius* hath incomparably asserted the Propriety and Elegancy of the Sacred Stile; and many Other excellent Persons who have defended this Holy Book against the Insults and Cavils of Profane Men. We could name Others of the most Sparkling Wit and Fancy, who have exercised their Poetick Genius in descanting either on the Sacred History of the Bible, or on those Divine Matters which are contained in it, and have thought their Pens, yea Poetry it self, enobled by such a Subject. We could mention others of the most Serious Thoughts and of the most Impartial Judgment, not only among those that are *Professed Divines*, and that have adorned the Sacred Scripture by their Learned

* *Dr. Barrow, Buchanan, Bishop Hall, Sir George Sandys, Dr. Donne, Mr. Grafton, Mr. Herbert, Dr. Beaumont, Mr. Cowley, Mr. Addison, Dr. Aker, Mr. Norris, Mr. Woodford, Dr. Patrick, Vida, Wallis.*

of the Holy Scriptures.

7

ed *Expositions, Comments, Annotations, Paraphrases, Lectures, Sermons, Discourses*, but also among Persons of another Rank and Capacity, who have given the Bible the Pre-eminence of all Writings. I will at present mention only Mr. *Selden* and *Judg Hale*: the former was one of the greatest Scholars and Antiquaries of this Age, and made a vast Amassment of Books and Manuscripts from all Parts of the World, a Library perhaps not to be equal'd, on all Accounts, in the Universe: This Man of Books and Learning holding some serious Conference with Archbishop *Usher* a little before he died, professed to him, that *'notwithstanding he had possessed himself of that vast Treasure of Books and Manuscripts in all antient Subjects, yet he could rest his Soul on none but the Scriptures.* And hear what the other Gentleman of the same Studies and Profession declares, *'I have been acquainted somewhat with Men and Books, and have had long Experience in Learning and in the World. There is no Book like the Bible for excellent Learning, Wisdom and Use: and it is want of Understanding in them that think or speak otherwise.* This is sufficient to shew that the most Noble and Refined Wits, the most Knowing and the most Judicious Heads, bear the greatest Regard and Esteem for the Holy Scriptures, and prefer them before all other Writings in the World. It may pass for a Certain Maxim, that the more learned any Man is, the more he prizeth the Bible, the greater Regard he hath for these Sacred Records. It was said of old, that *'it was a Sign of a great Proficiency in Good Letters to love Tully's Writings.* It is much more a Sign of our Improvement in true

B 4

Learn-

** In his Life. * Judg Hale, in his Letter to one of his Sons.*
** Ciceronem amasse, profecisse est. Quintil.*

8. *The Excellency and Perfection*

Learning that we delight in the Holy Scriptures, and love them above all Writings whatsoever. We shew our Proficiency by reverently esteeming the Bible, and preferring it before all other Authors. We discover that we have a Sense of True and Useful Knowledge, when we value this Book wherein it is contain'd, when we admire this Volume where all Excellencies meet together.

To evince this, I will undertake these following things.

- I. To shew the matchless Usefulness of the Bible in respect of Spiritual, Divine and Supernatural Matters.
- II. To demonstrate its Transcendent Excellency in regard of things Temporal and Secular, such as are for the Improvement of all kinds of Humane Learning, and for the Use of Life.
- III. To give a Proof of this Excellency and Perfection, by a particular displaying of the several Books contain'd in this Holy Volume.
- IV. To let you see that this Perfection is not impaired by what is objected and alledged.
 1. Concerning the Loss of some Books which had formerly been a part of the Old and New Testament.
 2. Concerning the great Difference between the *Hebrew* of the Old Testament and the *Greek* Translation of the *Seventy*. Where I will endeavour to discover the true Grounds and Foundations of those Mistakes that are in the LXX's Version, and shew whence it arises that there is such a Discrepancy between that and the Original Verity.
- V. I will attempt an Emendation of the present *English* Version, which in several Places seems

to me to be defective; that I may hereby restore the New Testament (for of that I shall chiefly speak) to its native Perfection and Lustre.

Lastly, I will invite and solicit the Reader to the Study of the Bible, and direct him in so laudable and worthy an Employment.

First, I will demonstratively prove the Transcendent Excellency of these Writings in respect of the things which are *Divine*, and have an immediate relation to *Religion*. Thus they are the only Canon of our Faith, the exact Standard of our Lives, and they mark us out the Way to solid Comfort, Peace and Happiness. These are the three things I will insist upon.

I. This Holy Book is the *Absolute and Perfect Rule of our Faith*. This comprises in it every thing that is the Object of our Belief, the Matter of our Assent. Here we are taught to believe a God, an Immortal, Independent, All-sufficient, Self-subsisting Spirit; who is infinitely Wise, Powerful, Just and Merciful: who though he was infinitely happy in the fruition of his own *immense* and *transcendent* Perfections; yet, that he might communicate his Goodness to others, was pleased to frame the World, with all the excellent Furniture which we behold in it. *By the Word of the Lord the Heavens were made, and all the Host of them by the Breath of his Mouth, Psal. 33. 6. He laid the Foundations of the Earth, and gave to the Sea his Decree, and set a Compass on the Face of the Deep, Psal. 104. 5. Prov. 8. 27, 29.* We are assured from these Writings, that God's Providence governs the World, and all things in it, whether great or small, *Psal. 147. 8, &c. Matth. 10. 29, 30, &c.* And that he doth
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10 *The Excellency and Perfection*

whatsoever he pleaseth both in *Heaven and Earth*, Psal. 115. 3. But more especially the Divine Oracles acquaint us, that this Divine and Benign Author, gave existence unto *Man*, the Choicest of all the Creatures of this lower World, whom he created in his own Image, after his Likeness, Gen. 1. 26, 27. that is, in Knowledge, Righteousness and true Holiness, Col. 3. 10. Eph. 4. 24. And we are told in these Sacred Writings, how *Man* lost this Image; and miserably defaced and corrupted his Nature, viz. by listening to the Temptation of Satan, and by wilful disobeying the Divine Command. Here also we are informed, that all Flesh is defiled and polluted by this Transgression of our First Parents in Paradise, and that their Sin is become the Sin of All Mankind, Rom. 5. 12. Hence we learn moreover, that the Merciful Creator, out of his infinite and boundless Philanthropy, vouchsafed to promise, that the Seed of the Woman, the Blessed Jesus, who was to be born of a Virgin, should bruise Satan's Head, Gen. 3. 15. and save and redeem lost Mankind, and restore them to their former State of Happiness. Here is taught the Rise of Religion and the Church, which began with our Penitent First Parents, and their Children; of whom Abel was the Chief. Their first and early way of expressing their Devotion and Religion, was by Offerings and Sacrifices unto God, Gen. 4. 4. To which end, without doubt, they erected Altars, though these are not mentioned till after the Flood, Gen. 8. 20. We are told at what time there was established an Open and more Solemn worshiping of God, viz. in Seth's days; then it was that Men began to call upon the Name of the Lord, and to form a Visible Church, Gen. 4. 26. i. e. an Orderly and Solemn Society of Men, gather'd and chosen

chosen out as a peculiar People to serve God. For as Men encreased, they began to embody themselves into Communions, and to worship God more signally and openly, and with a joint Consent. Here (and no where else) we have an Account of the Church's Progress and Increase, under the good Patriarchs, *Noah, Abraham, &c.* Here we are informed what were the several Defections and Restorations of Religion in the first Ages. Here we have an Account of the Erection of the *Levitical* or *Mosaic* Service; the whole System of Religious Rites and Ceremonies, unto which the Jewish Church was obliged. This yields abundant Matter of Contemplation and Enquiry to the Studious, who will find that these Observances were instituted after the Israelites had been a while in the Wilderness, and had shew'd themselves inclinable to commit Idolatry. Then it was that God by *Moses* gave them these Laws, and prescribed them these Usages, which he knew would be the best Antidote against the Idolatrous Practices of the Nations that were round about them. And withal, if we look into these Ceremonies with a discerning Eye, we shall see that they had a farther End, and were Presignifications of the great and wonderful Transactions of the Evangelical Dispensation, that they obscurely pointed unto the *Messias*, and his Blessed Undertakings for the Redemption of Mankind. They were Forerunners and Harbingers of the *Blessed Child Jesus*, that Child that was to be born, that Son who was to be given, and on whose Shoulders the Government was to be settled, *Isa. 9. 6.* And we are ascertained that in the fulness of time, God actually sent forth this his Son, made of a Woman, *Gal. 4. 4.* that He so loved the World, that he gave his only begotten Son, that who so-
ever

11 The Excellency and Perfection

ever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting Life, John 3. 16. All we like Sheep have gone astray, we have turned every one to his own way, and the Lord hath laid on him the Iniquity of us all, Isa. 53. 6. He bare our Sins in his own Body on the Tree, 1 Pet. 2. 4. He was wounded for our Transgressions, he was bruised for our Iniquities: the chastisement of our Peace was upon him, and with his Stripes we are healed, Isa. 53. 5. The True Nature, the Admirable Method, and the Inestimable Worth of this Healing and Saving us, are the main Subject of these Inspired Writings: where we are taught likewise, that this Salvation is Free and Undeserved, and founded on the Meer Grace and Bounty of God, and is not the Acquist of any Merit and Worth in us. We are justified freely by his Grace, through the Redemption that is in Christ Jesus, whom God hath set forth to be a Propitiation for Sin, through Faith in his Blood, Rom. 3. 24. And in the Evangelical History, we are told, that this Blessed Redeemer, who laid down his Life for us, took it up again, rising from the Grave by the irresistible Power of his Godhead, and after a few Days Ascended gloriously into Heaven; from whence He shall come at the last Day to call the whole World to an Account: for He hath appointed a Day in which he will judge the World in Righteousness. Then all the Dead shall hasten out of their Dormitories, and stand before that Great Tribunal, and receive Sentence according to their past Behaviour.

These are some of the Grand Principles of our Faith, these are the Fundamental Verities of our Religion: and they are originally fetch'd from this Sacred Volume, and are established and confirmed there, by unanswerable Arguments and Demonstrations. Behold here the Eminency of Scripture-

ture-Notions, see the Transcendency of these Excellent Truths, which are contain'd in the Bible! Here are things of a higher Nature than any Moral Writings afford us. These say nothing of the Gracious Oeconomy of the Gospel, of the Incarnation of the Son of God, of Satisfaction made for Sins through the Blood of Christ, of Justification by his Righteousness, and other the like unparallell'd Discoveries, which are to be learn'd out of Scripture only. In short, the Bible is the Standard of all Notions, Propositions and Articles in Religion: it is the Rule and Square of all our Opinions, Discourses and Arguments relating to Christianity; and all our Conceptions, though they seem never so fine and plausible, are of little worth and use, unless they be regulated according to This. If there arise any Disputes and Controversies concerning Matters of Christian Faith, This is the Judg that we must have recourse to; or rather This is the Rule by which we are to judg: for every Man is to judg and choose, and the Rule whereby he is to guide his Judgment and Choice is the Scripture. It is true, Reason or Conscience is our Immediate Guide or Rule: but then we must have a Mediate Rule; that is, a Guide or Rule for our Reasons and Consciences, and That in all Sacred and Religious things is the Word of God, and That is the only Rule. By This, and This alone, all Controversies of Faith which are necessary to be decided, may, and ought to be decided. And it is the Excellency and Perfection of this Rule, that it is Infallible. This is that *more sure Word of Prophecy*, which St. Peter preferreth before *Eye-Witnesses and Voices from Heaven*, 2 Pet. 1. 16, &c. Yea, though an Angel from Heaven should preach any other Doctrine than

14 *The Excellency and Perfection*

than what the Apostles preach'd, and afterwards committed to Writing, St. Paul pronounceth him *accursed*, Gal. 1. 8. These Infallible Records, these undoubted Oracles of the Holy Ghost in Scripture, are the standing Rule of Belief to all Christians, even to the End of the World. On this they may rely with Confidence, as on an Unerring Guide; for it is not like other Books which are made by Men, and therefore are not void of Errors and Mistakes; but the Author of it is God, who is Truth it self, and can neither deceive, nor be deceived. Thus the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, are the Compleat and Absolute Rule of our *Belief*, and of all *Supernatural Truth*.

2. They are the Perfect Rule of *Life and Manners*: they contain all things to be Done as well as to be Believed. Here is the *Decalogue*, the Sum of all our Duty towards God and Man; and the Necessary Precepts of Life, comprised in it, are often repeated, enlarged upon, and explained, through the whole Sacred Book. To these are added the *Evangelical* Duties of Self-denial, Mortification, Poverty of Spirit, Purity of Heart, Brotherly Love, Heavenly-Mindedness, Circumspect Walking, Redeeming the Time, Abstaining from all appearance of Evil, Giving no Offence to any, and many others of the like Nature. The Writings of the Gospel forbid us to be Carnal, Sensual and Earthly, and call upon us to converse with Spiritual and Celestial Objects, to *set our Affections on things Above*, and to work our Minds to such a Temper that we may *desire to depart out of this Body*, and *to be with Christ*, which is far better than groveling here below. And Christianity promotes this Heavenly-mindedness by giving us a
Power

Power over Our selves, by restoring us to a Government of our Bodily Appetites and Passions, so that the Soul thereby becomes Pure and Defecate, purged from all mundane Dross and Filth, fitted for Heavenly Joys, and therefore most earnestly breathes and longs after them. Here we learn, that Christianity is repugnant in all things to Satan's Kingdom, and designedly promotes the Kingdom of God; it bids us not seek our selves, and aim chiefly at worldly Respects, but it enjoineth us to Humble and Debase our selves, and to Glorify God in all, to advance his Honour in the World, and next to that, to look after the Salvation of our own and others immortal Souls. These are the Noble and Worthy Designs of Christianity, and the Laws of it: their Business is to take us off from those low and mean Projects which Men of the World carry on, and to set the Soul of Man in a right Posture, and to fix it on right Ends. The Christian Precepts reach to the Hearts of Men, they restrain the secret Thoughts and inward Motions of the Mind, they curb the inordinate Desires and Wishes, they temper the Affections and Passions, especially they forbid Revenge, Malice, Hatred; and they direct us to love God, and to bear Love to all Men for his Sake. The Christian Laws give Rules for our Words and Speeches, and will not allow them to be Idle and Vain, much less Prophane and Impious; but they command our Discourse to be *always with Grace, season'd with Salt*, to savour of Goodness and Piety, and to be for the Edifying of those we converse with. The Commandments of the Gospel do also govern the Outward Actions of our Lives, and bid us be *Holy in all manner of Conversation*: They enjoin Chastity and Continence,

tinence, Temperance and Sobriety; they forbid Lust and Luxury, Pride and Sensuality: They teach Courtesy, Affability, Meekness, Candour, Gentleness towards our Brethren: They bid us be Kind and Charitable to all, and even to love our Enemies. Christianity is a Religion that is exactly Just, and gives the strictest Rules of dealing Honestly and Uprightly with our Neighbours. Even Morality, which is the very Foundation and Ground-work of All Religions, is most Illustrious here. Christianity hath the Impress of Reason, Civility, and all Acceptable Qualities. It forbids nothing that is Fitting and Decorous, it countenances all that is Manly and Generous, it is agreeable to the Law of Nature and the Reason of Mankind. In these Sacred Writings the Duty of Christians is set down not only as they are Single, but as they stand in relation to others, and as they are Members of the Community. There are Peculiar Lessons for Persons in every Condition, for Husbands and Wives, for Masters and Servants, for Parents and Children, for Superiours, Equals and Inferiours. They are all provided here with Instructions and Directions proper to that State they are in. They are very Remarkable Words which a Reverend Divine of our Church uttered; “ Would Men apply their Minds (saith he) to study Scripture, and observe their own and others Course of Life, Experience would teach them that there is no Estate on Earth, nor humane Business in *Christendom* this Day on foot, but have a Ruled Case in Scripture for their Issue and Success. This is a Great Truth, and is no mean De-

Demonstration of the Excellency of these Holy Writings which I am speaking of.

Here are also the most Notable Instances of all those Vertues and Graces which adorn the Life of Man. Here is the Example of *Abel's* sincere and acceptable Devotion; of *Enoch's* walking with God; of *Noah's* untainted Faithfulness amidst the Temptations of the corrupt World; of *Abraham's* Faith and Self-denial, when he offered his only Son on the Altar; of *Joseph's* Resolved Chastity, when he once and again resisted the lustful Solicitations of his Mistress. Here is the Example of *Moses's* Publick Spirit, who desired his Name might be blotted out of the Book of Life rather than that Nation should perish. Here you read of *Aaron's* submissive Silence; of *Reuben's* fraternal Commiseration; of *Rahab's* Seasonable Wisdom, which was the Effect of her Faith, in concealing the Spies that were search'd for. Here we may observe *Phineas's* Active Zeal; *Eli's* Entire Submission to the Divine Pleasure; *Job's* Invincible Patience; *Josiah's* Early Piety; his and *Jehosaphat's* Care to reform the Church; *Jonathan's* entire Friendship; *Manasses* and *Peter's* Repentance; *John Baptist's* Austerity; the Centurion's Faith; *Stephen's* Charity to his Enemies at his Death. Briefly, here is commemorated the Religious and Holy Demeanour of all Ranks and Degrees of Persons, whether in Prosperity or Adversity; whether in Youth, Manhood, or Old Age, or in whatsoever Condition of Life they were placed. Where can we find such glorious Achievements as the Sacred History recounts unto us? Where are there such Perfect Patterns of Virtue? Where do you meet with such Noble Acts as some of the Holy Patriarchs, Prophets and Apostles are celebrated for? The Great Heroes spoken

of in the Writings of the Pagans are generally but Ideas of Vertue, and a kind of Harmless Romances to preach Goodness to Men. *Virgil's Aeneas*, *Xenophon's Cyrus*, *Curtius's Alexander*, *Pliny's Trajan*, are rather Ingenious Portraitsures and Images of Worthy Princes than Real Characters of them. They represent rather what they should be than what they are. They imitate some Limners who study not to draw the Face exactly like that of the Person they are to pourtray; so they make it fair, they think it is enough. But the Sacred Writers have not done so; they have no ways flattered or misrepresented the Originals they drew. They have set them before us in their proper Features, native Lineaments, and genuine Colours. What we read of the Worthies mention'd in the Bible, is Certainly True, and Real Matter of Fact: Such was their Incomparable Spirit, that they did braver and greater Actions than Others ever thought of, witness the matchless Valour, Fortitude and Conduct of *Joshua*, *Jephthah*, *Gideon*, yea of those Masculine Women *Deborah* and *Jael*; witness all the Other Eminent Instances of Heroick Undertakings in the Sacred Records; witness those Exact Patterns, those Accurate Examples of the rest of the Vertues which we read of there. And to illustrate and set off these, there are added very Signal and Memorable Examples of all sorts of Vices, as of *Cain's* *Perfidious Murdering* his Brother, *Laban's* *Fraud and Ingratitude*, *Esau's* *Unruly Appetite*, *Reuben and Judah's* *Incest*, *Pharaoh's* *impious Obstinacy*, *Abimelech's* *unnatural Cruelty* to his Brethren, *Dinah's* *wanton gadding*, *Amnon's* *Rape*, *Achitophel's* *evil Policy*, *Shimei's* *Railing*, *Haman's* *revengeful Pride*, *Rabshakeh's* *Blasphemy*, *Belshazzar's* *sacrilegious Debauchery*. *Potiphar's* *Wife is*

an Example of the Impudence and Outragiousness of Lust when it is repulsed; *Eli* is an Instance of Fond Indulgence to his Children; *Absalom*, *Achitophel*, *Sheba* and *Zimri*, of Treason and Rebellion; *Samson* and *Solomon* of an Undue Love of Women: And in the New Testament the Hypocrisy of the Pharisees, the Treachery of *Judas*, the Timorous Compliance of *Pilate*, the Malice of the Jews against our Saviour, the Apostacy of *Demas*, the Ambition of *Diotrephes*, are notorious. And innumerable other Examples there are of all manner of Immorality and Wickedness.

And with these are mixed the most Signal Instances of the Punishment of Vice, and the Reward of Vertue. Here are abundant Proofs of God's Extreme Severity and Vengeance against profligate Offenders; and here are as frequent Tokens and Assurances of the Divine Love and Kindness towards those that lead a holy and religious Life. Here are set before us the most Conspicuous Acts of God's Providence in reference both to Bad Men and Good, that by the former we may be discouraged, yea deterred from continuing in the ways of Vice, and that by the latter we may be encouraged, yea as 'twere bribed to be Vertuous and Good. Here we may observe and admire God's Wonderful Care of his Servants in all Ages of the World; and here we may take notice of the Variety of those Evils and Miseries which he inflicteth on those who wilfully decline his Service, and give themselves up to their Lusts. There are no where such Eminent Examples of this Nature to be found as these which we meet with in the Sacred Volume of the Bible. No other Writings can produce such Remarkable Discoveries of God's Will towards Men, and of his Dealings with them:

20 *The Excellency and Perfection*

Wherefore These must needs be the Best Conduct of our Lives and Actions, the Best Reformers of our Ways and Manners: Which is the Meaning of the Psalmist in *Psal. 119. 9. Wherewith shall a young Man cleanse his way? By taking heed thereto, according to thy Word,* i. e. by making the Holy Scripture his Rule, and by adjusting all his Actions to it. If the *Youthful and Passionate* Sinner may be reclaimed and reformed by attending to God's Word, and that only the Pentateuch or the Laws of *Moses* (for this was all the Inspired Scripture extant at that time, which we certainly know of) then we cannot despair of the Success and happy Influence of the whole Body of the Scriptures upon Others. It will throughly change and amend their Lives by making a full Discovery to them of all their Lusts and evil Affections, by representing Sin to them in its own native Deformity, and by setting before them the Beauties and Excellencies of a Religious Life, by being a Faithful Monitor and Guide to them whenever they undertake any thing, by shewing them the true Boundaries of Good and Evil, and by directing them how to accomplish the one, and to avoid the other. The Sum of all is, that these Inspired Writings acquaint us with the Whole Will of God, whether it refers to our Belief or to our Practice, and consequently that not only our Faith, but our Manners are to be regulated by this Holy Book. Especially by the Principles and Laws of the *New Testament* they will more conspicuously be exalted, and all Righteousness and Godliness more visibly promoted in our Lives. For here is the most Perfect and Consummate Exemplar of Holiness; in the Evangelical Writings the Blessed *Jesus* still speaks and lives: In these you may hear what he said, and see what he did, and

and know how you are to conform your Lives according to His. Whence you have Reason to infer, that as these Writings are the Compleat Canon of our Faith, so they are the Adequate Rule of our Actions.

Nay, although we should suppose some Mistakes in them by the Fault of *Transcribers*, (which yet no Man can certainly prove, nay it is not by any means to be allowed, and therefore it is the most culpable thing in Sir *N. Knatchbull*, that he is several times finding Faults in the Transcribers of the *New Testament*, which if we once grant, we bid farewell to the Certainty of Scripture: But if we should, I say, *suppose* some Slips in the Copying out of the Books, yet) still they retain the same Character, because those supposed Mistakes are not of Moment, and belong not to Faith or Manners. Neither do the *Obscurity* or *Difficulty* of Scripture hinder it from being our Rule, because all the Matters in it which relate to our Salvation, are clear and easy. For when I say it is an Adequate Rule of Faith and Manners, the Meaning is, that it is so as to such Matters of Faith and Manners as are *Necessary* to be believed and practised by us. Now nothing is *Necessary* but what is absolutely requisite to our Salvation. This then is the thing which we maintain, that the Scriptures contain in them either in exprefs Terms, or by just Consequence, all things to be asserted and done by us in order to our being Saved. The Reason of which is evident, namely, because the End for which the Scriptures were written was this, to direct us how to be Saved. This is the grand Design of it, and therefore there must be in it all things that are requisite to this great End and Design. Which is exprest thus in the Words of Our

22 *The Excellency and Perfection*

Church, ' " Holy Scripture containeth all things
 " necessary to Salvation; so that whatsoever is
 " not read therein, nor may be proved thereby,
 " is not to be required of any Man, that it should
 " be believed as an Article of the Faith, or be
 " thought requisite or necessary to Salvation. And
 this is a sufficient and solid Proof of a thing's not
 being Necessary to Salvation, that it is not contain'd
 in Scripture. This then we assert, that these Writ-
 ings are Plain and Perfect as to all Matters that are
 Necessary, and accordingly are able to put an End
 to all Controversies which relate to Salvation:
 And if Men will not end them with This Rule,
 they will never do it with any. This is the Chief
 Perfection of Scripture, that in it the whole Will
 of God, as to those things that have a necessary
 Tendency to our Happiness, and consequently are
 the only Necessary Things to be known and done
 by us, is plainly revealed. The *New Testament*
 particularly is the last Revelation of God's Will
 and Counsel, and nothing is to be added to it or
 taken from it, which makes it a Perfect Standard
 of Belief, and a Compleat Rule of our Lives, in
 which there is nothing short and defective, no-
 thing superfluous and redundant. Here are all the
 Principles of True Religion, and all the Measures
 of Holy Living: so that whilst we proceed ac-
 cording to this Perfect Canon, we are infallibly
 certain of the Truth of what we believe, and of
 the Rectitude and Lawfulness of what we act. On
 this sole Account the Holy Writ excels all Writ-
 ings in the World besides.

3. We

¹ Article the 6th, viz, *Of the Sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures
 for Salvation.*

3. We are to adjoin this, that as it is a Light to our *Understandings*, and a Rule of our *Lives*, so it is the grand Procurer of our *Comfort*, *Joy* and *Tranquillity*. Alas, they are Cold Topicks of Consolation which the Writings of the Best Moralists afford us. When our outward Distresses and Miseries, much more when our inward and spiritual Maladies increase upon us, *Epictetus* and *Seneca*, with all their Spangled Sayings, are too mean Physicians to take us in Hand. The Great *Cicero*, when in the Close of his Life he was reduced to marvelous Difficulties, declared that his Learning and his Books, afforded him not any Considerable Arguments of Comfort; that the Disease of his Mind, which he lay under was 'too great, and too strong to be cured by those Ordinary Medicines which Philosophy administred to him. There must be some greater Traumatick, some more powerful Application to these Wounds to work a perfect Cure. And this Divine Book is able to furnish us with it. This alone can remove our Pains and Languors, and restore us to an entire Health. 'This, saith the Psalmist, is my Comfort in my Affliction, Thy Word hath quickened me: And again, 'Unless thy Law had been my Delight, I should then have perished in my Affliction. It was this which upheld and chear'd him in his greatest Straits, and yielded him Light and Joy, when all things about him look'd black and dismal. If but a small part of the Bible had this blessed Effect, how powerful and successful will All of it prove, if we duly consult it, seriously

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'Imbecillior est Medicina quam Morbus. *Epist.* 16. ad Attic. Lib. 10. 'Psalm. 119. 50. 'v. 92.

meditate upon it, and give it admittance into our Hearts? If the Apostle could say, *Whatsoever things were written afore time in this Book, were written for our Learning, that we through Patience and Comfort of the Scriptures might have Hope*, how much greater Hope must needs be administred to us, in all Conditions of Life, but more especially in the Day of Trouble and Calamity, when we have the Scriptures, not only of the Old but New Testament to repair unto? This latter especially will be a never-failing Spring of Contentment and Joy to us. In these Books we have a true and perfect Landskip and View of the World: Here is unmask'd and laid open the Vanity of it. Here we are assured that many of the Gay things which it presents us with, and which fond Minds so dote upon, are but empty Bubbles, deceitful Phantoms and Apparitions, mere Conceits and Castles in the Air. Here we are inform'd that a Prosperous State is not really Good, that an Overplus of Riches and Worldly Abundance does frequently prove a Clog to vertuous Minds, and that Excess of Pleasures is too fulsom and luscious, and takes away that purer Relish of spiritual and heavenly Delights; yea, that Men generally find a worse Effect of them: for when they are gorged and clogg'd with them, they revolt from God; *when they are waxen fat, they kick against Heaven*. So their Worldly Plenty is turn'd into the worst of Punishments, and this *Plethory* is their Disease. On the other side, we are taught in these Writings, that Crosses and Afflictions are not evil in themselves, yea, that they are Good and Medicinal, and advance our spiritual Health; that they are

are so far from being a hindrance to our Happiness, that they are a part of it, for otherwise the Afflicted would not be so often pronounced ' *Blessed* : That God's Afflicting a Man is ' *Magnifying of him*, and *setting his Heart upon him*. It shews, that God is greatly concern'd for his Good, and that the Almighty hath more care of him than he hath of himself. Here we are instructed that we have ground to suspect our Condition, if we be wholly exempted from the Distresses of this Life; and that not to be Chastised is a Mark of *Bastardy*. Here we learn the true use and end of all those Adverse Dispensations which we meet with, *viz.* that they were designed to try us, to make us know our selves, and to inform us how evil and bitter a thing it is to offend the Divine Majesty; to awaken us out of our Sloth and Security; to hold us in Action, to keep us in Breath and Exercise, as *Carthage* was useful to rouse *Rome's* Valour; to abate our Pride and Haughtiness, and make us humble and submissive Creatures; to check our immoderate Passions and Pursuits after earthly things; to disintangle us from these Snares, to free us from these Charms, to keep us from being suck'd in, and swallowed up in the powerful *Circle* and *Eddy* of this World; as who knows not that it is True Philosophy that the *World* is made up of *Vortices*? to cause us to look after Better Things when these are taken from us, to reclaim us from our evil Courses, and to reduce us unto Vertue and Goodness; to excite us to a Renunciation of all Trust and Confidence in our selves, and the transitory Enjoyments of this World,

* Job 5. 17. Psal. 94. 12. Prov. 3. 11. Matth. 5. 10, 11. Acts 14. 22. Rom. 5. 3. & 8. 17. Jam. 1. 2, 12. * Job 7. 17.

26 *The Excellency and Perfection*

World, and to depend upon God alone. It is this Book whence we are acquainted that our Sufferings make us conformable to Christ our Master, and therefore are Honourable Badges of Christianity: That the Curse which usually attends outward Crosses, is taken away by our Saviour's Death: That the Calamities of the Faithful are Chastisements, rather than Punishments: That no Adverse Accidents can do us any hurt, if we believe in Jesus, and abandon our Sins: That the Pressures of this Life are serviceable to make us pity those that are in Misery, to know and relish the Love of Christ in suffering for us, to inhance the Comforts of a Good Conscience, to commend the Favour of God to us, to prepare us for Heaven, and to increase the Happiness of it. Thus the Scriptures reconcile our Minds to those Disappointments, Dangers and Calamities, which are our Allotment in this World; thus they assuage the evil Spirit of Discontent, they effectually cast out and vanquish those Legions of Impatient and Tumultuous Thoughts, which are the frequent Attendants of Adversity: They assure us that these Afflictive Dealings of Heaven towards us, are intended for our real Advantage; that they are the greatest Kindness and Favour that can be shew'd us; that they are undeniable Tokens of Divine Love; and in brief, that Good Men are happier in their worst Circumstances, than others are, or can be, in their greatest worldly Felicities. Upon these rational Grounds, the Holy Scriptures become the most effectual Anodynes to take away, or at least to mitigate all our Pains and Sorrows. They successfully remove all those Murmurs and Discontents which ruffle and imbroil the Soul, they quash and defeat all those trouble-
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some Passions which embarrass and plague the Mind. By the help of these Divine Instructions which the Holy Writ affords us, we are enabled to encounter the greatest Evils, with courage and bravery to receive the Shock, to weather the Storm, to bear all the Insolencies and Insults of our Enemies, to break through all Difficulties, to have Peace within though we find none without, to keep a Sabbath in our own Breasts, to entertain our selves with the Serenades of a Good Conscience. This is the *Patience and Comfort of the Scriptures*, and no Writings in the World can bless us with them but these.

And indeed this necessarily follows from those foregoing Assertions, viz. that Scripture is a Perfect Rule of Faith, and also of Manners. As it is the former, it is a sure Basis for us to rest upon: *we know whom we have believed*, and so we are fixed and determined; which doth effectually contribute towards our Peace and Solace. As it is the latter also, we cannot but receive Comfort from it, because being a Certain and Unerring Guide in all our Actions, it must needs administer great Satisfaction and Joy to us through our whole Lives, when we consider that we have a Stable Rule to walk by, and that we cannot do amiss if we follow that; but especially, when we reflect on our Manners, and see that they are adjusted to this Canon, and that *'we have in Simplicity and godly Sincerity had our Conversation in the World'*. This will be our *Rejoicing and Exultation*. Again, the Scripture yields an inconceivable Joy, by prescribing the Best Means for attaining Peace and Unity, which are Comfortable Blessings of this Life; by
allowing

28 *The Excellency and Perfection*

allowing us all Innocent and Harmless Delights, such as will neither destroy the Peace of our Souls, nor impair the Health of our Bodies; by thoroughly convincing us that Christianity in it self is most Satisfactory to our Minds, and is made to convey Joy and Peace into our Hearts; by teaching us Contentedness in all Conditions; by assuring us that Christianity provides for our greatest and most Important Wants, and supplies our most Urgent Necessities, and therefore we ought to acquiesce in it, and solace our selves with it. Thus it administers the most Chearing Cordials: and so it doth by directing us to the Worthiest Ends, by setting before us the Strongest Motives, the most Powerful Perswasives to our Duty, whereby we are enabled not only to undertake it, but to discharge it with Chearfulness and Delight; by propounding and presenting to us the Best Rewards, *viz.* Forgiveness of our Sins, Assurance of God's Love, and Eternal Life and Blessedness: For as a Great Man saith, '*No Book in the World but this shews a Man the Adequate End of his Being, his Supreme Good, his Happiness, nor directs the Means of acquiring it.*' The Bible is the Great Instrument (as it was emphatically call'd by the Fathers) of our Salvation and Happiness. By these *Writings* we hold our Everlasting Inheritance: And these are the Great *Deeds and Evidences* whereby we prove our Title to it. In a word, as these sustain and support us in all Conditions of our Life, and give us a happy Prospect of a better State, so they render Death welcom and joyful to us, they enable us by virtue of those Sacred Truths contained

^a *Judge Hale, in his Discourse of the Knowledge of God and of our Selves.*

tained in them, to expire our last Breath with Peace and Tranquillity. On all which Accounts we must acknowledg them to be the greatest Support and Relief of our Souls, yea the Only Source of Comfort and Content. Thus if you consider the Holy Scriptures as they dictate the Best Principles, as they beget in us the greatest Holiness and Purity, and as they are the Solace of our Lives, we must be forced to acknowledg their Incomparable Excellency.

These three Particulars, wherein I have endeavoured to display the Perfection of Scripture, are to be found together in *Psal.* 19. 7, 8. where These Properties are ascribed to the Law of God, namely, that it *enlightens the Eyes*, and so is a Director of our Faith; that it *converts the Soul*, and so is a Reformer of the Manners; and that it *rejoiceth the Heart*, and so is the Fountain of True Comfort. You find all these in conjunction in that other remarkable Place, *2 Tim.* 3. 16. *All Scripture* (whereby we may understand not only the Old Testament, but part of the New, viz. *St. Matthew's Gospel*, which was extant when *Timothy*, to whom the Apostle here speaks, was a Child, *v. 13.*) is given by Inspiration of God, and is profitable for Doctrine, for Reproof, for Correction, for Instruction in Righteousness. It is not to be doubted that *Doctrine* refers to the Understanding and Belief, and *Reproof* and *Instruction in Righteousness* to the Will and Manners: and then *ἐπὶ πάλιν*, *Rectifying, restoring, setting all straight again*, (as the Word imports) includes in it that Comforting and Chearing which I spoke of. These are the Main Contents of the Holy Scripture. First, it is a Body and System of the Best and most Consistent Notions: it regulates the Apprehensions, and presents

us with True Conceptions of things. Here is nothing delivered that thwarts our rectified Understandings, or is a Contradiction to the most refined Faculties of our Minds. Moreover, it most successfully conducts us into the Ways of Piety and a Holy Life. The Design of it is to perfect humane Nature, to exalt Men to the highest Pitch their Condition is capable of, both by *Moral* and *Revealed Truth*, (the latter of which none but the Blessed Redeemer was able to communicate) to bring them to the Noblest Improvement and Exaltation of Vertue which they can possibly arrive to on this side of Heaven: In brief, to make us act not only as Rational but as Divine Creatures, yea even to render us like God Himself. And lastly, it not only inspires us with Excellent Principles, and promotes the Practice of Holiness, but administers the greatest Matter of Joy imaginable. This raises our Spirits, and fills our Souls with Delight and Pleasure; this strengthens and supports us under our heaviest Crosses, and makes our Life Happy, whatever befalls us. All which are undeniable Arguments of the *Perfection of Scripture*, whence we are enabled to Believe aright, to Live well, and to Rejoice. Thus these Holy Writings were endited, that *we might be Perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good Works*. And thus Scripture must needs be *Perfect*, because its Design is to make us so. But I am sensible that several Devout and Practical Writers have enlarged on this Subject, and therefore I will say no more of it, because my present Discourse is designed to be chiefly *Critical*. Let it suffice that I have briefly asserted the *Perfection of the Holy Scriptures* as to the three foregoing mention'd

mention'd Particulars, and that I have shew'd that this Perfection is not communicable to any Other Writings under Heaven. Such is the *Peculiar Excellency* of the Bible.

Wherefore it behoveth us to take notice and beware of those Men who oppose, or rather deny this *Excellency* and *Perfection*. First, the *Circumcised Doctors* shew themselves great Oppugners of it, whilst they excellently magnify their *Traditions*, and even prefer them before the Sacred Text. We must know then that the Jews talk much of their *Cabala*, or (as that Word signifies) the *Received Doctrine* among them, which was propagated by Oral Tradition and Continual Succession. This their *Cabala* is twofold; First, that which deals in Mysterious Criticisms and Curiosities about Words and Letters, to which belongs the *Masoreth*, which (as I have shew'd in another Discourse) is serviceable for the Preservation of the Bible. Secondly, that which by them is call'd the *Oral Law*, or the Law delivered from one to another, as an Exposition on the Written Law. It may not be impertinent to give the Reader a short Account of this *Oral Law* which they so much boast of. This was either *before Moses*, and was the Doctrine of the Patriarchs, propagated by Word of Mouth before the Law was committed to Writing; it consisted of the Seven Precepts of the Sons of *Noah*; of the Apothegms, Sentences and Paradoxes of the Wise Men in the first Ages; or it was *in and after Moses's time*, who is reckon'd the Great Author of the *Cabala*, because he deliver'd it *viva voce* to the Jews, say the Rabbins, at the same time that he gave them the *Decalogue* and the Other Written Laws.

2 à *kibbul* accipit, quia à Majoribus accepta est.

32 *The Excellency and Perfection*

Laws. This *Torab gnal peh*, (as they stile it) this Oral Law is the Exposition of those Written Laws, and is meant, they say, in *Deut. 4. 14. The Lord commanded me at that time to teach you Statutes and Judgments.* And for this they alledg *Deut. 12. 21.* which they tell us refers to some Special Command of God about *Killing*; and seeing we read no such Special Command about it in the *Written Law*, it is reasonable to conclude that it is to be understood of the *Oral one*: that must be the Sense of those Words there, *As I have commanded thee.* That *Moses* received this Law on Mount *Sinai*, '*Rabbi Bechai* proves by the same Token that he knew by this Law how long time he was upon that Mount; for when God taught him the Written Law, then he knew it was Day, (because he could not write in the Dark) but when God gave him the Oral Law, he knew then that it was Night. A most profound Answer to the Difficulty, how *Moses* could tell that he was 40 Days and Nights on the Mount. Well, God (they say) delivered this Law to *Moses*, *Moses* delivered it to *Joshua*, *Joshua* to the *Seventy Elders*, they to *Ezra*, who (some say) committed it to writing, for he was the Chiefest Cabalist next to *Moses*; but the Books which he composed of this Matter were lost, and so it went on after the old way again, *viz.* by Tradition, and came to the *Prophets*, of whom *Zecbary* and *Malachi* were the last, and from them the *Great Sanhedrim* had it; and at last it was made into a Book, that it might not be lost by reason of the Dispersion of the Jews. He that compiled this Volume or Book was *Rabbi Judah*, who for the singular Holiness of his Life was call'd *Hakkadosh* the Saint:

¹ In Deuteron. cap. 34.

Saint: He flourish'd in the Days of the Emperor *Antoninus Pius*, about a hundred and twenty Years after our Saviour's Passion. The Title which he gave to it was *Mishnah*, i. e. the Repetition of the Divine Law, or a Larger Explication of it given immediately to *Moses* by God, and by Tradition derived to the Jews. This *Δευτεριων*, this Iterated or Second Law is divided by him into six general *Sedarim*, i. e. so many Heads or Subjects of which it treats: and every *Sedar* is divided into Books, every Book into Chapters or *Pirka's*. About a hundred Years after this famous Rabbi had reduced the Traditions of the Jews into one Volume, the Learned Doctors began to comment upon it; and first the *Jerusalem Talmud* (call'd so because 'twas made for the Jews that lived in *Judea*, especially in *Jerusalem*) was finish'd by *R. Jochanan* about *A. D.* 240. The Comment which he and the other Rabbies made on the *Mishnah* is call'd the *Gemara*, the Supplemental Exposition of that Volume of Jewish Traditions. Next, the *Babylonick Talmud* was put forth by the Learned Jews at *Babylon*, who gathered their Traditions into a more Compleat and Exact Body (as they thought) for the Benefit of their Country-men in those Parts of the World. It was compiled by Rabbi *Ase* and his Companions about *A. D.* 500. and consisteth (as the former Talmud) of the *Mishnaioth* and the *Gemara*: the one is the Text, the other is the Comment, or the Decisions of the Doctors on the Book of the *Mishnah*. So then the *Oral Law*, which the Jews so much boast of, and set so high a Value upon, is contain'd in the Two Talmuds, which are made up of the *Mishnah* and the *Gemara*: The *Mishnah* is that which *R. Judah* compiled; the *Gemara's* are the Work of *R. Jochanan* and *Ase*, and other Rabbies; and both are

34 *The Excellency and Perfection*

a Compleat Body of the Civil and Canon Law of the Jews. Whoso nameth the *Talmuds* nameth all *Judaism*, saith *Lightfoot*: These (as he adds) are the Jews Council of *Trent*, they are the last and fullest Determinations which they have about all their Religious Opinions, Rites and Usages. Thus I have exhibited a brief Account of the whole Talmudick System, wherein the *Oral Law* is comprized, explained, and descanted upon. And it is not to be denied that there may be a very excellent Use made of this Collection of Jewish Traditions, it may be serviceable in sundry Instances to expound the Mosaic Law, to acquaint us with the Jewish Antiquities, to illustrate several Places in the Old Testament, yea to interpret many Passages in the New, which have reference to the received Practices and Usages of the Jews.

But the *Jews* (who are the Persons whom I am now blaming) make very ill Use of it, because they immoderately extol these Traditions, calling them *Torah shebegnal Peb*, their Infallible Oracle, and esteeming the Authority of them equal with that of the Bible. For as the Canonical Scriptures were dictated by Divine Inspiration, so these Laws they hold were from God Himself, and are of the same Authority with those Scriptures. They make no difference between the Inspired Writings of the *Old Testament* and the Books of *Mishnaioth* or the *Talmuds*, which are in truth an Amassment only of the Traditions of the Jews, and of the Diverse Decisions of the Schools of *Hillel* and *Shammai*, of the Different Determinations of *R. Akiba* and *R. Eliezer*, of *R. Simeon* and *R. Joshua*, &c. bandying against one another: or rather, if we speak plainer, they are a Rhapsody of Idle Dreams, Groundless Fables, Cursed Errors, Superstitious Rites

Rites and Practices, yea (if we should instance in the *Babylonick Talmud*) of Horrid Blasphemies against Christ, of Obloquies against the Mosaick Law it self, and of Contradictions even to the Law of Nature. These are part of the Books so highly prized by the Jewish Masters, these go along with their *Oral Law*, which was first given by God himself, and consequently is of the same Original with the Canon of Scripture. But they go yet higher; for they do not only equalize these Traditions with Scripture, but they prefer them before it. They do not only say in a Proverbial Manner, that *they cannot stand upon the Foundation of the Written Law without the Help of the Unwritten one, i. e. the Oral Law* which they talk of; and that *the Words of the Law as they are found in the Text are poor and wanting, but as they are expounded by the Doctors have great Riches and abundance in them*: And again, that *very Great and Weighty Matters depend upon these Little Traditions* which they contend for: but they are so bold and presumptuous as to proceed further, and give a far Greater Deference to these Traditions and Doctrines of their Wise Men (as they call them) than to the Holy Scriptures themselves. For they tell us, that *their Doctors have done more good (viz. as to strengthening and confirming of Religion) by their own Sayings than by the Words of this Holy Book it self*. And accordingly their Advice is, *My Son, attend more to what the Scribes say than to what is said by the Law*, (though I

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¹ Impossibile est stare super Fundamento Legis scriptæ nisi beneficio Legis ore traditæ. ² Verba Legis in loco proprio egc-
na sunt, in alieno verò locupletissima. ³ Magni montes depen-
dent à pilo. ⁴ Sapientes suis ipsorum verbis robur fecerunt ma-
jus quàm ipsis Legis verbis. ⁵ Fili mi, attende magis ad verba
Scribarum quàm ad verba Legis.

36 The Excellency and Perfection

know this may admit of another Sense, viz. that we ought to look more to the Sense of the Law than the bare Letter of it). But that in the Talmud is plain, and can have no other Meaning, 'To read the Holy Scripture, and to be studious in searching out the Sense of it is good, and not good, (i. e. it is not of any considerable Advantage) but to turn over the Mishnah Night and Day is a Vertue which will have a great Reward hereafter; and to learn the Gemara is an incomparable Vertue. Yea, the Jews blasphemously say that God himself studies in the Talmud every Day. Here you see they prefer their Delivered Law before the Written one: they make the Infallible Scriptures truckle to the Fabulous Traditions of the Mishnah. To this purpose it is a Noted Saying of the Hebrew Rabbies, that the Text of the Bible is like Water, the Mishnah like Wine, and the Six Books of the Talmud are like the Sweetest Honey'd Wine. Thus, to magnify the Traditions of their Fathers, they vilify the Scriptures. They are not content with the Rites and Injunctions written in the Law, which in way of Contempt they call *the Precepts of the Law*, but they admire those most which are taken from their Wise Men, which they call *the Precepts of the Rabbins*, and which are summarily contain'd in the Talmud: these they hold to be of greater Value than the other. The Persons that are skill'd in these are stiled by them *Tannaim*, Profound Masters and Doctors; but they that study the Scriptures only are but *Karaim*, Poor Readers, and Men of the Letter. All this shews how these Men depretiate the Written Word of God, and exalt above it their *Oral Law*, which is a mere Fiction and

and Forgery, (as to the pretence of its being given to *Moses* by God) and therefore is not owned by the *Karaim* among them, who stick close to the Text, nor by some of their *Perushim*, their sobrest sort of Expositors, who think those Traditions are derogatory to the Holy Scriptures.

Secondly, *Papists* as well as *Jews* disparage the Holy Scriptures, and deny its *Perfection*. (Nor, by the way, is this the only thing wherein they agree with the *Jews*, a great Part of their Religion being no other than Jewish Rites and Ceremonies.) These Modern Talmudists will not own the Sufficiency of the Sacred Writings, they have their *Cabala*, the *Doctrine Received* from their Ancestors: they are for their *Oral Law* delivered from one to another, they supply the defect of Scripture (so they are wont to speak) with their *Traditions*. They are of the same Mind with the *Jews*, that 'there must be a Fence made about the Law, that it must be hedged in with Traditions. The Scripture is not a Perfect Rule of Faith and Manners, say they: but the things which are necessary to Salvation, are partly contained in the Scripture, and partly in unwritten Traditions. A very absurd and wild Doctrine! because they have no way to prove any thing to be necessary to Salvation, but by proving it to be found in the Scripture. Whatever was or is necessary for the Universal Church is revealed in these Writings; and no New Doctrine necessary to Salvation, is delivered since to the Church or any particular Person. But notwithstanding the Absurdity of this Tenent, they hold it fast, and make it a Great Article of their

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Belief.

38 *The Excellency and Perfection*

Belief. For they are taught by an Oecumenical Council (as they repute it) that Unwritten Traditions are of equal Authority with the Scriptures, that they are to be received '*with the same pious Affection and Reverence* (those are the words) wherewith the Infalible Writings of the Prophets and Apostles are to be entertained, and consequently they are to be made a Rule of Faith equal with the Scriptures. But they rest not here; they not only equal Humane and Ecclesiastical Traditions with the Written Word of God, but following the Steps of the *Old Talmudists*, they proceed yet further, preferring Traditions before Scripture. Thus a Renowned Divine in their Church tells us plainly, that 'Traditions are exceeding necessary for the welfare of the Church, yea, that they are more requisite than the Scripture it self; and this he endeavours to make good. With him concur several others of their Writers, whom we find extolling Traditions, but at the same time speaking very meanly and slightly of the Holy Writ. Hence they blasphemously call it a *Nose of Wax*, and a *Leaden Rule*; and many such vilifying Terms are used by *Pighius* and *Melchior Canus*, and 'other Great Doctors of that Church. We deny not the Usefulness, nay even the Necessity, nay the Perpetuity of *Tradition*, viz. That Tradition whereby the Doctrines which were entrusted in the Church's Hands by the Prophets and Apostles, shall by her be delivered'd

'Pari pietatis affectu & reverentiâ. Conc. Trid. Sess. 4. 'Est Traditio imprimis ad salutem Ecclesiæ necessaria, atque adeo magis quam ipsa Scriptura. Salmeron in Epist. St. Pauli, Disp. 8. 'Tapperus, Hundlarus, Petrus a Soto, Bellarminus, Colerus, &c.

ver'd over to her Children to the World's End, which way of Transmission is the great Prop of our Religion. Besides, the Apostle enjoins the *' Thessalonians to hold fast the Traditions which they had been taught, whether by Word or his Epistle :* for he had us'd two ways of delivering the Truth to them ; namely, Preaching and Writing : and other Apostles committed the chief and necessary Heads of their Doctrine to Writing. So that the *Traditions* meant here, are the Revealed Truths of the Gospel delivered by the Apostles and Evangelists, and are no other than what Christ deliver'd to them, according to that of St. Paul, *' I delivered to you that which also I received :* whence they have the Name of *Traditions*, i. e. they are Evangelical Doctrines delivered to us from those that were taught them by Christ. And whether they were imparted *by Word or by Epistle*, by Preaching or Writing, they are the same, the same as to substance, tho otherwise there may be some difference. But that which we condemn (and that most justly) the Papists for, is this, that they magnify and rely upon *Traditions* which have no affinity with the Doctrine of Christ and the Apostles, yea, which contradict it in many things ; and yet they equalize these with the Word of God, and sometimes prefer them and the Authority of the Church, before that of the Sacred Writings of the Old and New Testament. Thus One saith, *' " The Church sometimes doth things contrary to the Scriptures, sometimes besides them : therefore the Church is the*

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"Rule

¹ 2 Epist. Ch. 2. v. 15. ² 1 Cor. ³ Ecclesia visa est aliquando facere contra Scripturas, aliquando præter Scripturas : ergo ipsa est Regula eorum quæ traduntur in Scripturis, ergo credimus Ecclesiæ contra formam Scriptorum. Caranza.

40 The Excellency and Perfection

“Rule and Standard of the things that are delivered in the Scriptures, and therefore we believe the Church, though she acts counter to the formal Decisions of the Scriptures. And another Famous Doctor gives it for good Divinity, that the Decrees and Determinations of a Council are binding, though they be not confirmed by any probable Testimony of Scripture, nay though they be beyond and above the Determination of Scripture. Thus the Holy Writings of the Bible are most impiously disparaged and vilified by the *Pontificians*. Whereas there is nothing defective or redundant, nothing wanting or superfluous in these Writings: they assert in the open face of the World that they are short and imperfect, and therefore have need of being supplied by *Traditions*, which in some things are of greater Value and Authority than they.

Again, that the Church of *Rome* oppugneth or rather denieth the Perfection of the Scriptures, might be evinced from their constant care and endeavour to keep them in an *Unknown Tongue*. It is true they have translated them. But, 1. There was a kind of necessity of doing it, the *Protestants* having turned them into so many Tongues. By this means they were compelled as it were to let some of their People see what the Bible was in their own Language. But, 2. It is so corruptly translated that it is made to patronize several of their Superstitious Follies and Errors. And yet, 3. They dare not commit these Translations to common View. Although in all Countries where People were converted to Christianity, in elder times the Scripture was turned into their Language, and every

every one was permitted, yea exhorted to read it, (as is proved by many Writers, ' the Learned Dr. *Stillingfleet* particularly) yet the Church of *Rome* denieth the common People the Use of it, as a thing hurtful and pernicious. The Bible, as some Bad Book, is *tolerated* to be read with great Caution and Restriction, in *some* Countries only, and by *some* Persons. It is, like the Sibyls Prophecies of old among the Romans, not to be look'd into without the Permission and Authority of the Senate; none can read it without a Licence from their Superiours: so dangerous a thing is the Bible. From this Practice the People generally imbibe a strong Prejudice against the Scriptures, and believe they cannot be good for them, because the Pope and their Pastors tell them they are not. Wherefore, as ' one who was once of the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, hath well observed, As soon as ever any Man imbraces Popery, he presently throws the Bible out of his Hands as altogether useles (to say no worse). Which unreasonable and wicked Behaviour of theirs was one great Reason or Motive (as he professeth) of his returning to the Church of *England* again. For what Considerate Man can think That to be a True Church which teacheth its Members to slight and reject the Word of God, which is the Source of all Divine Truth, and without which we can neither believe nor practise aright, we can neither have Comfort here, nor arrive to Happiness hereafter? This indeed is not only to null the *Perfection* of Scripture, but to abolish the *whole Body of Scripture* it self.

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* The Council of Trent examined, pag. 46, 47. † W. H. M. Dr. in a Letter lately written by him.

42 *The Excellency and Perfection*

A third sort of Persons that are Opposers of the Perfection of Scripture are *Enthusiasts*, and such who act out of a truly Fanatick Principle. Such were the *Familists* heretofore, whose Pretences to the Spirit were so high that they excluded and renounced the Letter of Scripture, which according to their Stile ' was a dark Lanthorn, a liveless Carcass, a Book shut up and seal'd with seven Seals, the Scabbard (not the Sword) of the Spirit : or, if it be a Sword, it is the Sword of Antichrist, wherewith he kills Christ. This was the impious Jargon of these High-flown Men, who made no other Use of the Bible than to Allegorize it, and to turn it all into Mystery. These have been followed by Others of a like Fanatick Spirit, who have made it a great part of their Religion to despise and reproach the Sacred Writ. A late Enthusiast, or rather one that pretends to be such, but designs the Overthrow of all Religion, tells the World that the Bible is founded in Imagination, that God's Revelations in Scripture are ever according to the Fancy of the Prophets or other Persons he spoke to, and that all the Phrases and Speeches, all the Discoveries and Manifestations, yea all the Historical Passages in the Old and New Testament are adapted to these. The *Quaker* comes next, and refuseth to own the Scripture to be the Word of God, and the Perfect Rule by which we are to direct our Lives. " It is a great Error and Falsity, (saith ¹ one of the most considerable Persons of that Perswasion) " that the Scriptures are a filled " up Canon, and the only Rule of Faith and Obedience in all things, and that no more Scriptures " are to be writ or given forth from the Spirit of " the

¹ Sebast. Franc. Paradox. ² In his Tractat. Theologico-Politicus. ³ George Keith of Immediate Revelation.

“ the Lord. With whom agrees * another of as great Repute among that Tribe ; “ I see no Necessity (saith he) of believing that the Canon of Scripture is filled up. And again, “ The Scriptures (saith he) are not to be esteemed the Principal Ground of all Truth and Knowledge, nor yet the Adequate Primary Rule of Faith and Manners, but they are only a Secondary Rule subordinate to the Spirit. And accordingly he adds, “ That the inward Inspirations and Revelations which Men have, are not to be subjected to the Examination of the outward Testimony of the Scriptures, but are above them. Thus these bold Men, out of a pretence of Inspiration, vilify the Sacred Volume of the Bible. Thus absurdly and irreligiously these deluded Persons, out of an Enthusiastick Heat, prefer their own private Spirit before the Holy Spirit of God speaking in the Scriptures. The Men hold *themselves* to be *Perfect*, but the *Scripture* must by no means be so : it is weak and imperfect, and ought to give way to the Inward Impressions in their Minds, which, according to them, are *that more sure Word of Prophecy, whereunto they think they do well to give heed as unto a Light shining in a dark Place* : But we see that they are thereby led into gross Error and Darkness. And as to this particular Perswasion concerning the Meanness of the Scriptures, they therein (as in several other things) symbolize with the Church of *Rome*, whence they had their Original : They confound Natural Light or Reason with Revelation, they hold that Pagans are in as good a Condition as Christians ; they make their private Dictates as Authentick as the Bible ; yea they

* Barclay in his *Apology*, p. 55, 60.

44 *The Excellency and Perfection*

they must needs hold that there is no Infallible Rule of Truth or Practice but their own Notions and Sentiments, which some of their Writers call *Canonical*.

I might observe to you that besides *Jews, Papists and Enthusiasts*, there are Others that deny the Excellency and Perfection of the Holy Scriptures, as *Atbeists* and mere *Politicians*, who endeavour to perswade the World that all Religion is a Cheat, and that This Book is so too: Likewise the Generality of *Hereticks, Seducers and Impostors*, who (it is no wonder) debase that which they design to pervert. But the bare mentioning of these Persons is sufficient to beget a Dislike of them with all that are Wise and Sober, and who are convinc'd of the *Scriptures Perfection* from those Topicks which I have propounded. It may be said of most Books as *Martial* said of his, 'There are some good, and some bad things in them, and some of a middle Nature. But in this Divine Book there are no such Allays; all is pure and uncorrupt, entire and unmixed: there are no Defects, no Mistakes in this Infallible Volume given us from Heaven. Shall the Turks then when they find a Leaf or any part of the *Alcoran* on the Ground, take it up and kiss it, and deposite it in some safe place, affirming it to be a great Sin to suffer that wherein the *Name of God* and *Mabomet's Laws* are written, to be trodden under Feet? And shall not we *Christians* highly value and reverence the Sacred Volume of the Bible, the Writings of the *Old and New Testament*, which contain the Words of God Himself, and the Laws of the Blessed Jesus, which enrich us with

* Sunt bona, sunt quaedam mediocria, sunt mala multa.

with that Sublime and Supernatural Learning which is the Rule of our Faith, the Conduct of our Manners, and the Comfort of our Lives?

CHAP. II.

The Bible is furnish'd with all sorts of Humane (as well as Divine) Learning. Hebrew, wherein the Old Testament was written, is the Primitive Language of the World. The True Origine of the World is plainly recorded in no other Writings but these. The first Chapter of Genesis is a real History, and records a matter of fact. It is largely proved that the Adosack History gives us a particular Account of the first Rise of the several Nations and People of the Earth, and of the Places of their Habitation. Also the true Knowledge of the Original of Civil Government, and the Increases of it, and the different Changes it underwent is derived from these Writings. The Courts of Judicature, and the several kinds of Punishment among the Jews distinctly treated of. The Government among the Heathen Nations. The four Celebrated Monarchies or Empires of the World.

I Proceed now to the Second General Head of my Discourse, viz. the Universal Usefulness of the Bible as to things that are Temporal and Secular. Not only all Religious, Divine and Saving Knowledge is to be fetch'd hence, but that likewise which is Natural and Humane, and belongs to the World and Arts. Many believe the former, but can't be induc'd to credit the latter; for they think the Bible was writ only for the saving of Mens Souls, but that all other Knowledg and Discoveries

ries are to be derived wholly from other Writers. I have sometimes observ'd that Persons who have had a good Desire to Learning, and were greedy Devourers of all other Authors, yet have no regard to the Scriptures, and fondly imagine there is no Improvement of Mens Notions, no enlarging of their Understandings, no Grounds of Excellent Literature from the Sacred Writ. They perswade themselves that the Bible may serve well enough for the Use of those that study Divinity, or make Sermons, but that the Writings of Profane Authors must be wholly consulted for other things. But this is a gross Surmise, and possesses the unthinking Heads of those only that consider not the Matchless Antiquity of the Bible, or that on a worse Account refuse to acquaint themselves with these Writings, and care not for that Book which speaks so much of God and Religion, and checks the Disorders of Mens Lives. All honest, industrious and impartial Enquirers into Learning know that the Scriptures are the Greatest Monument of Antiquity that is Extant in the whole World, and particularly that the First and Earliest Inventions of things are to be known only from the Old Testament, especially the five first Books of it. In vain do you look for these in the Writings of other Men; for though some of them relate very Antient Occurrences, yet they are not so old as these: and as for those Writers who pretend to some Greater Antiquity, and have been so impudent as to think that they could impose upon the World, they have been exploded by all Persons of Sobriety and serious Thoughts. In Pagan Writers we have some wild Guesses at the Origin of things, and the First Inventors of Arts; but he that is desirous to have Certain and Infallible Information

formation concerning these, must consult the Writings of *Moses* and other Books of the Old Testament. From these alone we learn what were the Antientest Usages in the World, and what was the first Rise and Original of them. Wherefore I may safely pronounce that no Man can have the just Repute of a *Scholar* unless he hath read and studied the Bible: for in this one Book there is more Humane Learning than in all the Books of the World besides. And therefore here by the way I cannot but look upon it as a very Scandalous Mistake, that the Knowledge and Study of the Holy Scriptures are for *Divines* only, as if these were not to be skill'd in any Humane Learning. They that talk after this rate, understand not what the Study of Divinity and True Scholarship are: for there is no Compleat Divine that is not well vers'd in Humane Literature, and there is no Compleat Scholar that is not skill'd in the Bible. Wherefore this is that which I intend very particularly and largely to insist upon, *viz.* that the Scriptures are the Antientest Storehouse of Good Letters and Learning, and that here are All the Sorts of them, which I conceive will be a full Eviction of what I have undertaken, *viz.* to demonstrate the Pre-eminence of the Inspired Writings before all others whatsoever.

First; I begin with the *Language* in which the greatest part of the Bible, that is, the Old Testament, was written, which is *Hebrew*, and was the First and Original Tongue of the World. This certainly inhanfes the Worth of the *Hebrew Text*, and renders the Bible preferable to all other Books. It is true there are other Languages that pretend to Priority; but when we come to examine their claim, we discover it to be a mere Pretence indeed.

deed. We are told by *Herodotus*, that *Psammetichus* King of *Egypt* had a mind to make an Experiment about this, and accordingly caus'd two Children to be nourish'd and bred up by two She-goats, and suffered none to speak a Word to them. At last they were heard to utter the word *bec*, which it seems signifies *Bread* in the *Phrygian* Dialect; whence it was concluded that that was the First Language. But upon Enquiry it was found that this Experiment was fruitless, for *bec* was an insignificant Pronunciation which the Children learnt of their Goat-Nurses, to whom (and all other Animals of that Species) that Sound it seems was natural. *Theodoret* thought *Syriack* was the First Tongue. *Philo* the Jew was of Opinion that *Chaldee* was the Primitive Language, and that what we call *Hebrew* is truly the Tongue which the Chaldean *Abraham* brought out of *Chaldea*. And *Capellus* in his *Sacred Chronology* seems to espouse this Assertion. But there is little Ground for it, if we consider that the *Chaldee* is borrowed from the *Hebrew*, and is a different Dialect of it. The *Scythian* is the Primitive Tongue, saith *Boxhorn*. *Goropius Becanus* fetches all Words from the *Teutonic* or *High Dutch*, and would persuade us that this is the Mother-Tongue of the World: but he hath given so slender Proof of it, that he hath gain'd but few Proselytes to his Opinion. The Learned *Bocbart* derives all Words from the *Phenician* Tongue; but any impartial Judge may discern that he is too extravagant in his Derivations; witness that of *Phenicia* or *Phenix* from *ben Anak* the Son of *Anak*, (making the Old *Phenicians* his Posterity) or by Contracti-
on *Beanak*, then *Pheadnak*, and so *Phenix*, and hun-
dreds

dreds more of the like Nature ; which straining to maintain his Opinion is unacceptable to wise Men. A late Author hath publish'd an *Historical Essay* (as he is pleased to call it) of the Probability of the Language of *China* being the Primitive one, and among other Offers towards it he hath this, that the first Expression we make of Life at the instant Minute of our Birth is by uttering the Chinois Word *Ta* or *Tah*. But by the same Reasoning I can prove that the first Tongue was *Hebrew*, because *Tah* (for so most Hebricians pronounce it) is one of the Hebrew Names of God : and how proper is it for Infants to mention and acknowledge their Maker as soon as they come into the World ? I allow the Author to be very Ingenious, yet I believe he is so wise himself as not to think he hath brought any solid Proof for what he undertook. Such another Attempt is his, who commends the *British* or *Welsh* Tongue to us as the Antientest of all. This Glory is due only to the *Hebrew*, which certainly was the Language that *Adam* spoke, and was that peculiar Form of Speech which was given to him by God, and which he taught his Children, and which lasted incorrupt (there being no other Tongue to be its Rival) till the Confusion of Tongues at *Babel*, and the Dispersion which was the Consequent of that. Of this those Words are meant, *Gen. 11. 1. The whole Earth was of one Language, and of one Speech*, viz. *Hebrew* : which without doubt was no small Benefit to Mankind ; this Identity of Speech having such an Influence on Society, and contributing to the Increase of their Friendship and Familiarity, whereas now we must be a long time learning to make those of other Countries understand what we say, we must go to school to be Friendly, and we can't be sociable

without a Dictionary. But this Primitive Blessing was not of very great Duration, for the Infallible Records inform us that a notable Confusion of Languages happen'd to the World when it was yet in its Minority and Childhood, and had not long learnt to speak, if we may reckon the Age of it from the Deluge. By the Fault of Man, and the Judgment of God, the One way of Speaking was changed into diverse. But we are not to think that this Change introduced into every Colony or Plantation a Different Language, but only a particular and peculiar Dialect: For the Difference of the Idiom was sufficient to beget a not-understanding of one another, as we see at this day the Germans, Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, Dutch, English, understand not one another when they speak, though they have not properly a Different Language, but only Several Dialects, for they all speak *Teutonical*. The *Confusion of Tongues* then was not New Tongues, but a considerable Variation from the Primitive one, viz. *Hebrew*. Hereupon the *Babel*-Builders (who before spoke and understood this Language, it being their native one, as it was of all the rest of Mankind) were so confounded, that they were forced to lay aside their Tools, and leave off working. And that this *Confusion* was not an Introduction of really Distinct Tongues (as some have thought) is evident hence, that there is a *Great Affinity* between Tongues, especially the *Eastern* ones (for as for others, they have had their Rise since, and we are not to imagine that at the *Babylonick* Confusion they spoke Italian, Spanish or French, or that afterwards there were any of the *Plantations* that understood English, Dutch or Irish). I speak then concerning the Eastern Languages, and assert them to be Different Dialects or Modes

Modes of the *Hebrew* Tongue: which is sufficiently proved from the *Harmony* and *Cognition* between them. I remit the Reader to *Skickard*, *Hottinger* and others, for the particular Eviction of this. He will from them be perswaded that Tongues were not Multiplied at *Babel*, but Divided; and that that One Language which had been in use ever since the beginning of the World, received there an Alteration and new Modification: the Diversity of which was the Cause, that Persons could not understand one another.

Now that the First Tongue which *Adam* and *Eve* spake, and was used before the Division of Languages, and was the Original from whence all the other Languages are but Variations, was *Hebrew*, is apparent from that foresaid Cognition between the Hebrew and other Oriental Tongues. We find that this One Language hath spread it self more or less into all others. We may discern in them some Words either purely Hebrew, or of near alliance with it. It is well known that the *Chaldeans* and *Syrians* have abundance of Hebrew words in their Tongue, only there is some difference in the inflection of them. The *Arabick* likewise hath great affinity with the Hebrew, and so have the *Punick* and *Ethiopick*, as the Learned *Bochart* hath demonstrated. And this you may observe (which confirms the thing I am establishing) that the nearer any People were to the *Hebrews* and their Country, the greater Number of Hebrew Words and Idioms they retained in their Languages: and on the contrary, the more remote any Nation was from them, the fewer Hebrew Words have they, and the greater Strangers are they to their manner and way of Speaking. But there are some Reliques of that Primitive Tongue

52 *The Excellency and Perfection*

every where : all Languages have borrowed from this, as ¹ St. *Jerom* long since observed ; and *Mercer* and other Learned Moderns take notice, that *Sac* and some other *Hebrew* Words are to be found in all Languages, and thence argue that *Hebrew* is the Mother-Tongue of all. Again, where should we look for the *Original Language*, and where should we hope to find it, yea, where is it possible to find it but among the First People of the World, and the immediately succeeding Generations of Men before the Flood and Confusion of Tongues ? Accordingly we discover that *Hebrew* was that Language which was in use with them. The Book of *Genesis* abundantly testifies this, where are the Names *Adam*, *Ishah* (Woman) *Chavah* or *Eve*, *Cain*, *Abel*, *Seth*, *Noah*, and a Multitude of other Words of *Hebrew* Extraction, which are Arguments that *Hebrew* was the Language of those first People, and therefore the Primitive One. The Etymology and Derivation of these Words do irrefragably prove this, for there is no other Tongue that hath these Words from whence these Names are taken but the *Hebrew* ; therefore this was the First Tongue. And this was it which *Noah* carried into the Ark with him : and if he did so, no Man questions that he brought it out with him, and that it was universally used till the *Babel*-Conspiracy. Otherwise it could not be said (as we have heard) that the whole Earth before that Confusion *was of one Lip* (or Language) *and one Speech*. This Text is peremptory, and therefore it is to be wondred that a ² Learned Man contents himself with saying, [There *seems* to have been One Tongue

¹ *Lingua Hebraica omnium linguarum matrix. Commentar. in Sophon. Cap. 3.* ² *J. Cleric. Diss. 1. de Ling. Hebr.*

Tongue before the Flood till the building of *Babel*.] And in ¹ another place he understands *one Lip and one Speech*, of their mutual Concord and Agreement: which Interpretation of his is refuted from what follows, *Let us go down and confound their Lips, that they may not understand one anothers Lip*, v. 7. Where we see the *Confusion of Lips* is opposed to *one Lip and one Speech* before mentioned. It is evident then from this Text that there was only One Language in use at first: and that could be no other than Hebrew; for I have shew'd before that this Language was spoken, and therefore if there was but One Language on the whole Earth, This must be it: for there was no Alteration as to Language till the building of *Babel*: whence we infallibly gather that the Language which was used before the Flood and the Erecting of *Babel*, was *Hebrew*, and consequently, that the forementioned Writer who holds ² that the Hebrew Tongue is no more Primitive than any other Oriental Tongue, is under a Mistake; and that his Learned Country-man who asserts ³ that the *Hebrew* was one of the Tongues that arose out of the Confusion of Tongues at *Babel*, is grossly overseen. For it is a flat Contradicting of that plain Text above named, which acquaints us that there was One Universal Language in the World at that time, and no more; which from what I have suggested appears to be Hebrew. And as this was the Common Tongue of the World above seventeen hundred Years, (*viz.* from the Creation to the building the Tower of *Babel*) so we are to observe further, that the Curse of the Confusion of

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Tongues

¹ Commentar. in *Gen.* 11. 1. ² Prolegom. ad Commentar. in *Gen.* ³ Huct. Demonstrat. Evangel. C. 13. Prop. 4.

54 *The Excellency and Perfection*

Tongues fell only or chiefly on those People that were at *Babel*, and concern'd in that Wicked Exploit, viz. the Inhabitants of *Shinar* and the neighbouring Places, those impious Troops of Men that were the greatest Admirers and Flatterers of *Nimrod* and his Government. *The Sons of God*, the holy Posterity of *Noah* assisted not in the building of the Tower, and therefore among them and their Posterity, and those that learn'd it of them, was the Primitive Tongue preserved. Which some think had its denomination of *Hebrew* from *Heber*, who was none of the *Babel*-Builders, and therefore the Original Tongue was preserv'd entire in his Family. This is the general Opinion of the *Jewish* Writers, and it hath been receiv'd by many *Christians*. More especially the Learned *Bochart* is of this Opinion, but is contradicted by some other Learned Pens, who tell us that the *Hebrew* Tongue was call'd so from *Gnaber Transiit*, i. e. from *Abraham* the Traveller or Passenger, Gen. 14. 13. But Mr. *Selden*, whose Learning was equal to any of these, suspends his Judgment in this Controversy, though at the same time he declares that he is more prone to the Opinion of those who deduce it from *Eber Transitus*.

This is a short Account of the *Antiquity* of the *Hebrew* Tongue, and we may rationally conclude from it, that it was the Primitive and Original Speech, and that from the corruption of this was the Generation and Production of other Tongues. And that Worthy Critick himself, who makes the Phœnician the First Tongue, agrees to what I here assert,

¹ Geograph. Sac. Pars 2. ² Assensum tamen retinemus: nam non liquet. De Dis Syr. Proleg. Cap. 2.

assert, though he seems to oppose it: for if we scan what he saith, we shall see that even according to him the *Phœnician* and *Hebrew* are the same, which appears from this, that he holds the *Canaanites* and *Phœnicians* to be the same People. ¹ He proves that the *Phœnicians* or *Punicks*, or *Syrians*, or *Sidonians*, (for they were known by all these Names) were formerly the Inhabitants of *Canaan*, but being expell'd thence by *Joshua* when he subdued that Land, they carried Colonies into most parts of the World, and their Language is found in all Languages of other People, as he endeavours to shew. This is the *Hebrew* Tongue he confesses, abating the *Difference of Dialect*; and therefore *Hebrew* (he saith) is call'd the *Language of Canaan*, *Isa.* 19. 18. If then the *Punick* was in its first Purity *Hebrew* (as some others besides *Bochart* grant) it follows that in proving the former to be the Original Tongue, he doth in effect prove that the latter is so, because they are the same. And truly it is no hard task to evince the Language of the *Canaanites* to have been *Hebrew*, for all the Proper Names of Men and Places reckoned up in Scripture in those Nations are purely *Hebrew*, as *Salem*, *Jerusalem*, *Hebron*, &c. To which a ² Learned Scots-man gives his Suffrage, expressly vouching that the *Canaanites* spoke *Hebrew*, and that the *Hebrew* Tongue is call'd the *Language of Canaan*, because 'twas the native Language of those that possess'd that Land: to prove which he produces the Names of Persons and Places among them, as *Melchisedek*, *Abimelek*, *Kirjath-sepher*, *Jericho*, &c. and thence infers that *Hebrew* was the native Tongue of the *Canaanites*

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or

¹ Geogr. Sac. Canaan. ² Weems.

or Philistines. And if this be true, then the Great *Selden*, and with him many others are mistaken, who affirm, that 'the Hebrew Tongue remained pure in the Family and Posterity of *Abraham* only, and that *Abraham* brought that Tongue first into *Canaan*. The contrary appears, *viz.* that this Tongue was preserv'd even in *Canaan*. But *Monsieur Bochart* goes too far when he adds, that *Hebrew* was not retain'd in the Families of *Heber* and *Abraham*, but that this latter learn'd this Tongue of the *Canaanites* when he lived with them in *Canaan*. I do not see this clear'd by him, and therefore I am enclined to believe that the *Hebrew* Tongue was both in *Abraham's* Family, and among the *Canaanites*. Though *Abraham* was a *Chaldean*, and *Chaldee* was the Language of the Country, yet by the singular Providence of God, the *Hebrew* might be kept up and spoken by him. Nor did this hinder his converse with the *Chaldeans*, because the *Chaldee* is a Dialect of the *Hebrew*. If it be objected that *Canaan*, and consequently the *Canaanites* were from *Cham*, who was a *Babel-Builder*, and how then was the *Primitive Hebrew* among them? It may be hard to resolve this, and perhaps it is the only considerable Objection against *Bochart's* Opinion. I am not now obliged to shew why it was so, but I am only concern'd to attend to the Matter of Fact, *viz.* that the *Canaanites* spoke *Hebrew*, and consequently kept their Tongue notwithstanding the Confusion at *Babel*. And (that I may not wholly dismiss it without giving a Reason of it) this might very well be, because the *Canaanite* speaking *Hebrew* was as much a *Barbarian*, and as little understood by

by another Family or Plantation, as if God had infused a new Language or Idiom. So that we need not wonder that Hebrew was the Language of the ungodly Canaanites. Though truly, if I may speak freely, I do not see that this is firmly built on that Text in *Isaiab* before cited; for 'tis manifest, that that is a Prophecy concerning the Conversion of the Gentiles, and particularly the *Egyptians*, to the True Religion and Worship, viz. that of the *Jews* which was then in Being; and consequently This (and not the Antient Speech and Dialect of *Canaan*) is here meant by the Language of *Canaan*. Or supposing the very Speech of that Country to be meant, yet we can't thence absolutely infer that the Canaanites spoke Hebrew, but only that Hebrew is call'd the Language of *Canaan*: which might be for this reason, because the Israelites who spoke Hebrew had possess'd the Land of *Canaan* about eight hundred Years when this was said by *Isaiab*. But this doth not prove the Language of the Jews and the Old Canaanites to be the same. Yet, notwithstanding this, from what hath been before alledg'd, we have good reason to conclude (as several Learned Writers have done) that the Hebrew Tongue was the same with the Language of *Canaan*, i. e. the Language which the Canaanites spoke.

From all which, laid together and compared with what hath been said, we are confirm'd in this Assertion, that *Hebrew* was the only Language that was in use before the Confusion of *Babel*, and so was the First Tongue, and the Mother of all other Eastern Tongues. This is so evident that it hath been the universal belief of the *Jews*, who are every

! Scaliger, Capellus, Erpenius, Vossius, Grotius, Bochart.

58 *The Excellency and Perfection*

ry positive here ; and it hath been held and defended by the Learnedest *Christians* who have treated on this Subject. This is the Language which God himself spoke, as is manifest from abundant Instances, some of which have been referr'd to ; and there are many others, as God's changing of the Names of *Abram*, *Sarai*, *Jacob*, &c. and several Names and Memorials in the forty Years abode of the Israelites in the Wilderness, testify this. This is the Antient and Holy Tongue that was used by our First Parents ; and without doubt it was immediately taught them by God : for he that bestow'd upon them other excellent Benefits, denied them not Speech. Therefore this was a special Gift of the Creator : this was one of the first Donatives conferr'd on *Adam* and *Eve*. And it was enjoyed by them, and by all the Antediluvians, yea all *Noah's* Posterity, till the Confusion at *Babel*. In this first and antientest Language was the Pentateuch, and even all the Old Testament written, and that in those very *Hebrew Letters* which we have at this day, for the *Samaritan* ones (which by some are cried up for the Antientest) are but a corrupt Imitation of these. In this Holy Language and Characters (both of his own Institution) God would have the Sacred Mysteries of his Religion express'd and recorded. In this Book alone are the first Names of Men and Beasts in that Tongue, denoting their particular Natures and Qualities : which I might have mentioned before, to shew the Antiquity of this Tongue. Nay, we are to remember this, that this first way of speaking among Mankind, is no where preserved but in these Writings : for after the Babylonian Captivity

Captivity (which was about three thousand and four hundred Years after the Creation) this Original Speech was no longer the Language of any particular Nation; for the Captive Jews lost this Tongue at *Babylon*, (a Place fatal to *Hebrew*, at first in the Confusion of Tongues, and afterwards in this Peoples forgetting their Language there) in-somuch that at their Return home they could not understand the Book of their own Laws but by an Interpreter, *Neb.* 8. 7, 8. for they had chang'd their *Hebrew* into a Mixt Language (compounded partly of *Hebrew* and partly of *Chaldee*) which was afterwards call'd *Syriack*. But in the Old Testament the pure *Hebrew* is kept entire and uncorrupted, and is extant at this day in no Writings but these. If any Grammarians and Criticks could say the like concerning the Greek or Latin Tongue, that there is One Book wherein either of these in its first Purity is wholly contain'd, they would be very lavish in their Encomiums of that Volume, and the Praelation of it to all others should not want setting forth. Behold here the Whole *Hebrew* Tongue, and that in its native Lustre, comprised in the Old Testament! In no one Book upon Earth besides this is there lodged a Whole Language; which should invite all Admirers and Lovers of Antient Literature to prize it, and the Books written in it. Certainly this is a high Commendation of these Sacred Writings, and gives them the Preference to all others whatsoever.

Secondly; They rightly claim this, because they acquaint us with the true *Origine of the World*, which we find recorded in no other Writings. For tho the Beginning of all things, and some Circumstances which appertain to it, are obscurely intimated in some Pagan Historians and Poets, and thereby
(as

60 *The Excellency and Perfection*

(as I have lately shew'd on another occasion) Testimony is given to the *Authority of the Sacred Writings*, yet none of them give us a plain and particular Account of this Beginning and Original of the Mundane Fabrick. Yea, the very Philosophick Men among the Gentiles in a most wild and rambling manner talk of the Rise of all things, and at the same time baffle themselves. Thus the Epicureans tell us a senseless Story of the Eternal frisking of Atoms; which yet, if they were Eternal, had no Beginning or Rise at all. *Pythagoras* and his Disciples, and *Plato* and some of the Peripateticks held that Men were always, and that there was an Eternal Succession of them, and consequently no Original of them. Others who believ'd they had a Beginning, had strange and monstrous Fancies concerning it, as that Men were form'd out of Fishes, which was *Anaximander's* Conceit: Others imagin'd they shooted out of Trees; some out of Eggs; others out of Wombs affix'd to the Earth, as *Epicurus* and *Lucretius*: Others (as the fabulous Poets) conceited they were produced out of Stones: and *Cicero* relates concerning some of the Philosophers, that they thought the Original of Mankind was from Seed falling from the Stars, and impregnating the Earth. This stumbling at the Threshold, these extravagant and groundless Notions concerning the very first Original of things, were too ominous a Prefage that these Philosophers would grossly mistake about other Matters, and give us but a sorry Account of the other Works of Nature. But *Moses* confutes all these fond Surmises about the Nativity of the World, and of Mankind; he quashes all those wild Conjectures, by
assuring

assuring us that Man had his Origine from the Earth, by God's peculiar framing him out of it; and that the World it self had its Being by Creation, *i. e.* by being made out of Nothing by the Infinite Power and Wisdom of God. Wherefore it was rightly said by an Understanding Person, *‘ I am persuaded (saith he) that in the first Chapter of Genesis Moses taught more than all the Pagan Philosophers and Interpreters of Nature.* And that this first Chapter of the Bible is an Historical or Physical Account of the Creation of the World, and is no Allegory, is not to be question'd by any Man of a sober Mind and consistent Reasoning. For thus I argue, It is highly fitting that the Doctrine of the First Rise of the Universe, the Production of all things, should not be left doubtful, but be convey'd unto us in such a way as may best preserve the Memory of so weighty and considerable a Matter. For this is of such Concern that our Belief of Providence and the true Nature of God is comprised in it. Now a Thing of this Quality ought not to be so deliver'd that it may be liable to Imposture, or suspected of Falshood or Uncertainty. As for *private and personal Revelations* (which some may here suppose) these can only satisfy the individual Persons to whom they are communicated: and as for *Oral Tradition*, it is not so certain but that it may leave some Scruples in Mens Minds. Hence it is reasonable that the History of the World should be digested into such Records which may assure us of what is to be believed, and therefore it is fit that they should be Plain and Simple, and properly to be taken and understood, so that they may be reckon'd as an Indubitable Account of the World's
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† Neiremberg. de orig. Script. l. 2. c. 7.

62 *The Excellency and Perfection*

Production ; therefore such is this Relation which *Moses* hath left us, which is a Perfect Diary of that First Work of the Almighty.

But I will attempt yet further to prove that this *History* deserves that Name, *i. e.* that it relates what was really done. If this be acknowledged by some Sacred and Inspired Author, I conceive that will be a fair Conviction to those who believe that Author to be inspired, and to deliver things that are really true. That *St. Peter* then in the third Chapter of his second Epistle (where he briefly describes the Make and Frame of this World, as it was formed at the first Creation) refers to this *Mosaick History*, and also fully confirms it, will appear in the Perusal of that his Description, where you will find those very Terms which *Moses* in the first of *Genesis* makes use of. *This they are willingly ignorant of*, saith the Apostle, *that the Heavens were of old, i. e.* from the Beginning, which in the Verse before is called ἀρχὴ κόσμου, *the Beginning of the Creation*, which agrees exactly with the first Words of *Genesis*. And these Heavens were by the Word of God, which is a reference to *God said*, which *Moses* expressly mentions, chap. 1. 6, 14. Next to the *Heavens* he makes mention of the *Earth*, (as *Moses* doth) telling us, that it stood or consisted out of the Water and in the Water, which is the same Account of it which we have in *Genesis*, viz. that it was partly above Water and partly under, *i. e.* it was above the Seas, Fountains, Rivers, &c. but under the watry Mass of Clouds. So that any Man of unprejudiced Thoughts cannot but see that those Words [*the Earth standing out of the Water, and in the Water*] plainly relate to the *Mosaical History*, where we are told that the Globe of Earth included in it a heap of Waters call'd the Deep, or the

the *Abyss*, which was afterwards gathered into one Receptacle or Channel. This is call'd the *Water under the Firmament*, i. e. under the Expansion of the Air, as the Water above the Earth, viz. the Clouds are call'd the *Water above the Expansion*, Gen. 1. 7. Thus you see all this is alledged and acknowledged by St. Peter as *True History*, and accordingly is made use of by him: Wherefore we are ascertain'd from his infallible Pen, that the Mosaick Account of the Creation is no Fiction, no strain of Poetick Fancy, but is perfectly Historical, and to be taken in a real, proper and literal Sense, which was the thing to be clear'd. Wherefore *Origen*, and the rest of the Allegorists who despise the Letter of this Chapter, and rely chiefly on some Mystick and Symbolical Meanings, are confuted. And so likewise are they that adhere to the foolish Dreams of Philosophers concerning the Eternity of the World, or its being made by Chance, or the Existence of More Worlds. All these are inconsistent with *Moses's* Account of the Creation, besides that they affront other Principles establish'd by the Holy Scriptures, and bid defiance to Reason and the greatest Evidence of things. So that it is to be wondred that any Person who pretends to own the Divine Authority of the Bible, should publickly disown *Moses's* Relation of the First Original of the World, and look upon this *first* Chapter of *Genesis* (as well as he doth on the *third*) as not True, i. e. not giving an Account of Matter of Fact. But there was a kind of Necessity upon him to form such Thoughts as these concerning this Entrance of *Moses's* Book, because he had in his *Theory of the Earth* run counter to that Relation of it which *Moses* gives. This is the bold Man that asserts the *Primitive Earth* to have been without

Sea,

64 The Excellency and Perfection

Sea, and without Mountains, and the Airy Expansion to be without Clouds, which are a plain contradicting of *Moses*, who saith, the Waters were gather'd together, and were called Seas, ver. 10. and informs us that there were other Waters above the Firmament or Air, ver. 7. and in another Place lets us know that all the high Hills and Mountains were cover'd by the Waters of the Deluge, Gen. 7. 19, 20. Thus it must needs be ill philosophizing in defiance of *Moses*, the first of the Philosophick Order. This is Confutation enough of his Hypothesis; and herein I am satisfied that the Excepter against his Book is in the right. Now to support his own Opinion, and to run down *Moses*, he tells us, that instead of a History we are here presented with a Parable, with an Ethical Discourse in an obscure way. This Philosophick Romancer turns the Holy Scriptures into *Aesop's Fables*, and seems with his Friend *Spinosa* to hint that the Writings of the Prophets are only high Flights of Imagination. God forbid that I should fasten any such thing upon him, (or any the like Imputation on any other Man of Learning) or so much as suspect it unless there were some ground for it. I appeal therefore to all Persons of correct Thoughts, whether his asserting that *Moses* the Prime and Leading Prophet is so fanciful that he presents us with mere Allegories and Parables, even when he seems to speak of the Creation of the World, and the Fall of our First Parents, whether (I say) this doth not argue that the rest of the Prophetick Writers (who could not do amiss in imitating so Great a Guide) are led wholly by Imagination, and dictate not things as they really are, but as they fancied them to be. Nay, he not only overthrows the Truth and Reality of *Moses's* Writings, but he blasts the Integrity

ty of the Penman himself, telling us, that he was a Crafty Politician and Dissembler, one that did all to comply with the People, one that cheated the ignorant Jews with a thing like an History, merely to please them, whilst in the mean time it is nothing but a piece of Morality in an Allegorized way, and is to be understood so by us. Certainly *Moses* needed not to have been Inspired by the Holy Ghost (as I suppose most grant him to be) to have merited this Character. But I have animadverted on him with some Freedom in a former Discourse, and therefore I will not say any more here. Nor should I have said any thing then, or now, if I had not been verily perswaded that the Credit of *Moses*, and of the Scriptures themselves, and consequently of our whole Religion, lay at stake: for if this 1st Chapter of *Genesis*, together with the rest which follow, which have all the Marks of *History* upon them, be not Literal and Historical, we know not what Judgment to make of any other Places of Scripture which recite Matter of Fact, we can't tell whether any Text bears a Literal Sense or no, and so we throw up the whole Bible into the Hands of Scepticks and Atheists.

After all that I have said under this Head, I would not be thought to mean any such thing as this, that the Scripture was *designed for Philosophy*: No, there are Nobler things that it aims at. Yet this is most certain, that here is the Best Philosophy, both Moral and Natural. It is the latter I am now speaking of, *viz.* the Knowledg of the Works of Nature, *God's creating of the World*, which is the first step to all Natural Philosophy. This is to be learnt in the Beginning of this Holy Book, whose Excellency and Perfection I am treat-

66 *The Excellency and Perfection*

ing of. Here the Birth and Original of all things are distinctly set down, which is a Subject that all the Philosophers are defective in. I grant what *Cybil*, speaking of *Moses*, saith, ' that he design'd not to play the Philosopher in a subtile and curious manner, and to be accurate in his Discourse of the First Principles of things: but notwithstanding this, it is an undeniable Truth that no Book in the World teacheth us the True Origine and Age of the World, the Epoche of the Universe, the Particular Order and Method of the Creation, and more especially the manner of the Production of Mankind, but This. By this alone we are fixed and determined in these Points, and we have no longer any Reason to doubt and waver. We may plainly discern from these Sacred Writings the Invalidity of those Notions which some Philosophick Heads have entertain'd, viz. the Eternity of the World, the Production of it by Chance, or the Mechanical Rise of it by virtue of mere Matter and Motion. All these fond Conceits are silenced by this Sacred Author; an Happiness which we could not have had if this most Antient and Authentick Book were not extant.

Thirdly; We have no Account of the *first Rise of Nations and People in the World*, but from the *Mosaick History*. Here, and only here, we have an Exact Narrative of the dividing of the Earth among the Sons of *Noah* and their Posterity. It is in the Tenth Chapter of *Genesis* that we have the History of the *First Plantations*. A Choice Monument of Antiquity, and to be priz'd by all Lovers of Antient Learning, those that delight to enquire into the First Originals of things. Here we are in-

form'd

form'd that *Japheth*, the eldest Son of *Noah*, and his seven Sons, were the first that peopled that part of the World which is call'd *Europe*, with a part of *Asia* the Less. His Sons are reckon'd up in this manner; 1. *Gomer*, whose Progeny seated themselves in the North-East part of that Lesser *Asia*, which contains *Phrygia*, *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, and a great part of *Galatia*. These were the *Γομαρῆς*, saith *Josephus*, call'd by the Latins *Galatæ*; among whom is the City *Comara*, according to *Pliny*: and *Mela* speaks of the *Comari*. The People that dwelt in this Tract were (as *Herodotus* and other Antient Historians testify) call'd *Cimmerii*, and had their Name from *Gomer*, if we may give Credit to some of the Learnedest Criticks, such who are not wont to rest in fanciful Derivations. They tell us that *Gomeri*, *Comeri*, *Cumeri*, *Cimbri*, *Cimmerii*, are the same. The Old Germans are thought by them to have been a Colony of these Cimmerians or Gomerians, for *German* is but a Corruption of *Gomerman*. The Old Galls were another Colony of the Gomerians, (who by the Grecians were call'd *Γαλάται* or *Καλάται*, and contractedly *Κέλται*, *Celtæ*) for it appears that the *Cimbri* or *Cimmerii* were the antient Inhabitants of Old *Gallia*. And our Ancestors the Britains were of the same stock; for that they descended from the *Galls* or *Celtæ*, who were the *Gomeri* or *Cimbri* of old, our own Learned Antiquary Mr. *Cambden* attempts to prove from their Religion, Manners, Language, &c. The Inhabitants of *Cumberland* (as he thinks) retain the Name still: they were the true *Britains*, i. e. *Cimbri* or *Cumbri*, or (as afterwards they were call'd) *Cambri*. But this lat-

68 *The Excellency and Perfection*

ter Denomination was more especially applied to those of them that fled into the British *Cimmeria* or *Cambria*, now call'd *Wales*, in the time that the Saxons raged in the Southern Parts of this Isle. I will here particularly mention *Gomer's* three Sons, and take notice what Places are assign'd to them. To *Ashkenaz* belong'd *Troas*, or *Phrygia* the Lesser, where is the River *Ascanius*, and a Country call'd *Ascania*, which it is probable took their Names from him; and hence are the *Ascanian Port*, and the *Ascanian Isles*, in *Pliny*. And the Name *Ascanius* (as is observ'd) was much used in those Parts. *Riphat* (the second Son) was seated in *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, especially in *Papblagonia*, whence (as the Jewish Historian remarks) the *Papblagones* were call'd *Riphatba*, and afterwards by Contraction *Riphai*: and in *Mela* there is mention of *Riphaea*. To *Togarmab* (another of *Gomer's* Sons) was allotted *Phrygia* the Greater, and part of *Galatia*. Thence the *Phrygians* were known by the Name of *Tygrammines*, saith *Josephus*.

But I proceed to speak of the Plantations of the other Sons of *Japheth*. The second of them was *Magog*, from whom were the *Scythians* that dwell on the East and North-East of the Euxine Sea; for *Scythopolis* and *Hierapolis*, which those *Scythians* took when they conquer'd *Syria*, were ever after call'd *Magog*, saith *Pliny*. And *Ptolomee* grants that the proper Name of that Place was *Magog*. ² *Josephus* confirms this, when he saith the *Scythians* were call'd *Magogæ* by the *Grecians*, and thence infers that the *Scythians* had their Original from *Ma-*
gog.

¹ Lib. 1. ² *Czlosyria urbem habet Bambycen, quæ alio nomine Hierapolis vocatur, Syris verò Magog. Nat. Hist. l. 5. c. 13.*
³ *Antiq. Jud. l. 1. c. 7.*

gog the Son of Japheth. The third Son was *Madai*, from whom were descended the *Medes*; for *Madai* is the Hebrew Word for *Media*, as is evident from *Isa.* 21. 2. and other Places. And another Seat of his Offspring was *Macedonia*, antiently call'd *Amathia* or *Emadia*, which is the same with *Madia*; for 'tis usual in the changing of a Name out of one Language into another, to prefix a Vowel or Diphthong. And a People of this Place are call'd *μῆδαι* or *μαῖδαι*. The fourth Son was *Javan*, who 'tis likely came first into *Greece*, upon the Division of the Earth among *Noah's* Children, and then afterwards into the more Western Parts of *Europe*. From this *Javan* (*Ἰάβαν* according to the LXX) the *Jones* or *Jaones* (as *Homer* and *Strabo* call them) the first and original Grecians were derived. *Josephus* is peremptory, Ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰαβάρος Ἰωνία καὶ πάντες Ἕλληνες γένεσθαι, from *Javan* came *Jonia* and all the Greeks. And *Greece* is expressly call'd *Javan*, *Dan.* 10. 20. & 11. 2. So that there is no Reason to doubt that this Son of *Japheth* was the Father of the *Grecians*. *Moses* goes on, and mentions the four Sons of *Javan*: 1. *Elisa*, whose Portion was *Achaia*, and part of *Peloponnesus*, as some of great Learning have inferred from this, that in this Country they meet with *Ellas*, and the *Elysian* Fields, and the City *Eleusis*, and *Elis* a City of *Peloponnesus*, who took their Names from *Elisa*. Some also make him the Parent of the *Aeoles* in *Greece*. 2. *Tarshish*, from whom the Country that he inhabited is call'd *Tarsis*, on the Coast of which is the Great Sea or Mediterranean, whence *Tarshish* is the Word to signify the Sea. It is reasonable to think that the Place where this

second Son of *Javan* was seated is *Cilicia*, the chief City whereof was *Tarsus*, call'd so by his Name. And it appears that the *Cilicians* of old were known by the Appellation of the People of *Tarsus*. 3. *Kittim* or *Chittim*, whose Dwelling is thought to have been *Lycia* and part of *Pamphylia*; for the Country *Cetis* and the People *Cetii*, the first mention'd by *Ptolomy*, the second by *Homer*, shew that the Sons of *Cittim* or the *Citteans* inhabited there. That *Chittim* is meant of some Parts of *Greece* is clear from *Numb.* 24. 24. *Ships shall come from the Coasts of Chittim*: By which are understood the *Greeks* and *Seleucidae* that cross'd the *Hellespont*, and came against the *Hebrews* and *Assyrians*. And in *1 Mac.* 8. 5. the King of *Macedon* is call'd the King of *Chittim*. And because there were several Colonies of them sent into *Cilicia*, this bears the Name of the Land of *Chittim*, *Isa.* 23. 1. and *Chittim*, ver. 12. for thence *Alexander* the Great came to destroy *Tyre*, which is the Subject of that Chapter. ¹ *Ptolomee* tells us, that *Cetis* is a Region in *Cilicia*. *Cyteum* is in *Crete*, saith ² *Pliny*. There is a *Cittium* in *Cyprus*, according to ³ *Strabo*. And ⁴ *Josephus* relates that *Cetios* was the Greek Name of *Cyprus* it self: and thence he saith all the Greek Isles were called *Chittim* from thence. *Italy* also was peopled by the *Chittians*, and therefore is sometimes understood by that term. The *Jerusalem-Targum* interprets the Word so in *Gen.* 10. 4. And when it is said, *The Ships of Chittim shall come against thee*, i. e. against *Antiochus*, *Dan.* 11. 30. the Meaning is thought by some Learned Writers to be, that the Romans by Sea should disturb him. But I conceive that this may be true, and yet *Chittim*

¹ Lib. 5. ² Lib. 4. c. 12. ³ Lib. 14. ⁴ Antiq. l. 1. c. 7.

tim may in this Place (as before) signify *Cilicia*, for the Ships of the Romans commonly harboured in the Ports of *Cilicia*, to command the Mediterranean. The short is, from consulting and comparing the several Texts where *Chittim* is mentioned, I find Reason to determine, that some People both of *Greece* and *Italy* are comprehended in it: and accordingly there is Reason to believe that there were different Colonies of the Posterity of *Chittim* (the Grandchild of *Japhet*) planted in these Places. This puts an End to the Disputes and Quarrels of the Learned on both sides; some of whom contend that *Greece*, others that *Rome* is meant by *Chittim*. 4. *Dodanim*, whose Seat was *Epirus* and part of *Peloponnesus*. The Name is kept up in the City call'd *Dodona*, (which is in *Epirus*) near to which was *Jupiter's* Oracle, whence he was stiled *Dodonæus*. This *Jupiter* was this *Dodanim*, the fourth Son of *Javan*, who was the Grecian *Saturn*, for there were *Jupiters* many, and *Saturns* many.

Japhet's fifth Son was *Tubal* or *Thubal*, who took up his Habitation at first, it is probable, about the South-East of the *Euxine Sea*, where dwelt the *Albani*, *Chalybes*, *Iberi*, who were antiently call'd *Thobeli*, saith the Jewish Antiquary, from this *Thubal*: and *Ptolomy* speaks of a City here named *Thubilaca*. From those Parts some of the *Iberi* were translated to *Spain*, which was thence called *Iberia*, and so the Spaniards are reckoned as the Posterity of *Tubal*. *Meshech* was *Japheth's* sixth Son, to whom fell *Cappadocia*, the Inhabitants whereof were the *Meschini* and *Moschi*, saith the foresaid Antiquary, who are also mentioned by *Strabo*, *Mela*, and *Pliny*. Some of his Posterity were placed in *Scythia* and the Regions adjacent, whence we

find that *Meshech* and *Tubal* (which are constantly joined together in Scripture) are Words to express *Scythia*, Ezek. 32. 26. and *Magog* is joined with them, Ezek. 38. 2, 3. where *Gog in the Land of Magog* is said to be *chief Prince of Meshech and Tubal*. And it is moreover probable that the *Muscovites* are of the Race of *Meshech* or *Moshech*, (for the Word was pronounced differently, as *Melech* and *Moloch*) it being generally granted by the Learned that the *Muscovites* were originally from *Scythia*. To confirm which Opinion I will offer this Observation to the Reader, that the Seventy Interpreters render *Meshech* in Ezek. 38. 2. *Ῥῶς* *Meōx*, where *Rhos* gives the Denomination to the *Russians*, which is another Name of the *Muscovites*. The last Son of *Japheth* is *Tiras*, who is universally agreed to be the Progenitor of the *Thracians*, *Thrax* having a near Cognation with *Tbiras*. It is yet further remarkable in this Account which is given us of the First Plantations, that by these foresaid Sons of *Japheth* the *Isles of the Gentiles* were divided in their Lands, Gen. 10. 5. The Hebrews by *יָם* understand not only those Regions which are encircled with the Sea, and are more properly and strictly called *Islands*, but all Countries divided from them by the Sea, or such as they could not come to but by the Sea. This is proved from several Texts of Scripture where the word *יָם* or *יָם* is used: and the Grecians *νῆος* is taken in this large Sense sometimes. Accordingly there being no part of the World call'd by the Name of *Christendom* but what was divided from the Jews by Sea, we may gather how large and wide the Allotment of *Japheth* and his Posterity was. The *Isles of the Gentiles* include not only all *Europe*, with all the *Isles* adjoining and appertaining

ing to it, but whatever Regions lie North and West of Judea. Or, take it in ' Mr. Mede's Words, The Isles of the Gentiles are all Countries that lie above the Mediterranean, from the Mountain *Amanus* and the Hircane Sea Westward. So much concerning the Ofspring of Japhet, which was not unknown by Name to the Pagans, witness *Horace's Japeti Genus*, and *Lucian's* Ἰαπετῆ ἀρχαῖον ἔπος, which he Proverbially applies to that which is very Antient.

The middle Son of *Noah* was *Shem*, whose Portion in the Division of the Earth was *Palestine*, and all the Eastern (which was the greatest) Part of *Asia*. His five Sons were these: 1. *Elam*, the Parent of the Elamites, i. e. the Persians, for that was the Primitive Name of those People, as we learn from *Isa.* 21. 2. & 22. 6. *Dan.* 8. 2. And because some Part of *Media* was a near Neighbour, *Elam* is the Word for the Land of the *Medes*, *Ezek.* 32. 24. 2. *Ashur*, from whom was peopl'd and named *Assyria*. He was *Nimrod's* immediate Successor, and is call'd *Ninus* by Prophane Writers. 3. *Arphaxad*, whose Posterity was seated in *Chaldea* and *Mesopotamia*, and of whose Race *Abraham* was. 4. *Lud*, whence the Lydians in *Asia* the Less. And by the *Ludim* are meant sometimes the Ethiopians, as ' *Bochart* hath abundantly evinced. 5. *Aram*, whose abode was *Aramea* or *Syria*, for so 'tis call'd by the Greeks. Whence ' *Strabo* tells us that *Aram* was the old Word for *Syria*; and those that are now call'd Syrians, were heretofore known by the Name of *Aramæans*. And I doubt not but *Armenia* had its Denomination from *Aram*, there being so great probability that his Race

74 *The Excellency and Perfection*

Race were Inhabitants of *Syria* and *Armenia* the Great, which is as much as *Aramenia*. *Uz*, *Aram's* Son, had the Land of *Uz*. There is mention'd also *Heber*, *Arphaxad's* Son, from whom some think the *Hebrews* had their Name, but that is disputable. Some Writers tell us that among the Divisions of the several Regions of the World, *America* or the *West-Indies* fell to the Share of some of the Stock of *Shem*. This Part of the Earth was possess'd and peopled, say *Arias Montanus* and *Vatablus*, by *Jobab* and *Ophir*, two of the Sons of *Jostan*. To confirm which *Brerewood* and others aver, that *America* is join'd to the Continent of *Asia*, and so the Passage was easy, and Men and Beasts might go thither. Not only these Writers, but *Genebrard* and others declare it to be their Opinion, that *Ophir*, from whence *Solomon* fetch'd his Gold, had its Denomination from the latter of those Sons of *Jostan*, and that this place was that which is now call'd *Peru*; which they think they partly prove from 2 *Chron.* 3. 6. Where the Gold which came from *Ophir*, is call'd *Zabab Perua-jim*, which latter Word is the dual Number, they say, of *Peru*. If you enquire after the more particular Place, *Vatablus* will tell you that it is *Hispaniola* in the Western Ocean, lately found out by *Columbus*. But others tell us it was the *Eastern India*, that which was possess'd by *Shem's* Posterity, viz. *Ophir* and *Havilah* the Sons of *Jostan*. So say *Rabanus Maurus* and *Lyranus*, so *Pererius*, *Maffæus*, *Tzeta*, *Lipenius*, but all in a different Manner, and placing it in different Regions of this part of the World. To these *Indies*, saith *Josephus*, *Solomon's* Navy made a Voyage, to a Region call'd
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heretofore *Sophyra*, now the *Golden Land*. With him agrees *Varrerius*, and adds that this *Golden Cbersoneffe* is the same with the Place that is at this Day call'd *Malaca*, and is in the Kingdom of *Pegu*, and borders on *Somatra*. But *Mercator* holds the Place to be *Japan*. *Acosta* would perswade us it is *Pegu*, *Siam*, *Sumatra*. Here's a wide Difference (you will say) among Authors: the *East* and *West-Indies* are concern'd in the Controversy: and it may be, after all, *Ophir* was in neither of them. It is *Sophala* in the *Ethiopick* Sea, and consequently belongs to *Africa*, say *Volaterranus* and *Ortelius*: but I rather think that *Africa* it self, or the African Shore is meant by it. Which seems to be confirmed from 2 *Chron.* 9. 21. & 20. 36. (compared with 1 *Kings* 9. 28. & 10. 22. & 22. 48.) where *Ophir* is call'd *Tarshish*. For though this Name belongs properly to the Cilician Port, which is on the other Side of *Africa*, yet (as I have shew'd in another Place) in a large Accepti- on it comprehended all the Mediterranean Sea, and that Part especially which wash'd the African Shores: and hither it is probable *Solomon's* Fleet sailed, and the Merchants went up into the Coun- try in pursuit of the Golden Mines: of which af- terwards.

Cham or *Ham* (the youngest Son of *Japheth*) and the Families that descended from him, were first seated in this Country of *Africk*, though some of them made Excursions also into *Syria* and *Arabia*. That he was seated in *Egypt* (the most considerable part of *Africk*) is undeniable, since it is so often call'd ¹ the Land of *Ham*: and ² *Plutarch* hath left it

¹ De Ophyra Regione. ² Psal. 105. 23, 27. ³ In Osi-
ride.

² Psal. 105. 23, 27.

³ In Osi-

76 The Excellency and Perfection

it on record, that *Chemia* or *Chamia* was the ancient Name of that Place, which without doubt it had from *Ham*, or *Cham*, *Japhet's* Son. That he or his Posterity lanch'd out into some parts of *Arabia*, which border'd on *Africk*, is render'd very Probable by *Monsieur Bochart*. But that *Chussh*, the eldest Son of *Cham*, was the Father of the *Ethiopi-ans*, cannot be denied by any Man that well observes what the use of the Name *Cush* or *Cushim* is in the Sacred Writings. *Havilah*, one of *Cush's* Sons, gave Name to *Havilah*, which *Strabo* places in the Confines of *Arabia* and *Mesopotamia*. Whether the *Arabian* or *Ethiopian Saba* or *Seba* be denominated from *Sheba* the Son of *Cush*, or another of that Name who was his Grandson, or from a Third *Sheba*, the Son of *Jothan*, (whom also we find in this 10th Chapter of *Genesis*) it is to little purpose here to dispute. *Misraim*, the second Son of *Cham*, was questionless the Founder of *Egypt*, for that is the known Name that it hath in the Hebrew of the Old Testament. From ' *Josephus* we learn that the Metropolis of this Province (by some call'd *Memphis*) had the Name of *Mexara* given it by the Jews in his Time. And to this day *Egypt* is call'd *Misraim* by the Jews and *Arabs*. *Phut*, a third Son, is believed by most Writers to have peopl'd *Mauritania*, *Numidia*, *Lybia*. Thence ' *Pliny* makes mention of a River in *Mauritania* call'd *Phut* : of which also *St. Jerom* speaks, telling us that there was in his time a ' Region in *Africk* that had its Name from it. I doubt not but some part of *Africa* (if not the whole Country)

' *Antiqu. L. 1. C. 6.* ' *Nat. Hist. L. 9. C. 1.* ' *Phut,*
 & juxta eum regio Phurensis usque in præsens dicitur. Trad.
Hebr. in Gen.

treys) is meant by *Pbut* in *Nab.* 3. 9. And it can't be look'd upon as an Extravagant Conjecture if I guess that *Pbetx* or *Fex*, a Kingdom of *Mauritania*, is a Corruption of that Word. The fourth and last Son of *Cham* was *Canaan*, from whom sprang the Canaanites. His Sons were *Sidon*, *Emori*, *Jebusi*, &c. from whom were the Sidonians (including the Tyrians) Amorites, Jebusites, &c. often spoken of in the Old Testament. All this Country of *Palestine* was (as I said before) part of *Shem's* Portion, but *Canaan* invaded it, and thence it bore his Name. The Learned *Bochart* thinks this was the antient and Primitive *Phœnicia*, it being call'd *Φοινίκη* by the *LXX.* *Exod.* 16. 35. and the whom *St. Matthew* calls a *Woman of Canaan*, is said by *St. Mark* to be a *Syro-Phœnician*. It is this Great Critick's perswasion that the Phœnicians were originally Canaanites, and that they fled out of *Canaan*, when *Joshua* came and took Possession of their Country: then they went and seated themselves on the Sea-Coast of *Palestine*, call'd by them afterwards *Phœnicia*, as the Britains upon the coming of the Saxons betook themselves to that part of the Country which is now known by the Name of *Wales*. This Excellent Person hath with great and manifold Arguments attempted the Establishment of this Assertion, and hath abundantly shew'd that there are several plain Footsteps of those first Planters in the Names in Geography. I might confirm this from a very remarkable Passage in *St. Augustine*, who assures us that in his time the Peasants of *Hippo*, who were known to be of the Race of the Phœnicians, when they were ask'd who they were? used to answer they were

* *Bochart* in *Phaleg.*

* *Exposit.* in *Epist.* ad *Rom.*

78 *The Excellency and Perfection*

were *Canaans* : which plainly shews that *Canaan* and *Phœnicia* were the same.

But this I would add here, that *Phœnicia* is a larger and more extensive Term than *Canaan*, because I conceive the former takes in all those Countries that border'd on the *Red Sea* : for I am perswaded that *Phœnicia* had its Denomination from $\phi\omicron\nu\nu\iota\xi$ the Name of *Esau* or *Edom* turned into Greek. I had occasion heretofore to shew that this Noted Person was call'd *Erythras* or *Erythraeus* by the Pagan Historians : which Name I am now to observe is of the like Signification with $\phi\omicron\nu\nu\iota\xi$, i. e. *Rufus*. So that *Esau*, *Edom*, *Erythraeus*, *Phœnix* are the same, and consequently the *Phœnicians* properly speaking, were all those People that lived near the *Red Sea*, (which is call'd so from *Edom* (the Hebrew of $\phi\omicron\nu\nu\iota\xi$) i. e. *Red*) and were under the Dominion of that Great Lord and Potentate *Esau*.

This is the Division of the World among the Sons of *Noah* ; thus 'the most High divided to the Nations their Inheritance, he separated the Sons of Adam, he set Bounds to the People. *Japheth's* Possession was the Northern and Western Parts of the Earth : *Shem* had the East : and *Cham* had his lot between both. *Moses* reckons up in this Chapter fourteen Persons of the Posterity of *Japheth*, six and twenty of the Race of *Shem*, and nine and twenty of that of *Cham* : who all with *Japheth*, *Shem* and *Cham* themselves amount to seventy two : and just so many *Languages* (or rather *Dialects*) some think there were, and the very same number of *Nations* occasion'd by the rise of those Languages. It is a most difficult Task to assign exactly the

the several Particular Regions and People derived from the Posterity of *Noah*, and their proper Seats and Habitations. *Arias Montanus*, *Bochart*, *Raleigh*, *Heylin* (besides others before them, who have writ of this Subject) seem to differ not a little, and yet they all agree in the main. Nay, where you see different Places and Regions assigned by them, they may all be true: for one may set down the first Seats of *Noah's* Offspring; another may mention the Colonies they sent forth, which lie it may be a great way off of the first Seats; and another may take notice of their Encroachments and Invasions. But whatever it is that is said by any Authentick Writer concerning this peopling of the several Parts of the Earth, it is all founded on the *Mosaick History*. Here we are told that the Parts of the World were divided by the Sons of *Noah*, every one after his Tongue, after their Families in their Nations, Gen. 10. 5. The Confusion of Tongues was that which divided Families: and yet by the Affinity of the Tongues there was an Union made, for those that agreed in the same Idiom joined together, and went and seated themselves together. And who these First Planters were, the Sacred History particularly acquaints us. As we have no Book but this that lets us know who were the first People in the World, who were before the Flood; so none but this tells us who the most Considerable Persons after it, and by whom the Several Nations of the World were first erected, and Colonies were sent forth into all the Parts of the Earth.

Fourthly; The true Knowledge of the Original of Civil Government, and the Increases of it, and the Different Changes it underwent, is to be drawn from these Sacred Fountains. We may inform

form our selves here (and no where else) that the Primitive Government was *Paternal*, i. e. it was seated in Fathers of Families; as first in *Adam* and other Heads of Families, who then lived a very long Time. It is true, we are told by *Aristotle*, that 'the Power of Parents over their Children was a Regal and Sovereign Dominion: the one (i. e. Parents) were the first Kings, the other (i. e. Children) were the first Subjects. But this the Philosopher could learn from no other Book but the Bible, or from those Traditions which were founded on these Antient Records, because no other Writings give an Account of the Government which was first of all settled among the Sons of Men. Here, and only here, we are told that *Adam* and the other first Patriarchs were Supreme Governours in their respective Tribes and Houses; that the Father of every Family was at the first the King of it, and reigned over his Children and Household as Sovereign; and that upon the Decease of the Father, the *Eldest Son* by a natural Right and Title was Successor, and inherited the Paternal Power and Dominion. Thus with the *Paternal Rule* went *Primogeniture*; i. e. the First-born Sons of Fathers of Families were Rulers, and there were many of these every where. And thus the Authority quietly and peaceably ran in this Channel, and 'tis not likely was interrupted till some years before the Flood, when there was a general Corruption of Mankind, and some affected extraordinary Dominion and Sway, and perverted the Primitive way of Government. After the Flood we find that the Authority was continued in the Heads and First-born of Families: and

and now by a more especial Commission the Magistrate's Authority is confirm'd, *Gen. 9. 5. Who-so sheddeth Man's Blood, by Man shall his Blood be shed.* The Ruler is authorized to punish Murder with Death, to require Blood for Blood. This is the first Formal Appointment of the Power of the Sword that we read of, this is the first Erection of a Tribunal of Life and Death. From some Instances in the Records of this Time we may gather, that the Sacerdotal Dignity was joined to the Secular Power: they that were Magistrates were Priests. And so far as we are able to discover, these Offices were exerted by those who had the Paternal Right, or that of Priority of Birth. Thus it was in the first *Patriarchal Oeconomy*; this was the Government which lasted till after the Deluge in the Race of *Shem*. For as yet there was no one Person who usurped Authority over all the rest, (though those of *Cham's* Offspring had a Monarchy in the mean time, *Nimrod* being their King, of whom I shall speak afterwards) but the *Patriarchs* kept up the first and original Laws of Paternity and Primogeniture all the time they lived at Liberty: there was no failure of this Government till they were brought under the Egyptian Yoke. And then afterwards, when the Jewish People were in the Desarts of *Arabia*, the Primogeniture more signally ceas'd in *Moses*, who was appointed by God himself to be Ruler over them. And so we are come to give an Account of the Civil Government of the *Jews*, which we can learn from no other Writings under Heaven but These. *Moses*, I say, was their Ruler, and was the First of that kind that they had. He was not only their Captain
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82 *The Excellency and Perfection*

and Leader, but their Civil Magistrate; yea he may be said to be their *King*, for even that Title is given to him, *Deut. 33. 5. Moses was King in Jerushurun, i. e. in Israel.* He was an Absolute King, say *Philo*, and the Jewish Doctors, and *Mr. Selden*, and some others. *Joshua* was their next Ruler, Captain and King; who was succeeded by the *Judges*, who were, like the Roman Dictators, set up upon emergent Occasions to defend, protect and deliver the People. But all this time the Jews were under a *Theocracy*, *i. e.* they were governed in a more signal manner by *God*. They received their Laws from Him, and he appointed the Punishments for the Breach of those Laws: They went to War by His Advice and Direction, and they did nothing in Civil or Ecclesiastical Affairs without consulting him. Thus *God* was their *King*; it was a Divine Government; and the *Judges* were but *God's* Vicegerents, and held a Power under Him: That *God* himself exercised this Regal Power over the Jews, was expressly acknowledged by *Gideon*, *Judg. 8. 23. I will not rule over you, (saith he to that People) neither shall my Son rule over you, the Lord shall rule over you.* So *Samuel* told the People, that *the Lord their God was their King*, *1 Sam. 12. 12.* And this is implied in what *God* said to *Samuel*, *They have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not Reign over them,* *1 Sam. 8. 7.* This Kingdom of *God* among the Jews began when he renewed the Covenant with them, *Exod. 19. 5, 6.* Then they took *God* for their King and Governour; and accordingly the Jewish Government is stiled a *Theocracy*, not only by *Josephus*, but many of the Christian Writers.

But

¹ De vit. Mos. ² De Synedr. l. 2. ³ Contr. Appion. l. 2.

But this wanton People desired another King besides God ; they would by no means be Singular, they would be Ruled as other Nations were ; a King they must have, as *Egypt, Babylon, Syria, Persia*, and the rest of the Pagan World had. And a King they had according to their earnest Desire ; for they chose *Saul* to be their King in defiance of God's Sovereignty over them : and now the *Theocratical Dispensation* ceased. Their Kingly Government lasted till the Captivity, when *Zedekiah* was their last King. After their Return from *Assyria* they were governed by the *Chief Heads of their Tribes* : Thus the Sacred Writings acquaint us that *Zerobabel*, a Prince of the Tribe of *Judah*, was their Supreme Ruler. But the Canonical Scripture goes not on to tell us the great Variety of Governours over the Jews after the Captivity : Only in the New Testament we read of *Herod*, who was the first Stranger that was King of the Jews, but the last of all their Kings ; for then that famous Prophecy of the *Scepter departing from Judah* was accomplished, and *Shiloh*, the Blessed Saviour, the Prince of Peace, came into the World.

Having given you a short Survey of the Government among the Jews, I will in the next Place speak of the Particular Exertments of it in their Courts of Judicature. There was the *Judicatory of three Men* ; two of which were chosen by the Parties that were at Controversy, and those two chose a third. This sort of Courts was call'd the *Judicature of Moneys*, because it was conversant about Pecuniary Causes, *i. e.* wherein Life was not concerned,

84 *The Excellency and Perfection*

cerned, but only a Sum of Money to be paid for the Fault, *viz.* Theft, Trespasses, Defamation, Hurt and Damage, and all Private Injuries. In short, all Lesser Causes and Petty Actions were tried by these *Triumviri*. I must add, that though this was usually call'd the *Judicature of Three*, yet this Number was sometimes increased to five or seven. And this must be noted, that these three, five, or seven *Judges*, or rather *Justices of the Peace*, were settled in every City and considerable Town, and they tried the Causes, and decided the Controversies of the Inhabitants of their proper City and Town. Again, there was the *Judicatory of Three and Twenty Men*, and sometimes it consisted of *Four and twenty*: This Court was stiled the ² *Judicatory of Souls*, because Great and Capital Causes, such as concern'd the *Life of Men*, were brought and tried here. This Court was also called the ³ *Little Sanedrim*, or Lesser Consistory: and whereas the former *Judicature of Three* was in every City, this Court was in every Tribe in *Israel*. All the Hebrew Writers of any Note, who designedly treat of the *Jewish Government*, speak of these two Courts, and therefore it is not to be question'd that they were in use among that People. But it is also unquestionable that they were not made use of at first, *i. e.* either in *Moses's* time, or three or four Ages afterwards; otherwise we should have had them particularly mentioned in the *Old Testament*, which for my part I could never observe, though some pretend to do so. It being therefore our present Business to speak only of those things relating to the *Jewish Polity* which are expressly mentioned

² רִנִּי נִפְשָׁא ³ Sanedrim Katon.

tioned in Scripture, I will proceed to recount those particular Models of Judicatures which are expressly taken notice of in these Sacred Writings, and they are these. First, there was in every Town a sufficient Number of *Overseers* of the People, who upon occasion met together to do them Right: for the Tribes were divided into Thousands, Hundreds, Fifties, Tens, *i. e.* into so many Families; and over each Division there presided *Rulers of Thousands, Rulers of Hundreds, Rulers of Fifties, and Rulers of Tens, to judg the People at all Seasons*, Exod. 18. 21, 25. And the same are called *Captains over Thousands, Hundreds, Fifties, Tens*, Numb. 31. 14. Deut. 1. 15. 1 Sam. 8. 5. and their Business was to decide lesser Causes in these their respective Thousands, Hundreds, &c. Besides these Ministers of Justice in every particular Town, there were others of a larger Jurisdiction, who are call'd *Princes and Heads of the Tribes*, Numb. 13. 2. & 34. 18. *Chief of the Tribes*, Deut. 1. 15. *Officers among the Tribes* (in the same Place), and *Judges and Officers throughout the Tribes*, Deut. 16. 18. There were Twelve of these, every Tribe having its distinct Head and President over it; and these determin'd in Causes of a greater and higher Nature than the others. Moreover, there was a *Senate of Seventy*, chosen out of the two former Ranks of Persons; and they were designed at first to be Coadjutors to *Moses*, Numb. 11. 16. You will find that these are mention'd together with the other two in *Jos.* 23. 2. & 24. 1. for by *the Elders* in both these Places are meant, I conceive, the *Seventy Seniors*, and by *the Heads of Israel* we are to understand *the Representatives and Governours of the Tribes*; and by *Officers and Judges* the Ordinary and Inferiour Justices, *viz.* *Captains of Thousands, &c.*

86 *The Excellency and Perfection*

It was the first of these, namely, the Judicature of *Seventy Men*, which was most considerable, and therefore I will add a few Words concerning it: Because *Moses* was President over it, the Jews called it the *Judicature of Seventy one*; and others, adding *Aaron* to that Number, say, it consisted of *Seventy two*. This famous Council, which was at first appointed by *Moses* in the Wilderness, was afterwards a Settled Council for governing the People in the Land of *Canaan*, and was called the *Sanedrim*, (which is a ⁴ Greek Word originally, but crept into the Hebrew, as other Greek Words have done) but to distinguish it from the Lesser one, it is called the ⁵ *Great Sanedrim*. The other Courts sat in every City and Tribe, but This was at *Jerusalem* only, and could sit no where else. This Great Consistory judged of All Matters, whereas the Others took Cognizance only of Lesser ones. This was not only a *Court of Common Pleas* or *Nisi Prius*, where only Civil Causes were tried, but sometimes it determin'd both them and Criminal Actions. It was also a *Chancery*, or Court of Equity. But the more special and peculiar Work of this Court was to try the most *Weighty Causes*: these most commonly were brought before these Seventy Seniors: Matters of the Highest Nature, the most Important Affairs of the Kingdom, and such as belong'd to the Safety of the Publick, were tried here. This Great Senate was chosen out of all the Tribes, and consisted of Lay-men, Priests and Levites. The King, or Chief Civil Magistrate, was the Head of it, as *Moses* was at first. This Assembly of the Seventy Senators was look'd upon as the Chiefest and Highest Court of the Jews. The

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¹ *Sanhedrin*.

² *Sanedrim Gedolah*.

Supreme Power was thought to be seated here : accordingly all other Courts appeal'd to This, but from This was no Appeal. But some are of another Opinion, and add a Fourth Court of Justice, viz. the *Publick Council and Congregation of all the People*. This some make to be the Highest Court, as in the Case of the Levite's Wife that was cut into twelve Pieces. The Captains of Thousands, &c. the Seventy Seniors, and All the Chief of the People met together, made this Great Assembly, this *Mikel Gemot*, this *Parliament*. This is that (they say) which is called ⁶ *the Congregation of the Lord*, and ⁷ *the Whole Assembly of Israel*, and ⁸ *the Whole Congregation*, and ⁹ *the Great Congregation or Assembly*. These were the several Courts of Judgment amongst the Jews. Whilst *Moses* lived, he judged and decided Controversies alone when he thought fit ; or when any of These Councils met, he was the Prince and Head of them. So that the Jewish Government (so far as it respected These Courts) was partly Regal and Monarchical, as under *Moses* ; and it was partly Aristocratical, as under the Captains of Thousands ; and partly Democratical or Popular, under the *Kahal* of the People. We are beholden to the Sacred Records of the *Old Testament* for these excellent Discoveries relating to *Government*, which the most Civilized Nations in the World have taken for their Authentick Precedents.

Having spoken of their Methods of Government, and Courts of Judicature, which are so justly admired and imitated by all Wise Governours, I will next of all shew from these Antient Writings

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⁶ *Kahal Jehovah*, *Deut.* 23. 3. ⁷ *Col Gnedeth Iisrael*, *Exod.* 1. 3. ⁸ *Ezra* 10. 14. ⁹ *Kahalah Gedolah*, *Neb.* 5. 7.

88 *The Excellency and Perfection*

how the *Jewish* Governours chastised and corrected those that offended against their Laws. Their Lesser Punishments were such as these: 1. *Retaliation*; *Exod.* 21. 24. *Eye for Eye, Tooth for Tooth, Hand for Hand, Foot for Foot.* The plain Meaning of which was, that whoever bereft another Person of his Eye, Tooth, Hand or Foot, should be punish'd with the Loss of an Eye, a Tooth, &c. and sometimes this literal and rigorous Sense of the Law was put in practice. But generally it was not understood in the strict Sense, but he that put out another Man's Eye was to give him *Satisfaction*, *i. e.* as much as an Eye was thought to be worth. So the Targum of *Jonathan* interprets *Deut.* 19. 21. which is a Repetition of the foresaid *Law of Talion*: the Offender was to make a sufficient Recompence. And thus the *ταυτοπαλία* or *ἀντιπένοντος* among the Grecians, and the *Lex Talionis* among the Romans was understood, *viz.* not of an Identical, but an Analogical Compensation. An Equivalent was accepted, the Value of an Eye, a Tooth, &c. for the Eye or Tooth it self. 2. *Restitution*, the diverse kinds of which are particularly set down in the beginning of *Exod.* 22. as first, when the *same* thing that was taken away is returned to the Owner, *ver.* 12. or when the *like* thing is restored, *v.* 5. or when *more* is returned than was taken away, *ver.* 1, 4. *viz.* in the Case of Theft, where *twofold*, sometimes *four* or *five-fold*, (according as the Circumstances of the Fault were) yea *seven-fold* sometimes was to be restored, *Prov.* 6. 31. or, when the Thief had nothing to make Satisfaction with, he was to be sold, and Restitution was to be made to the Owner with that Money, *Exod.* 22. 3. 3. *Imprisonment*, keeping the Body of the Man in Custody for his Fault. And thence

thence this Place of Confinement is called *the House of Custody*, 2 Sam. 20. 3. and by the Chaldee Paraphrast *the House of Detention*, Isa. 24. 22. Thus King *Aſa* clapp'd the Prophet *Hanani* into Prison for reprov'g him, 2 Chron. 16. 10. King *Abab* commanded *Micaiah* to be ſent to the like Place, becauſe he prophesied againſt him, 1 Kings 22. 27. *Jeremiah* was put into *the Court of the Prison* by King *Zedekiah* for the ſame Offence, Jer. 37. 21. *John the Baptiſt* was imprifoned by *Herod*, Mat. 4. 12. and ſo was *St. Peter* by another of that Name, Acts 12. 4. This alſo was antiently the Place to receive thoſe that were in Debt, Mat. 18. 30. and ſuch as had committed Murder, Luke 23. 19. We read of *πρῆσις δημοσία*, a Common Prison, a Publick Jail, Acts 5. 18. a Place of Durance and Confinement for the worſt ſort of Offenders. In their Prifons there was uſually a *Dungeon*, Jer. 38. 6. or a *Pit*, as the Hebrew Word *Bor* is rendred in other Places when it hath reference to a Prison, as in Isa. 24. 22. Zech. 9. 11. And from this Word we gather what was the Nature of the *Dungeon*, viz. that it was a Place dug deep in the Ground ſo as to let in Water, (for that is imported by *Bor*, *Puteus*, *Fovea*) whereby the Place became miry, and accordingly we read that *Jeremiah*, who was caſt into this worſt and loweſt part of the Prison, ſunk in the *Mire*, Jer. 38. 6. It is no wonder therefore that the Hebrew Word is tranſlated by the LXX *λάκκη*, (whence *lacus*) a Ditch, a Pit, a Lake. Among the *Egyptians* there was in their Prifons this kind of *Tullianum* or *Dungeon*, Gen. 41. 14. for *Bor* is the Name of that loweſt Place in the Prison into which *Joſeph* was caſt. And this is afterwards called *the Houſe of the Pit* or *Well*, (for ſo it is in the Hebrew) *Exod. 12. 29*. It might be obſerved
out

out of those Authors who have given an Account of these Subterraneous Dungeons, that they were deep; and thence *βυθός* was the Name of a deep noisom Durance in *Cyzicum* in the *Propontis*, as *Beda* relates out of *Theodorus of Tarsus*, into which perhaps *St. Paul* was cast when he passed from *Troas* to that City, as 'Dr. *Hammond* conjectures; which may be the meaning of his being a *Night and a Day in the Deep*, ἐν τῷ βυθῷ, 2 Cor. 11. 25. It is not improbable that this *βυθός* is synonymous with *בור* *Fovea*, a *Pit*, a *Well*, which is the frequent Word in the Old Testament for a *Dungeon*. And in conformity to this Stile, as well as to the Nature of the thing it self, *Puteus* is the Word used by 'Plautus for the muddy dirty Vault or *Dungeon* into which the vilest Offenders were detrudd.

To *Imprisonment* belong the *Stocks*, not only because they are 'a kind of a *Prison*, (as the Scholiast on *Aristophanes* speaks) yea a real *Prison for the Feet*, but because they generally were made use of in *Prisons*; which I collect from two or three Places in the Old and New Testament. In *Jer. 29. 26.* putting in *Prison* and in the *Stocks* are joined. The Word צונק hath much troubled Interpreters: Among these the Learned *Buxtorf* derives it from *tst navis* and *janak sugere*, and thinks it originally and properly denotes that kind of Punishment mention'd by *Plutarch* in *Artaxerxes's* Life, viz. that a Man was immured between two Boats, and had Milk and Honey given to him, and whether he would or no poured down his Throat to keep him alive, &c. The Hebrews, as this Critick imagines, from the manner of *Torture* and *Feeding*, express

' Annotat. on 2 Cor. 11. 25. : In Aulul. Act. 2. Sc. 4.
 2. Εἰς τὸ δεσμωθεῖν, τὸ ξύλον.

press the Punishment by the Ship of the Sucker; and by this they use to signify any Close Prison, and even that more particular Confinement of the Hands or Feet in Prison: Accordingly an Eminent Rabbin thinks it imports *Hand-shackles*; another, that it signifies *Fetters for the Feet*. That there was such an Antient Punishment as the *Stocks*, is evident from *Job* 13. 27. & 33. 11. where the Hebrew Word is *קו*, rendred in the former Place *κώλυμα*, and in the latter *ξύλον*. The other Place which I alledg is in the New Testament, *Acts* 16. 24. *He thrust them into the inner Prison, and made their Feet fast in the Stocks*. Where observe there was *ισωτέρα φυλακή*, to distinguish this Place from the other Parts of the Prison: and this it is likely was the *Dungeon*, the *Pit* spoken of before; and here was placed *τὸ ξύλον*, (for that is the Word here used) the *Wooden Stocks*; *lignea custodia*, as *Plautus* calls it; which was both to secure Offenders, and to put them to pain. I confess this Text speaks of the Prison at *Philippi*, but I suppose as to this there was little difference between the *Jewish* and *Grecian* Jails, especially if you take notice of what the other Text before mentioned acquaints us with. There is another Word, viz. *קפנה*, which we render the *Stocks*, *Jer.* 20. 2, 3. and seems to me to be some Uneasy Place in the Prison into which *Jeremiah* was cast, and so it confirms the former Notion I offer'd. We read of the *Correction of the Stocks*, *Prov.* 7. 22. but what the Hebrew Word *gnekas* properly signifies is difficult to determine, only we know that it was some Exemplary Punishment to teach a Fool Wisdom: these *δεσμοὶ* (as the *Seventy* render it) were to bind him to his good Behaviour. 4. *Scourging* was another Penal Infliction, *Deut.* 25. 2. where we find that the Offender

fender was to receive fourty Stripes according to the Rigour of the Law, but thirty nine was the usual Tale, as all the Jewish Writers affirm, and as we may gather from 2 Cor. 11. 24. This *Flagellation* is called *Bikkoreth*, Lev. 19. 20. from *bakar bos*, it being done with Scourges made of *Bulls Hides* or *Ox-leather*; which we also find confirmed by several *Classick* Authors. Our Blessed Saviour underwent this severe Penalty, *Mat.* 27. 26. and foretold his Disciples that it should be their Lot, *Mat.* 10. 17. & 23. 34. which was fulfilled, *Acts* 5. 40. & 22. 10. The most grievous sort of Scourging was with *Scorpions*, 1 Kings 12. 11. *i. e.* with Whips, to which were fastned Pricks and sharp Thorns, to rend and tear the Body: and sometimes there were Plummets of Lead at the End of them, to bruise and batter the Flesh. Scourging was also a *Roman* Punishment, as is evident from *Acts* 22. 24. besides that the best Pagan Histories attest this: yet there was some Difference between this Penalty as it was inflicted by them and by the Jews; for the former used both Rods and Whips, but the latter chastised Offenders with Whips only, which were much more painful and grievous. St. Paul (who, as he confesses himself, used to beat in every Synagogue those that believed on Jesus, *Acts* 22. 19.) felt the Severity of both; Of the Jews (saith he) received I forty Stripes save one, 2 Cor. 11. 24. Thrice was I beaten with Rods, ver. 25. which refers to this Punishment which was inflicted on him by the Gentiles, *Acts* 16. 23.

These were the *Lesser Punishments* among the Jews: we are moreover informed from the Sacred Writ what the *Capital* ones were. These, as to the particular manner of executing them, and as to the Usages and Customs that attended them, are par-

particularly spoken of in the Talmud, and are treated of by *Maimonides*, and by our Learned Dr. *Godwin*: but I am to consider them as they are mention'd in *Scripture*, for that is my Business at present. And though the Talmudists distinguish between מיתות קלות *Lesser Deaths*, and חמורות those that are more *Grievous*; yet because I find that the Jewish Writers do not fully agree what particular Capital Punishments are to be referr'd to these two Heads, I will lay this Distinction aside, and proceed in this order. First, דָּבַק, *Killing with the Sword, or Beheading*, was in use among them; and though I do not find it among their *Judicial Laws*, yet there are some *Examples* of this sort of Death recorded. *Ishbosheth* was the first that was slain so, 2 Sam. 4. 7. though it is true this Execution was without Law, yet it shews what way of Death was used among them in those days. We may observe that 'tis said, *They smote him, and slew him*, and then *beheaded him*: The severing the Head from the Body was a Consequent of some foregoing Violence, whereby his Life was taken away. Indeed, that it was usual to cut off the Head after the Person was slain, and to bring it in a way of Trophy, may be proved from many Instances, as that of *Sisera*, Judg. 5. 26. *Goliath*, 1 Sam. 17. 57. *Saul*, 1 Sam. 31. 9. *Sheba*, 2 Sam. 20. 22. And perhaps in those Days and afterwards the beheading of Persons alive was not the Practice among the Jews; but they rather took off their Heads (either by cutting them off with a Sword, or chopping them off on a Block with an Ax) after they had dispatch'd them by some other Means. For, as I apprehend, the *Decollation* was only for Pomp, and to expose the Malefactors. Nor in the Account that is given of the beheading

John

94 *The Excellency and Perfection*

John the Baptist, Mark 6. 24. (which is another Instance of this Punishment in the Holy Book) do I meet with any thing to disprove that his Life was first taken away by the *Executioner whom Herod sent*, and then his Head was cut off, *to be brought in a Charger*, to be shown in a way of Triumph. It is probable that when 'tis said *St. James was killed with the Sword*, Acts 12. 2. it is meant of that Killing which preceded *Beheading*, which, as some Ecclesiastical Writers tell us, was inflicted on that Apostle. I will only add, that the Hebrew Masters inform us, that this was the Deadly Penalty of Men-slayers, Murderers, such as apostatized to Idolatry, or that enticed others to it.

Another Mortal Punishment was *כְּלִיף* *Stoning*, which was wont to be performed first by one of the Witnesses against the Malefactor, and then all the People followed him. This *Lapidation* was used towards Blasphemers, Idolaters, Incestuous Persons, Witches, Wizards, Prophaners of the Sabbath; those that inveigled others to Idolatry; Children that cursed their Parents, or rebelled against them. In the Old Testament the Examples of this Punishment are *Achan*, Josh. 7. 25. *Adoram*, 1 Kings 12. 18. *Naboth*, 1 Kings 21. 10. *Zechariah*, 2 Chron. 24. 1. In the New Testament we read that they attempted to stone our Saviour, *John* 10. 31. and that they effectually did so to *St. Stephen*, Acts 7. 58. and that they exercised this Severity on *St. Paul*, but by the singular Providence of God he escaped with his Life, Acts 14. 19. This was the most General Punishment that was denounced in the Law against notorious Criminals;
yes

^r Lev. 20. 2, 27. & 24. 14. Deut. 13. 10. & 17. 5. & 21. 21. & 22. 21, 24.

yea by those indefinite Terms of *putting to Death*, is sometimes meant this sort of Exemplary Animadversion, as in *Lev. 20. 10.* (compared with *John 8. 5.*) and other Places.

Another severe Punishment was שריפה *Burning*, which was by the Mosaick Law executed on some sort of Incestuous Persons, viz. ' those that vitiated their own Daughters, and ' on the Priest's Daughter that committed Whoredom, and on Offenders of a far different Nature, as appears from *Achan's* Example. Some think they were burnt alive, as some Criminals amongst us are: Others say, that before they were burnt they were strangled, and then melted Lead was poured down their Throats, and afterwards their whole Bodies were consumed in the Fire. This is certain, that *Burning* was a secondary Penalty, that is, it followed upon some other going before, as we may infer from what we read concerning this Punitive way of dealing with *Achan* and his Family; *All Israel stoned him with Stones, and burned them with Fire after they had stoned them with Stones, Josh. 7. 25.* I might observe further that this Penal Course was taken with Harlots and Prostitutes before the Judicial Law: Thus the Doom which *Judah* pronounced against *Tamar* for her Whoredom was, *Let her be burnt, Gen. 38. 24.* And I propound it, whether it be not reasonable to think, that [*She shall be utterly burnt with Fire*] *Rev. 18. 8.* is an Allusion to this Antient and Legal Punishment of *Whoredom*, seeing we find that *Babylon* (who is meant in those Words) is signally stiled a *Whore*, and her *Fornication* is twice mentioned in the third Verse of that Chapter.

Again,

¹ *Lev. 20. 14.* ² *Lev. 21. 19.*

96 *The Excellency and Perfection*

Again, תולר *Hanging* was in use among the Jews, *Numb. 25. 4. Deut. 21. 22.* but it was of a different Nature from that which is among us. For, First, they were hang'd up by the Hands, not by the Head or Neck. Secondly, this Suspension was not while they were alive, but after they were dead. Thirdly, it was seldom or never used alone, but in conjunction with one or other of those Punishments before (or after to be) mention'd. Some hold that it was used only after *Stoning*, and was the Recompence of Blasphemy and Idolatry. Others say, it was generally the Consequent of *Strangling*. This is not to be doubted that it was a Secondary Punishment, as well as that which I before mentioned. First they were dispatch'd, and then they were hung up upon a Tree, Gibbet, or Stake, to be seen and taken notice of, to be made Exemplary, and to be a Warning and Terror to others. Therefore when the Sun went down, *i. e.* when they could no longer be a Publick Spectacle, they were taken down from the Place where they hung, *Deut. 21. 23.* And from *Josh. 10. 26.* it appears that this was a Subsequent Punishment, for 'tis said, *Joshua hang'd five Kings on five Trees*, but he first *smote them and slew them*. In the same manner 'tis likely he dealt with the King of *Ai*, *Josh. 8. 29.* whom he hanged. And the same may be thought of *Saul's seven Sons*, *2 Sam. 21. 9.* This is particularly expressed in *Numb. 25. 4, 5.* where both *hanging up* and *slaying* are mentioned as the Punishment of some scandalous Sinners in the Wilderness: where by the way observe, that this was the Penalty of Whoredom as well as Blasphemy and Idolatry.

I know *Suffocation* or *Strangling* (which is by the Jews called חנק) is reckoned as a *Capital Punishment* among the Jews, but I do not find it expressly named,

named, unless *Machanak*, which *Job* saith, *his Soul chose*, ch. 7. 15. be a Reference to this sort of Death. But we are to remember that *Job* was no Jew, and therefore 'tis improbable he speaks of a Jewish Punishment. But if we may credit *R. Solomon* and other Hebrew Doctors, this is often mentioned in the Mosaick Law; for they say this is meant in those Places of *Leviticus*, and other Parts of the Pentateuch, where 'tis commanded that the Criminal shall die, or be put to Death. So in *Lev. 20. 10. The Adulterer and Adulteress shall surely be put to Death*: the Targum of *Jonathan* interprets it of Suffocation. And so it doth in *Exod. 21. 15. Deur. 22. 22.* This absolute way of speaking signifies this particular Species of putting Persons to Death, they say. But from what hath been suggested before, we may infer that this is not always true: however, it may be so generally and for the most part; and accordingly from the respective Texts we may gather, that the Offenders that were strangled were those that carnally knew the Priest's Daughter, or another Man's Wife, and those that struck their Father or Mother; and all Lying Prophets, or that prophesied in the Name of a false God. The way, they tell us, of *Strangling* was with a Towel, Napkin, or any Linen Cloth put about the Malefactor's Neck, and drawn by two Men with Force contrary ways.

Another Punitive Infliction, though not specified in the Judicial Law, nor reckon'd up by the Rabbinnick Masters among the Jewish Punishments, was the *Wheel*, as we are acquainted from what *Solomon* saith, and without doubt concerning himself, *A wise King bringeth the Wheel over the Wicked*, Prov. 20. 26. This was used of old not only in Rackings of Persons to make them confess, but to take away

98 *The Excellency and Perfection*

their Lives. They were tied unto it, or extended upon it, and so drawn and broken. That this was used by *Antiochus* toward the Jews, particularly the Macchabean Brethren, is attested in the *Apocryphal* Writings; and that the Pagan Emperours made use of it upon the Christian Martyrs, we learn from Ecclesiastical History.

Furthermore, *Tebignab*, *Submersion*, of which we read in *Mat.* 18. 6. *Mark* 9. 42. is reckon'd by *St. Jerom.* on the former Place among the Punishments of the Jewish Nation: and so it is by *Cassaubon* in his Notes. And *Buxtorf* hints that some were condemned to this Punishment among the Jews, and were signally said to be *Men adjudged to be drown'd*. But whether it was really so, or was a Punishment proper to the *Gentiles* I will not here dispute, but proceed to speak of Another which undoubtedly was *Jewish*, and is oftner mention'd in the Old Testament, especially in *Moses's* Writings, where the Jewish Penalties are fixed, than any of those before named. It is *being cut off from Israel*, or *the Soul's being cut off from among the People*: concerning which there are as many various Opinions, as about any one thing that I know of this Nature. This *Chereth* or *Cutting off* is thought by the Jewish Doctors to be peculiar to the Jewish Oeconomy: but in this first Essay of their Sentiments about it they are mistaken, for this Penalty is expressly taken notice of before the Judicial Law, in *Abraham's* time, *Gen.* 17. 14. God saith of the uncircumcised Manchild, that *that Soul shall be cut off from his People*: therefore 'tis plain that this Infliction, whatever it was, was not peculiar to the Mosaick Dispensation. The Hebrew Expositors all agree in this, that by this

Excision

¹ Chald. Lexic.

Excision is meant a Divine Punishment, *i. e.* some Judgment immediately sent by God: but they agree not as to the particular kind of it. It signifies Sudden Death, saith *R. Saadias*, who expounds it by those Words, *Psal. 55. 23. They shall not live out half their Days.* Another of the Rabbies, *Sol. Jarchi*, understands it of Barreness or want of Children. When Persons are threatned to be cut off, their Seed, their Posterity is meant, he saith. Again, some of the Jews think that Eternal Torments in another World are here intended. Others think it is meant of the Excision of both Body and Soul: the former is cut off here by untimely Death, the latter by being separated from God and Happiness in the Life to come, saith *Abarbanel*. The famous *Maimonides* goes higher, and saith it signifies not only the shortning of Life here, but the utter Extinction and Annihilation of the Soul hereafter, so that a Man perishes like a Beast. *Christians* also (as well as *Jews*) have different Opinions concerning this, for some of them understand it of some Capital Punishment to be inflicted by the Civil Magistrate, such as Stoning, Burning, &c. according to the Nature and Demerit of the Offence. Others believe an Ecclesiastical Punishment is designed here, *viz.* Excommunication: This is the general perswasion of the Divines of *Geneva*. Some interpret it of Sudden and Immature Death, as *L' Empereur* and *Grotius*. Others think Eternal Damnation is meant. *Janinus* will have it to be both Excommunication and Damnation. Upon a View of the Whole, and weighing the several Places where this *Chebeth* is mention'd, I doubt not but I may most rationally determine that according to the Subject Matter of the Texts, this Punishment is to be differently un-

100 *The Excellency and Perfection*

derstood. That is, where this *Excision* is threatened for such an Offence as was not punishable by the Jewish Laws, it is meant of some Divine Penalty, some Plague immediately to be inflicted by God himself. But where this *Cutting off* is denounced for a Sin which the Law of the Jews and their Courts of Justice took notice of and punish'd, it is likely it is then to be understood of such a kind of Punishment as the Law inflicted, as some kind of *Bodily Death*, or *Excommunication*. In this latter acception the *Chereth* was used, when for some great Offence a Man was excluded from Ecclesiastical Communion, debarr'd the Congregation, cut off from being a Member of the Church. Thus the *Chereth* is the same with *Cherem*, which was the middle sort of Excommunication among the Jews, between *Nidui* which was a Separation from Company and Converse, and *Shammata* which was a Devoting to Satan and utter Destruction. Thus you see what Course they took in those early Times to animadvert on those that were Faulty: and it is the more considerable because it was of God's own Appointment. Hence we conclude these Inflictions were appointed and executed with great Reason and Equity, with singular Wisdom and Prudence, and such as became the Divine Author of them, and the All-Wise Governour of that People.

It cannot be expected I should insist on the *Particular Laws* and *Constitutions* of their Civil Government, they being so Many and Various. These may be consulted in the Old Testament it self, which presents us with the most Com-
plear Rules of Civil Polity, and such as to a great Part of them are fitted to the Governments of all Nations in the World. The Greeks were famous for their Laws, and so were the Old Romans,

mans, who borrowed a considerable Part of their Laws from them, and particularly caused those of the *Twelve Tables* (the first beginning of their Laws) to be fetch'd thence by their *Decemviri* : and we see they contain Excellent Things in them. And the Encomiums of the Learnedest Men are large on the *Laws of the Empire* : the *Pandects* are fraught with the Decisions and Responses of Wise and Experienced Lawyers, and the *Code* is famed for the Decrees and Constitutions of Emperours. Yea, how large and elaborate have the * Great Sages of our Nation been in Commendation of the *English Laws*, telling us that they are † the Highest Reason, and nothing else but Reason ; that they are so Reasonable that ‡ nothing that is Unjust can be so much as supposed to be in them, and therefore that § no Man must presume to be wiser than these Laws. If these be the Elogiums of meer Humane Constitutions, of what transcendent Worth and Excellency must we needs allow Those Laws to be, which though calculated for Civil and Humane Government, were originally Divine and Heavenly, and framed by Infinite Wisdom it self? Such were the Laws of the *Jews* which in this Sacred Volume are transmitted to us, and consequently they far surpass, they infinitely surmount all others under Heaven. And no Laws whatsoever were prior to these, as *Josephus* against *Appion* very clearly demonstrates. *Moses* was the Antientest Law-giver : and *Lycurgus*, *Draco*, *Solon*, and other Publishers of Laws, whom the Greeks boast of, were but Upstarts in respect of him. You do not so much as meet with the word *Law* in *Homer*, or

H 3

Orpheus,

* Fortescue de Laudibus Leg. Angl. Coke every where. † Lex est summa ratio. ‡ Nullum iniquum in jure præsumentum.

§ Neminem oportet esse sapientiores legibus.

Orpheus, or *Musæus*, the Antientest Greek Authors, as ' *Bodinus* observes. Indeed the Nations had no Written Laws at first. *Tully*, *Livy*, *Justin* and other Historians acquaint us, that the Verbal Commands of Kings and Princes were their Laws. But afterward when they had Laws committed to writing, (such as could be read, whence they had the Name of *Leges*) they derived them from the *Hebrews*: more especially it might be proved, that the Antientest Attick and Roman Laws were borrowed from *Moses*, and that other Wise Lawgivers and Rulers have taken some of their best Constitutions hence.

Then in the next place, if we look abroad, and enquire into the *Government of the Heathen Nations*, we shall there also be assisted by the Antient Records of the Bible: and as to many things that concern their Kings and Government, we cannot inform our selves otherwise than from this Sacred History. Here we read of four Eastern Kings, (such as they were, for *Melech* is a large Word, and signifies any Ruler) the *King of Shinar*, the *King of Ellasar*, the *King of Elam*, the *King of Nations*; Gen. 14. 1, 2. Which were the first peepings out of the Kingdoms of *Babylon*, *Assyria*, *Persia* and *Greece*: for *Shinar* is *Babylon* (as all agree) *Ellasar* is *Assyria*, (some Region near to *Euphrates*, as may be gather'd from *Isa.* 37. 12.) *Elam* is the usual Name of *Persia*, and by *Nations* is meant *Greece*, especially the Grecian Isles where there was a great Conflux of several Nations. But these Names are not to be taken in this Extent here, for we cannot suppose that Five Great Kings (and some of them of very distant Countries) would come to fight the King of *Sodom* a Petty Prince. Therefore

fore the *Places* here nam'd, must not be thought to be those *Wide Regions* which afterwards were known by those *Names*: and the *Persons* who are here call'd *Kings* must not be conceived to be any other than *Governours* or *Magistrates* of *Cities*, for so the Title of *King* is to be understood in some *Texts* of the *Old Testament*, and particularly in this *History*, where the *five Kings* of *Canaan* are mention'd. We read that *Abimelech* (which afterwards became the Name of the *Kings* of *Palestine*) was one of the first *Kings* of this *Countrey*, and that the particular *Seat* of his *Government* was *Gerar*, *Gen.* 20. 2. We are informed that about this time (which was about 400 Years after the *Flood*) there were *Kings* of *Egypt*, and that *Pharaoh* was the *Royal Name* even then, *Gen.* 12. 15. No *Book* that we can trust to make mention of these *Early Kingdoms*, and *Royal Thrones* (such as they were) but *Moses's History*. Yea, here is a considerable *Account* of the *Four Grand Monarchies* or *Empires* of the *World*, as they are usually stiled. We are told here that *Nimrod* was a *Mighty One in the Earth*, *Gen.* 10. 8. and a *Mighty Hunter before the Lord*, *v.* 9. by which *Character*, and what we may infer from it, it appears that he was the *First* that exercis'd an *Imperial* and *Kingly Power* in the *World*, though he hath not here the Title of *King*. The Word [*Gibbor*] which we render [*Mighty*] is in the *Version* of the *Seventy* a *Giant*, which expresseth not only the *Greatness* of his *Stature*, but the *Exorbitancy* of his *Power* which he exerted over others with an *Unlimited Sway* and *Arbitrariness*. And when 'tis said he was a *Mighty Hunter*, I grant it may set forth what *Warlike Exercise* he was given to, as *Livy* remarks

of *Romulus* and *Remus*, that they were addicted to this Manly Recreation, and that it was a Sign of the Vigour of their Minds, and the Strength and Agility of their Bodies: and so *Xenophon* in the Life of *Cyrus* observes, that it is a Military Exercise, and becoming a Great Man. But I conceive there is something more intimated to us in his being represented as a *Hunter* and a *Mighty Hunter*, and *before the Lord*; for this may signify to us his Fierce Pursuit of Men as well as Beasts, his Tyrannizing and usurping Dominion over the People, and that in defiance of God, *before whom* he was not ashamed to act thus wickedly. He was of the Race of *Chush* the Son of *Cham*, and was the Head and Ringleader of those Miscreants that built *Babel* or *Babylon*: which baffles the common Account of Pagan Historians, who tell us that *Semiramis*, *Ninus's* Queen, was the first Founder of that City, unless we understand by it that she finish'd the Work. He it was that with the Remains of the Babylonian Crew set up here the *First Empire*: which began soon after the Flood, viz. about 130 Years. This is the Date of the First Monarchy in the World, and *Babel* was the Place where it commenced. It is expressly said, *The beginning of his Kingdom was Babel*, *Gen. 10. 10.* This was the first Step to the Universal Empire of the Chaldeans or Assyrians, which afterwards spread it self to vast and almost unlimited Dimensions. This is he that by the Pagan Writers is call'd *Belus*, and said to be the Father of *Ninus*, as *Eusebius*, *Jerom*, and other of the Learnedest among the Antients agree: for this is observable (and I have proved from several Instances in another Place) that oftentimes the same Persons have not the same Names in Prophane History that are given them

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in the Sacred one. Some read *Gen. 10. 11.* thus, *He went out of the Land into Assyria,* and thence gather, that though *Nimrod* was first seated at *Babylon*, and reign'd in *Chaldea*, yet from thence he pierced into *Assyria*, where he built *Nineveh*, the Head City of the Assyrian Monarchy. But this is unquestionable that the Empire was translated into *Assyria*, and thence there is a Distinction between the *Land of Assyria* and the *Land of Nimrod*, *Mic. 5. 6.* The Sacred Writings also acquaint us, that as this Monarchy began at *Babylon* and *Chaldea*, and was translated into *Assyria*, so at last it returned to *Babylon* again, the Assyrian Dynasties being swallow'd up of those of *Chaldea*. So the *Assyrians* laid the Foundation for the *Chaldeans*, they set up the Towers thereof, they raised up the Palaces thereof, *Isa. 23. 13.* And this Relapse or Reduction of the Assyrian Government to the Babylonians is again foretold in *Ezek. 31. 11, 12, &c.* *I have deliver'd him into the Hand of the mighty One of the Heathens, he shall surely deal with him.* King *Nebuchadnezzar* is that *El gojim*, that God of the Nations (for so 'tis in the Hebrew) who made them all bow down to him and worship him, and he more especially made the *Assyrians* truckle to his Greatness and Sovereignty. This is very carefully to be heeded, because it gives Light to the whole History both Sacred and Prophane, which relates the Affairs of those Kingdoms. The want of attending to this is the reason why several that have writ of these things have egregiously blundered, confounding one part of the Empire with another, making no difference between Babylonians and Assyrians, and thereby rendring all a mere *Babel*, a Confusion. But we are directed by what the Sacred History suggests, to distinguish between

tween the two neighbouring Dynasties of *Assyria* and *Chaldea*, which alternately made up the First Monarchy. Sometimes the Babylonian Princes bore sway, and were Heads of the Empire; at other times those of the Assyrian Race climb'd to this Honour. *Babylon* and *Nineveh* were the two Royal Seats belonging to each: when the Chaldean Kings prevail'd, then the former was their Place of residence; when the Assyrian Monarchs bore Rule, the latter was the Place where they kept their Court. The brief Scheme of the Successions is this: At first all *Assyria* was subject to *Babylon* or *Chaldea*: next the Babylonian Power gave way to the Assyrian: after this the Assyrians lost the Monarchy, it coming again to the Chaldeans, yet so that the Empire was then divided, for the *Medes* had a Part, though the greatest Share went to the *Babylonians*.

Where by the way we may observe, that that which is call'd and reputed the *First Monarchy* may as well be said to be the *Third*: it may be counted Two at least. And thence it will follow that that which is vulgarly call'd the *2d Monarchy* was the *3d* or *4th*; for before the Persian Monarchy there was the Babylonian, Assyrian and Median. Here, if the Reader would pardon the Digression, it might be further prov'd, that the common Division of the *Monarchies* into four, and no more, is imperfect and groundless: for there were several other Entire Dynasties or Kingdoms in the time of the Assyrian Monarchs; there were the Kingdoms of the Old Germans, Egyptians, Argives, Athenians, Lacedemonians, Tyrians, Romans, Jews. So the *Greek Monarchy* (which is reckon'd the Third) was divided into four Kingdoms. Likewise, with the *Roman* Emperours were contemporary the *Greek*

Greek Emperours in the East. Besides, if we should come down lower, it would appear that *Mabomet's Dove* hath been as wonderful in the World as the *Roman Eagle*: the *Turkish Monarchy* hath grasped more than the *Roman*, and might challenge to be numbred among the most *Celebrated Monarchies*. For these reasons I am apt to be of *Boetius's* Mind, that we ought to reckon more Monarchies than Four. But I will not now contend, especially because it is likely the Interpretation of those Dreams and Visions in *Daniel* concerning the *Four Beasts* and the *Four Metals*, gave the first Occasion to this number of *Four Monarchies*, and no more. To return then to our former Matter, viz. The Difference which the Old Testament directs us to take notice of between the Assyrian and Chaldean Empires, which some have so shuffled together that they cannot distinctly be discern'd. These Inspired Writings let us know that the First Captivity of the Jews was under the former, the Second under the latter; that the Kings of *Assyria* were those properly who reign'd in *Nineve*, and that strictly speaking the Kings of *Babylon* were those that resided at *Babylon*: though 'tis true by reason of the Vicissitude of the Government of the Assyrians and Chaldeans, these are sometimes call'd the Kings of *Assyria*; and the King of *Babylon* and of *Assyria* is the same. It is from the Scripture-Records that we are informed that *Nebuchadnezzar* in the eighth Year of his Reign, transported *Jehoiakin* the King, and other of the Jews to *Babylon*, and that in his eighteenth Year he utterly destroyed *Jerusalem*, and carried away Captive *Zedekiah* and the greatest Part of the Jews, from which

108 *The Excellency and Perfection*

which time are to be numbred the Seventy Years of the Babylonian Captivity. This was *Nebuchadnezzar* the Great, he who brought that Monarchy to its highest Pitch, insomuch that some have reckon'd him the First Absolute Monarch. Many other remarkable Passages relating to the whole Series of this Government, and those that presided in it from first to last, are set down in the Holy Writ. Several of the very individual Persons who were the Chief Monarchs of this first and antientest Empire, are here particularly mention'd, with the considerable Actions and Events appertaining to them: as *Pul*, 2 Kings 15. 19. *Tiglath-Pileser*, 1 Chron. 5. 26. *Salmanassar*, 2 Kings 17. 3. Hof. 10. 14. *Senacherib*, 2 Kings 18. 3. *Esarbaddon*, 2 Kings 19. 37. *Merodach-Baladan*, 2 Kings 20. 20. Isa. 39. 1. *Nebuchadnezzar* mention'd in the Books of the *Kings*, *Chronicles*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*: and lastly *Belshazzar*, Dan. 5. 22. in whom this Monarchy had its Period. And so these Sacred Writings acquaint us not only with the Rise but the Progress, Duration and End of this Empire; hence we learn that it lasted from *Nimrod* to the close of *Belshazzar's* Reign, *i. e.* from the Year of the World 1717. to the Year 3419. which is in all 1702 Years; a much longer time than any of the other Monarchies endured.

Again, in these Writings is recorded the Original of the Next, *viz.* the *Persian* (usually known by the Name of the *Second*) Monarchy. Here we read that *Belshazzar*, the last Chaldean Monarch, he that impiously carouzed in the Holy Vessels belonging to the Temple, was slain by *Darius* the *Mede*, Dan. 5. 30, 31. who joined with *Cyrus* the Persian in the Expedition against *Belshazzar*; and they both had Right to the Babylonian Monarchy
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on that Account, and accordingly jointly ruled; so it was a *Medo-Persian* Monarchy. *Darius* is spoken of in the 6th and 9th Chapters of *Daniel*; but being aged before he came to the Throne, he lived but about two Years after; whereupon *Cyrus* reigned alone, and is generally reputed the First Founder of the Persian Monarchy. This famous *Cyrus*, surnamed *the Great*, was prophesied of long before he appeared in the World, *Isa.* 44. 28. & 45. 1. This is he that was the Happy Restorer of the Jews to their own Country, and was a great Favourer of the Pious of that Nation, *Ezr.* 1. And in the following Chapters, and in the Book of *Nehemiah*, is infallibly related what *Persian* Kings hindered the Building of the Temple, and who they were that promoted it. Besides, the Book of *Esther*, and a great part of *Daniel*, are a Narrative of what was done under the Kings of *Persia*. Next, it might be added, that *Alexander* the Great the First Founder of the *Grecian* Monarchy, is spoken of in these Sacred Writings, as in *Dan.* 2. 32, 39. & 7. 6. & 8. 5, 6, 7, 8. & 10. 20. & 11. 3, 4. whence *Jaddus* the High Priest shewed the Prophecy of *Daniel* to that Great Monarch, and particularly turned to that Place where his Conquering of the Persians, and the Translation of the Empire to him, are foretold. Here also the Division of the Empire among his *Captains* is predicted, *Dan.* 2. 33. & 7. 7, 19. & 8. 22. & 11. 5, 6, &c. Lastly, the History of the *New Testament* mentions the Author and Erecter of the *Roman* (which generally passes for the *Fourth*) Monarchy, and some of his Actions and Decrees. This was *Augustus*, for
if

Joseph, Antiq. Jud. l. 11. c. 8.

110 The Excellency and Perfection

if we speak properly, this Empire began not in *Julius Caesar*, but in him when he vanquished *Antony* and *Cleopatra* in the Battel of *Actium*, and all *Egypt* became a Roman Province. Thus *Nimrod*, *Cyrus*, *Alexander*, *Augustus*, the Founder of those four renowned Monarchies, and many of the most eminent and remarkable Passages in some of them, are recorded in the Sacred Scriptures, whereby the Truth of those things is confirmed, and some obscure Places in Pagan Writers are enlightened, and some Mistakes may be corrected. Indeed it is impossible to understand the Gentile History aright in sundry Matters relating to the First Kingdoms and Governments, unless we are acquainted with the Bible.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

In these Sacred Writings we have the first and earliest Account of all useful Employments and Callings, viz. Gardening, Husbandry, feeding of Sheep, preparing of Food. The antient manner of Threshing, Grinding of Corn, and making Bread is enquired into. What was the Primitive Drink. The Posture which they used at eating and drinking. Sitting preceded Discubation. The particular manner of placing themselves on their Beds. Eating in common not always used. Discalceation and Washing the Feet were the Attendants of Eating and Feasting. So was Anointing. They had a Master or Governour of their Feasts. Who were the first Inventors of Mechanick Arts. The first Examples of Architecture. Houses were built flat at top, and why.

IN the fifth Place, here and only here is to be learned the Original of all Employments, Callings, Occupations, Professions, Mysteries, Trades, and of all Arts and Inventions whatsoever. First, here is the earliest Mention of Gardening, Husbandry, Ploughing, keeping of Sheep, which are of ordinary Use, and for the necessary Support of Man's Life. God placing Adam in Paradise, a Garden of Delight, instructed him how to dress and keep it, Gen. 2. 15. 'to work and belabour the Ground, (for so it is according to the LXX.) to dig and delve with great Care and Art, to open the Earth to let in the Influences of Heaven, to prune the Trees and

112 *The Excellency and Perfection*

and cherish the Plants, to preserve the Fruits from the Beasts and Fowls, which had Admittance into that Place, (as we read in *Gen. 2. 19, 20.*) and to keep all things in good order as a skilful *Gardiner* and *Husbandman*; for both these made up the First Employment and Trade in the World. And when Man was ejected out of Paradise, he was still set about the same Work, *Gen. 3. 23.* for the Hebrew Word that is used here is the same with that in *ver. 15.* and is translated there to *dress*: but it is certain that *gnamad* (which is the Verb in both Places) is of a large Import, and signifies all Husbandly managing and improving of Ground. And truly there was more need of exercising that Art now than before, the Earth being not a little endamaged by the *Curse* which God denounced against it, and executed upon it; which was one Reason why *Adam* brought up his Son *Cain* to *Husbandry* and *Tilling the Ground*, *Gen. 4. 2.* for now it wanted Manuring and Cultivating. And as this his eldest Son was brought up to take care of the Fruits of the Earth, so his next was bred up to *feeding of Sheep*, which is the Second Employment or Calling that we read of in the World. Afterwards *Jabal* advanced higher, and became the First *Grasier*; for so I understand those Words, *Gen. 4. 20.* *He was the Father of such as have Cattel*, i. e. that have other Cattel besides *Sheep*; for these, and the *keeping* or *feeding* of them, had been mention'd before. He lived upon *Pasturage*, and for that purpose was the *Father of such as dwell in Tents*, as it is said in the same Place: The Meaning of which is, that whereas others generally lived in one fix'd Place and Habitation, he and others of his Calling went from one Place to another feeding: They travell'd as their Cattel did, and for this Reason it was requisite

sit to have *Tents*. Accordingly that they might look after their Flocks and Herds the better, he invented these, that they might lie out in the Fields all Night under this Shelter. Thus you see what was the Primitive State of things; *Adam* and his first-born Son were Husbandmen, and his second Son a Shepherd; and others of his Race were busied in feeding of Cattel. Such was the Employment of those that were the First Heirs of the World.

And so for a long time after, in the first and most uncorrupted Ages, this was the Entertainment of the Greatest Persons. In those more innocent Times of the World the Wealthiest Men imbraced this kind of Life (as mean as it is accounted now). Some of the Old Patriarchs were plain honest Grasers, and the richest of them (as *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob*) were busied in looking to their Grounds and their Flocks. *Moses* the Great Law-giver was a Shepherd. *Nabal* and *Ab-salom* were Sheep-masters. *Elijah*, when he was busy at the Plough with twelve Yoke of Oxen, was call'd thence to the Prophetick Dignity and Office: and *Amos* of a Herdsman became a Divine Messenger and Preacher. *Samgar* was taken from the Herd to be a Judge in *Israel*, and with the same Goad that he drove his Oxen slew six hundred Men. *Gideon's* Seat of State and Justice was a Threshing-floor, and he had no other Mace than a Flail, *Judg.* 6. 14. The renowned *Jair* and *Jephthah* kept Sheep, and were fetch'd from that Employment to be Judges. *David* the Son of *Jesse*, a Worthy Parent in *Israel*, was took from the Sheep-folds, from following the Ewes great with young, to feed *Jacob*, to rule *Israel*, *Psal.* 78. 71. Thus the Pastoral Art hath been a Prebium to Empire and Govern-

114. *The Excellency and Perfection*

ment: the taking care of these tame Creatures hath made way for the presiding over the stubborn Flock of Mankind. We read that Crowned Heads have not disdained this Art. King *Uzziah* (or as he is call'd elsewhere *Azariah*, for I have shewed in another Place that it was common with the Jews to have two Names) was a *Lover of Husbandry*, 2 *Chron.* 26. 16. And one of the Greatest Kings that ever swayed a Scepter, acknowledgeth that as *the Profit of the Earth* (i. e. of Agriculture) is for all, is of universal Advantage, so more especially *the King himself is a Servant to the Field*, *Eccles.* 5. 9. for so it is according to the Hebrew. It is worthy of his Royal Care and Study to support Tillage and Husbandry, which were heretofore the Employment of those of the highest Rank.

And thus it was also among the Profane Nations of old. Knowledge and Skill in Rustick Affairs ushered in Rule and Command. The *Gordian Knot* was but Plough-tackling hamper'd in a Knot, and he that untied it was to be Monarch of the World. *Araunah* King of *Jebus* condescended to be a Thresher, 2 *Sam.* 24. 18. 1 *Chron.* 21. 20. and (which is an unparallell'd Exaltation of this Primitive Husbandry) his Threshing-floor was the Spot of Ground which King *David* made choice of to build an Altar to God upon, 2 *Sam.* 24. 25. and this was the very Place where *Solomon's Temple* was afterwards erected, 2 *Chron.* 3. 1. *Mesha* King of *Moab* was a *Sheep-master*, 2 *Kings* 3. 4. *Noked* is the Hebrew Word, and it is simply and barely used for a *Shepherd*, *Amos* 1. 1. *Spartacus*, the dreaded Enemy of the Romans, was of the same Calling. *Dioclesian* the Emperor left his Throne, and turn-

ed Gárdiner : After he had laid down the Empire he took up Husbandry. ¹ *Attalus* abdicated his Kingly Government, and applied himself wholly to the same Employment. The Great *Scipio* left his Commands to exercise and enjoy the Pleasures of Agriculture. In the Old Roman History we read that the Chief Men among them studied and practised this, by the same Token that several of them were fetch'd from their Tillage to Arms, from their Country Carts to Triumph, from Harvest-work to the Senate, from the Field to the Camp, from the Plough to bear the high Offices of Consuls and Dictators. They that were sent from the Roman Senate to desire *Attilius* to take upon him the Government, ² found him sowing in his Grounds. They tell us that *Romulus* the Founder of the Roman Empire, was bred up first to the Sheep-hook : and we know that the Riches of the Antient Romans was Plenty of Cattel. From the Country-Exercise of feeding of Beasts came the Surnames of the Families of the *Vituli*, *Porcii*, *Tauri*, *Capræ*, and others. (And here, by the by, let me insert, that it may be *Eglon* the Name of a Man, and so *Rachel* and *Dorcas* the Names of Women in Scripture, which signify a Calf, a Sheep, a Deer, were given at first on the like Account, Women as well as Men being imployed of old in looking after Cattel.) From their sowing of Beans, Pease, &c. arose the Names of the *Fabii*, *Pisones*, *Cicerones*, *Lentuli*, &c. And it is not to be denied that the Exercises of Husbandry have been treated of and applauded by the Wisest Men, as *Cato*, *Varro*, *Cicero*, *Pliny*, *Columella*, *Virgil*. And when among

¹ Justin. l. 6. ² Val. Max. l. 4. Tit. de Paupertate.

the Pagans their very *Deities* are represented as Lovers of a Country-Life, when *Pan* was said to be the God of Shepherds, and *Mercury* and *Apollo* fed Sheep, and the last of these was cried up for the Chief Patron of this Calling, they intended to signify to us that this and the like Country-Employments are Princely and Divine. Which very thing we are assured of from the Word of Truth, the Infallible Records of the Bible, which tell us that these were the Early Business and Practice of the Greatest and the Best Men. The Greatest Princes heretofore were esteemed according to the Numbers of their Cattel.

Among the First and Necessary Employments and Advantages of humane Life may be justly reckon'd *the Preparing of Food*; and the Scriptures alone can furnish us with the certain Knowledge of this. It is undeniable from those plain and expresse Words in *Gen. 1. 29.* that there was no Food allow'd at first to Mankind but Plants and Herbs, Corn and all other Fruits of the Earth. I have wondred sometimes that any who believe the Sacred Text can question this, for the Words are positive and downright, utterly excluding all other kind of Sustenance but this. Yea, unless you can prove that *Milk* is no part of any Living Creature, but is a Fruit of the Earth, you have reason to think that they were debarr'd of this also. But after the Flood, which had much impaired the Virtue of the Earth, and exhausted somewhat of its Seminal Power, there was a Licence to eat Flesh; *Every moving thing that liveth shall be Meat for you, Gen. 9. 3.* in which is included the Product of Flesh, *Milk*; which was denied to the *Antediluvians*. But
now

now all are at liberty to feed on it; and that was not all, they were so skilful as to make it afford them *Cheese* and *Butter*; neither of which we read of before the Deluge. And questionless they that fed not on Milk knew not the Use of these; but among the *Post-diluvians* *Charitze bachalab*, 1 Sam. 17. 18. *Cheeses of Milk* were a common Food; which are, without doubt, meant by *Shephoth bakar*, 2 Sam. 17. 29. *Coagulationes bovis*, as *Pagnine* renders it, *Cheeses of the Milk of Cows*, according to the Targum: and they are called by the Hebrews, in their peculiar way of speaking, *the Sons of Milk*. And in *Job* 10. 10. *gebinab* is the Word for *Cheese*. The other Product of their Milk, as well as of their Housewifery, was *Chemelab*, *Butter*, Gen. 18. 7. Deut. 32. 14. Judg. 5. 25. which was not known to some other Nations a long time. Among the *Greeks* there was no such thing, and no Word for it. *Homer* and the Antient Writers mention *Milk* and *Cheese*, but of *this* nothing is said. Neither doth *Aristotle* in his *History of Animals* so much as name it, though he mentions those two sorts of Food, and would certainly have made mention of this if there had been any such thing among them. Nor was it made use of among the *Romans*, as we understand from *Pliny's* Words', *è lacte fit butyrum, barbararum gentium laudatissimus cibus*. The *Barbarous* are not *Greek* or *Latins*, but the *Oriental* People; and accordingly the antient Use of this among the *Easterns* we learn only from *Moses* and such Inspired Writers. As to the antient feeding on the *Flesh of Animals*, *Abraham's* entertaining his Guests with a *Calf*, Gen. 18. 7. (*i. e.* part of a *Calf*, a Joint of *Veal*; for it is not likely that he

! Nat. Hist. l. 28. c. 9.

118 *The Excellency and Perfection*

set a whole boil'd or roasted, or otherwise dress'd Calf before three Men, for *Sarah* was in her Tent, and *Abraham* sat not down with these Guests, neither did eat, as may be gathered from those Words, *He stood by them, and they did eat*) and many other Instances of making Repasts on other sorts of Creatures, as Kids, Sheep, Oxen, might be produced out of this Sacred History.

But it appears that there was but little *Art* and *Cookery* used at first in dressing of Meat. There was no great Distinction in preparing it, as we may gather from the Hebrew Word *Aphab*, which signifies to *boil*, to *bake*, to *fry*; and so *Bashal* indifferently denotes *Roasting* and *Boiling*: But the particular Denotation of these Words in the Texts where they occur, is known only from the particular Matter spoken of there. Concerning the *Paschal Lamb* there is a strict Injunction not to *boil*, but *roast* it, *Exod.* 12. 8. *Deut.* 16. 7. which hath a secret and mysterious Meaning in it, it is likely; but concerning Common Eatings and Repasts, I do not find a Difference observed: yet this latter way of dressing hath had the Preference generally to the other. Accordingly it may be observed, that the Poets for the most part present their Heroes feeding on roast, and not on boil'd Meat. All *Homer's* Dinners for his Great Captains and Worthies are of the former sort. And *Servius* (who was no mean Critick) tells us, that in the Times of the Heroes they were not fed with Boil'd but Roast. We cannot but take notice that though at first the Preparing of Diet was simple and artless, yet at length it became a kind of Science, and much Time, Study and Cost, were bestow'd upon it.

Thence

¹ In Virgil. *Æn.* l. 1.

Thence we have many Examples of Extravagant Feastings in this Sacred History, on which several Critical Remarks might be made, to shew what Customs were prevalent at eating in those Days. Cookery was grown to a great Height, and as great an Esteem: there was *Sar Hatabbachim*, Gen. 39. 1. i. e. according to the Version of the Seventy Ἀρχιμαγειρός, the Prince of the Cooks: and there were *Tabbachoth*, Royal She-Cooks, 1 Sam. 8. 13. Much more might be said on these Particulars, but I design'd only a Taste of them, to invite the Curious to study the Bible, for here is the Antientest Learning in the World, and that of all Sorts.

But the most Useful and Strengthening, as well as the most Common Food, was *Bread* made of Corn: concerning which it may be acceptable to the Inquisitive to know how in those first Ages it was beaten out of the Ear, how it was ground into Meal, and how it was made into Bread: which can be learnt from these Antient Books of Scripture only. And this I must needs say, if *Varro* and some other Authors before named be consulted, and prized by Lovers of Antiquity for what they have deliver'd concerning Country-Affairs and Husbandry, surely then much more are these Holy Writings to be esteem'd, seeing they far excel them in Antiquity: for *Varro*, *Cato*, *Columella*, or any others that have written *de re Rusticâ*, are Modern Authors in respect of the Sacred Penmen. First then, as to *Threshing* or beating the Grains of Corn out of the Ears, it was performed divers ways; as, 1. By drawing a loaded Cart with Weels over the Corn backwards and forwards, so that the Wheels running over it did forcibly shake out the Grain. Of this is express

mention in *Isa.* 28. 27. where we read that *Ophan gnagalab* the *Cart-wheel* was turn'd about upon some sort of Corn. And this in the next Verse is call'd *Gilgal gnagelab*, which is the same, and therefore by the Vulgar Latin is rendred both here and in the former Place *Rota Plaustri*. To this bruising of their Corn with Loaded Carts, perhaps that Place, *Amos* 2. 13. refers, (although otherwise applied by Expositors generally) which may be rendred thus, *I am pressed under you as a full Cart presseth the Sheaves*, or *Sheaf* (for it is in the singular Number.) It sets forth the Manner of *Threshing* in those Days, which was by pressing the Ears of Corn with a Heavy Cart, and forcing out the Grain by bringing the Wheels often over it. 2. Another antient way of *Threshing* was with a Wooden Slead or Dray without Wheels, full of Iron Nails or Teeth on the Side toward the Ground, and loaded with massy Iron, or some other heavy Weights at top to make it heavy: and this was drawn by Oxen over the Corn till the Ears were so pressed that the Grain flew out. This Instrument was commonly known (as the Hebr. Masters and Talmudists report) by the Name of *Morag*, and also of *Charutz*: and accordingly it hath these Names given it, in *2 Sam.* 24. 22. and *Isa.* 28. 27. and both of them together we meet with in *Isa.* 41. 15. where it is translated by us a *sharp Threshing-Instrument*. And in the same Place it is said to have *Teeth*, which plainly refers to the foresaid make of it, viz. that this great wooden Plank was set at the Bottom with Iron Teeth or Pikes to cut the Sheaves, and make way for the Grain to come out. And to these Iron Nails or Teeth refers *Amos* 1. 4. where this sort of Country Tackling is call'd *Threshing-Instruments of Iron*. Upon the whole,

whole, it appears that the Instrument wherewith Husbandmen at this Day break the Clods of Earth was used heretofore (when they had not attain'd to any great Skill in these Affairs) in Threshing the Corn; for by the Description that is given of it, it was a kind of *Harrow*. 3. They thresh'd with Oxen, who with their Hoofs (which for that purpose were generally shod with Iron or Brass) were wont to beat and tread out the Corn: and sometimes they brought in a whole Herd of Oxen to trample upon it. This way of Threshing is referr'd to, when they were forbid to muzzle the Ox when he treadeth out the Corn, Deut. 25. 4. And this is plainly alluded to in Hof. 10. 11. *Ephraim is a Heifer that is taught, and loves to tread out the Corn: and in Mic. 4. 12, 13. He shall gather them as Sheaves into the Floor (viz. to be thresh'd): Arise and thresh—I will make thy Hoofs brass, and thou shalt beat in pieces, &c.* 4. Another antient way of Threshing was that which is in use with us, viz. with *Flails*. Some sort of Grain and Seeds were beaten out with these *Flagella*, (for this is the Word whence that English one comes) as is clear from Isa. 28. 27. *The Fitches are beaten out with a Staff, and the Cummin with a Rod.* And generally Bread-Corn was thus thresh'd, as we may gather from the 28th ver. Of this Nature was Gideon and Araunah's threshing of Wheat, Judg. 6. 11. 1 Chron. 21. 20. for 'tis represented as their Personal Action, and those general Terms *Chabat* and *Dash* (the Words in those Places) favour this Sense; and in the former Text *Threshing* is rendered by *αβδηζων*, in the *Septuagint's* Version, which signifies beating with Staves, Sticks or Rods.

After

122 *The Excellency and Perfection*

After they had thus thresh'd their Corn, when they had a Mind to make use of it, they laid it open to the Sun to dry it, or they dried it by a Fire, or in a Furnace, to get off the Husk : and this dried or *parched Corn* it self (without any farther Preparation) was a great Food in those Eastern Countries, as we gather from *Lev. 23. 14. Ruth 2. 14. 1 Sam. 17. 17. & 25. 18.* And this '*Kalah* (for that is the Word for it) was, if we may credit the Rabbins and Jewish Expositors, first foked in Water, and then dried as Barly is maulted among us at this Day : (where by the way observe the Antiquity of *Mauling*) But generally the Drying and Parching of the Corn were to make it more capable of being ground.

The antient Manner of their *Grinding* it (which is the next thing I am to consider) was two-fold, either in *Mortars* or *Mills*. That both these were made use of, we may satisfy our Selves from *Num. 11. 8.* where you read both of *Rechdim* Mills, and *Medocah* a Mortar. In this latter they were wont *pinfere* (for from the Jews this Practice descended to the Romans) to *pound* or *bray* their Corn : whence *Bakers*, who did this in order to making their *Bread*, had their Name *Pistores*. That they used of old to *beat* and *bruise* their *Wheat* in a *Mortar* with a heavy *Pestle*, may be collected from *Prov. 27. 22.* where this hollow Vessel is call'd *Matfesh*. But *Mills* were chiefly made use of for this purpose in those early Times : and they were of such use and necessity, that Men were strictly forbid to take the nether or the upper *Milstone* to pledg, because (as 'tis added) *this is taking a Man's Life* (Hebr. *his Soul*) to pledg, *Deut. 24. 6.*

* From *Kalah*, *torruix*.

6. as much as to say, hereby his Neighbour's Life would be endangered, this is the way to starve him. The grinding at Mills was counted an inferior sort of Work, and therefore *Prisoners* and *Captives* were generally set to it: whence to take the *Milstones*, and grind *Meal*, is part of the Description of a *Slave*, Isa. 47. 2. And to this refers *Samson's grinding in the Prison-House*, Judg. 16. 21. For of old Time there were Mills in their Prisons, (whence *Pistrinum* is used both for a *Mill* and a *Prison*) and the Prisoners were wont by Grinding to earn their Living, and procure themselves Food. However, this was counted a very Laborious and Slavish Employment. And this was in use not only among the *Jews* and *Philistines* but the *Egyptians* also, and thence there is mention of the *Maid-Servant behind the Mill*, i. e. thrusting it forward with her Arm, Exod. 11. 5. So among the Chaldeans the *Young Men* (viz. the *Captives of Judea*) were taken by them to grind, Lam. 5. 13. But for the most part the *Women-Servants* were employed in this Drudgery, as is deducible from Mat. 24. 41. *Women* are said to be grinding at the *Mill*, whiles the *Men* are in the *Field*, i. e. at work abroad, as we read in the preceding Verse. Therefore ¹ *Buxtorf* observes that the Word for *Grinders* is *Resosboth*, of the Feminine Gender, to note that Grinding was usually Women's Work. These *Mills* which they used in those Days were *Querns* or *Hand-mills*, and therefore before the Invention of others that go with greater Force, they first dried the Corn (as I mention'd before) that they might grind with more Ease.

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¹ Lex. Chald. p. 586.

124 *The Excellency and Perfection*

The Corn being thus prepared and reduced to Meal or Flour, they moistned it, and made it into Dough or PASTE (*Batzek*, Exod. 12. 34. 39. *Gnavisab*, Numb. 15. 20.) and then baked it, and made Bread of it. This was either *Cakes*, or *Loaves*: the lighter kind of Bread was composed into *Cakes*, *Gnuggoth*, Gen. 18. 6. Exod. 12. 39. Numb. 11. 8. Ezek. 4. 12. Sometimes *Magnog* is the Word, 1 Kings 17. 12. at other Times *Chalab*, Lev. 2. 4. & 24. 5. 2 Sam. 6. 19. The greater and heavier sort of Bread was *Loaves*: thence you read of *Ciccar Lechem*, a Loaf of Bread, Exod. 29. 23. 1 Chron. 16. 3. (tho in some other Places we render it a Piece of Bread, Prov. 6. 26. Jer. 37. 21. which shews that the word *Ciccar* is uncertain.) But this we may depend upon, that *Lechem Breads* (in the Plural, for it is taken plurally in 1 Sam. 21. 3. 2 Sam. 16. 1. and in other Places) always signifies *Loaves of Bread*, in contradistinction to *Cakes* or lesser Portions of Bread. Then as to the antient Manner of Baking, it was, 1. Upon the Hearth, under the hot Embers, and thence *Gnuggoth* are denominated. The first Instance in the World of this way of Baking, is that in Gen. 18. 6. where *Gnuggoth* are by all acknowledg'd to be *Panes fulcineritis*; and accordingly we render them *Cakes upon the Hearth*, i. e. such as were baked upon the hot Hearth, and cover'd over with Ashes. This was the antient way of Baking among all the Eastern People: and it is in use among them at this Day. A late Traveller assures us, that this sort of Bread is ordinarily used among the present Arabians: and he particularly and distinctly describes their making and ordering of these Cakes.

2. Upon

2. Upon burning Coles, something ('tis likely) like a Grate being laid between, 1 Kings 19. 6. *Isa.* 44. 19. These were the two ways of Baking their Cakes, i. e. their lesser and finer Bread, which after they were sufficiently baked on one side were turn'd on the other: whence is that Comparison of a Cake not turned, *Hos.* 7. 3. They had Ovens, which were first used for Baking the Holy Bread, *Lev.* 2. 4. & 26. 26. but afterwards for that which is Common, viz. the greater and larger Bread. But (to conclude) we are not to think that Loaves of Bread, such as we have of a considerable Thickness and Height, which must needs be cut with a Knife, were in use among the Jews or other Eastern People: but they made Broad Cakes, and these they broke with their Hands, whence we so often read of breaking Bread. If they were somewhat thick, they were generally call'd ככרות Loaves of Bread, 1 Sam. 10. 3. but if they were very thin, or if they were of a finer sort of Flour, they had the Name of חלות Cakes, *Lev.* 7. 12, 13.

From these Sacred Records we may also learn what was the Primitive Drink. For though 'tis not expressly said any where that they drank Water before the Flood, yet we may rationally gather so much, because this simple Element was most suitable to their simple and plain sort of Feeding, which is in direct Terms express'd. And that this was the general Beverage after the Flood also, we are assured from positive Texts, *Gen.* 21. 19. & 24. 14. *Job.* 22. 7. 1 Kings 13. 22. *Prov.* 25. 21. Likewise from these Authentick Writings we know that another Liquor (which was denied to the World before) was now granted them, viz. Milk, *Gen.* 18. 8. *Deut.* 32. 14. *Judg.* 4. 19. *Cam.*

126 *The Excellency and Perfection*

§. 1. Yea, *Wine* the choicest of all Liquors became the usual Drink of those Eastern Countries, which was occasion'd thus, (the Knowledge of which can be known only from Scripture originally) God having granted an Indulgence to eat Flesh, *Noah* took it for a sufficient Intimation that they might change their Drink sometimes: wherefore he being a Man of Observation and Prudence, gathering from the goodness of *Grapes* the virtue and benefit of *Wine*, (for even before the Flood they did eat Grapes, as all other Fruits of the Earth, but drank no Wine: unless we grant that the bold and luxurious Sinners of *Cain's* Offspring sometime before the Deluge knew this Liquor, and abused themselves with it, for 'tis said *they drank*, Luk. 17. 27. i. e. they excessively gave themselves to some Strong and Intoxicating Liquor) *Noah* I say, understanding the benefit of *Wine*, and apprehending how seasonable and comfortable it would be at that time when the Flood had so chill'd the Earth and Air, and made every thing look bleak and dismal, *he began to be an Husbandman*, *Ish Haadamah*, a *Man of the Earth*, Gen. 9. 20. and among other Instances of his Husbandry, *he planted a Vineyard*, he set Vines in that warm Country where he was seated, viz. *Armenia*: He chose this as a proper Soil for them; for *Armenia* is noted for an excellent Ground for Vines, and the Vines of that Place are celebrated by Historians. Others planted Vines before him, mixing them with other Trees, but *Noah* planted a Place of Vines only: this is properly *Kerem*, *Vined*. Others had planted Vines in their Grounds, that they might eat the *Grapes* that grew on them, and perhaps some (as was hinted before) had preserv'd the Juice of them, and made themselves drunk with

with it: but *Noah's* Plantation of Vines, was purposely in order to make *Wine* of the Fruit of them. Thus he was the *First that planted a Vineyard*: the skilful ordering of that generous Fruit to this particular End, was first found out by him. And now when the Good Old Man had taken this Pains, and we may suppose was very weary and thirsty, he began to taste the Fruit of his Labours, which happen'd to be with ill Success: for he had chosen so excellent a Spot of Ground, and had so richly cultivated it, that the Product of it proved too potent; the Liquor of that noble Plant, which he too rashly made an Experiment of, and with some Greediness took down, was too strong for his Brain. But as he sinned once in this kind, so he never did the like again. Yea, as he found out *Wine*, so 'tis not improbable that he admonish'd Men from his Failing to use it soberly. What the Pagan Writings say of the first Inventer of *Wine* is little to be heeded, unless you refer it to this *Noah*, who is represented by their *Bacchus* and *Janus*. They all agree, that the former of these first planted Vines, and found out the Art of managing them, and made *Wine* of the Fruit of them; wherefore they confound him with the latter, viz. *Janus*, who had his Name from *Jajin*, *Vinum*. This was no other than *Noah*, the happy Author of this Bœon to Mankind. And his Sons propagated this Art, he especially that went to inhabit in *Africk*: whence (as was observed by an Antient Writer) the Poets feigned that *Dionysius*, in the Days of *Deucalion*, discovered this Art of making

making

¹ Εὐρετὶς τὸ ἀμπέλιον καὶ τὸ ποιεῖν αὐτοῦ οἶνον. Diodor. Sic. lib. 5. ² St. Augustin. de Civ. Dei, l. 18. c. 13.

128 The Excellency and Perfection

making Wine to the Person that entertained him in *Africk*.

They had antiently other Strong Liquors besides Wine, the general Word for which was שכר, *Lev.* 10. 9. *Numb.* 6. 3. *Judg.* 13. 4, 7. & 29. 9. *Isa.* 5. 11. & 28. 7. *Prov.* 20. 1. rendred always οἶκος by the Seventy, except in two Places, (*Psal.* 69. 12. *Prov.* 31. 4.) where 'tis translated οἶκος. The Greek Word is once mentioned in the New Testament, viz. *Luke* 1. 15. and is rendred by our Translators (as the word *Shacar* in the Old Testament) *strong Drink*. It is all *Inebriating Drink*, saith *Origen*: So saith another Greek Writer, with whom agrees a Learned Latine^e Father. But others that have criticized on the Word, especially the Hebrew Doctors, tell us, that 'tis all Strong Drink except Wine. But סוכה, *Isa.* 1. 22. *Hos.* 4. 18. is a Word that signifies Wine properly so called, i. e. the Juice of the Grape, and also all factitious Wines, i. e. strong Liquors made of Mulberries, Palms, Pine-nuts, Apples, Pears, and other Fruits. So that what we call Sider, Perry, &c. is that Drink which was by the Hebrews call'd *Soba*. And the Rabbins comprehend under this Term *Ale*, and tell us, there was such a sort of Liquor of old in use among the Medes and Persians, the same which was antiently used in *Egypt*, and found out by *Osiris* one of the Kings of that Place: for *Diodorus* the Sicilian relates that in the Countries where there were no Vines, this King caused them to make a Drink of Water and Barley; which *Herodotus* had before taken notice of,

¹ From *Shacar*, ebrius fuit. ² Hom. 7. in *Lev.* ³ ἔχει τὸ δυνάμειον μὲν ἐν τοῖς ποτοῖς πῶμα. ⁴ Omne quod inebriare potest apud Hebræos *soba* dicitur. Hieronymi lib. de Nom. Heb. ⁵ a *soba*, inebriatus fuit. ⁶ Lib. 1. c. 2. ⁷ Lib. 2. c. 77.

of, calling it *δινον ἐκ κριθῶν πεποιημένον*. And this *δινον κριθῶν*, *Barley-wine*, is mentioned by *Athenæus*. I will only add here under this Head, that they used of old to dash and mingle their Wine with Water: whence a *Cup of Mixture*, *Psal.* 75. 8. is a Cup of Wine, and Wine is expressed by *Mixture* (according to the Hebrew) *Prov.* 23. 30.

And since I have gone thus far, and have enquired into the First *Eating* and *Drinking* of the People of the World, I will proceed further on this Subject, and from the same unquestionable Records give some Account of the *Posture* which they used in Eating and Drinking. We may here inform our selves that at first they *sat* at Meat, *i. e.* they either spread something on the Ground, and sat upon it, or they sat at a Table. Whatever some Criticks have suggested concerning the Antiquity of another Position of Body, it is certain that this was the Antientest of all: for in the Old Testament there are Examples of this, long before any of those that are alledged out of Profane Authors. The Old Hebrew Patriarchs sat at Meat, as is plain from *Jacob's* Words to his Father, *Sit and eat of my Venison*, *Gen.* 27. 19. There are no Writers in the World that go so far back as this. And the next to this is *Gen.* 37. 25. *They sat down to eat Bread*. On which Words *Drusius* observes that the Old Hebrews sat at Meat. That this was the oldest Posture among the Jews, these Texts sufficiently testify; *The People sat down to eat and drink*, *Exod.* 32. 6. and the Apostle, according to the LXX, renders it so, *1 Cor.* 10. 7. *ἐκάθισεν ὁ λαὸς*. *They sat down, and did eat and drink both of them together*, *Judg.* 19. 6. I should not fail to sit down with the King at Meat, said David to Jonathan, *1 Sam.* 20. 5. And

130 *The Excellency and Perfection*

in *ver. 24.* it is expresly said, *The King sat him down to Meat.* And here by the way we may observe, that there was a certain *Order and Precedency* observed in their *sitting* in those times. They were seated every one according to their proper *Rank and Quality*: Thus *Abner sat by Saul's side,* *ver. 25.* And *David* had his peculiar Situation allotted him, which is signally stiled *his Seat,* *ver. 18.* and *his Place,* *ver. 25.* That *Sitting* was the Eating Posture is further evident from *1 Kings 13. 20.* *It came to pass as they sat at Table. When thou fittest to eat with a Ruler,* saith *Solomon,* *Prov. 23. 1.* And many other Quotations to this purpose might be produced, where שׁוּב (which is always rendered *καθίστα* or *καθίστα* by the LXX) is the Word used. It is true, the first Paschal Lamb was eaten by the Jews *standing*; but that was an Extraordinary thing, because that particular Gesture was fittest for that occasion, it signifying their sudden Passage and Departure out of *Egypt.* Wherefore those who make use of this Instance to prove that *Sitting at Meals* was not the Primitive Posture, do it very impertinently, because there is no arguing from an Unusual Case to what is Common. They might as well argue that it was the Custom to eat *with Staves in their Hands,* because they did so at this solemn Occasion: whereas the true Account of this particular Circumstance was this, that the Passover was to be eaten in a *Pilgrim's* Guise, in remembrance of their travelling out of *Egypt.* This, as well as eating *with their Loins girt,* and *with Shoes on their Feet,* was a Temporary Precept, and accordingly you will not find it mentioned among the Directions given about the Anniversary Passover afterwards. Others as vainly infer from the strict Com-

Command laid upon the Israelites to have *their Shoes on their Feet* at the eating of the Passover, that they used to have them off at other times when they were eating, and consequently that *Discubation* was first used by the Jews; for it is alledg'd that they were *barefooted*, that they might not with their Shoes soil their Beds that they lay upon. This is a very palpable Mistake, for the true reason why they were commanded to eat the Paschal Supper with *Shoes on their Feet* (as well as with *their Loins girded*) was, because they were to eat it *in haste*: they are the very Words in *Exod. 12. 11.* And therefore we cannot conclude from their eating the Passover with their Shoes on, that either they were bare-footed at other times when they dined or supped, or that they lay down upon Beds. Besides, at other times generally within Doors, and therefore at their Meals, they used to wear *Sandals* or *Slippers*, a slight and thin sort of covering for their Feet: in opposition to which they are now upon this solemn Occasion enjoind to have *Shoes* on, as much as to say, to be ready and prepared for their Journey. Or lastly, if I should say that it was the custom to put off their Shoes at Meals even when the Custom of *Sitting* prevail'd, it were no hard Matter to prove it; for they washed their Feet even at that time, as appears from the Relation concerning *Abraham's* entertaining the Angels, so that they must put off their Shoes for that, and it is probable they put them not on again till they went out. Wherefore from their putting off their Shoes it doth not follow that *Discumbiture* was

K 2

the

132 The Excellency and Perfection

the Posture in those Days among the Jews, as some would perswade us.

Then, as for *Other Nations*, the same Records assure us that they *sat* at Eating : thus according to the use of the Egyptians, *Joseph's Brethren* were order'd to *sit according to their Age*, Gen. 43. 33. Whence *Philo* observes, that the Custom of Discumbiture was not yet receiv'd in those Days. And that this was the Posture of eating not only among the Jews and Egyptians, but the Assyrians and Chaldeans, may be proved from that one single Text, *Ezek. 23. 41.* where the Prophet speaking of that adulterous and luxurious Conversation which the Jews had with those Foreign Nations, describes it by *sitting upon a stately Bed, and a Table prepared before it.* Only here we may observe, that they began to decline from their first simple Usage, and to turn their ordinary *Seats* or *Stools* into *Beds* or *Pallets.* Conformably to these Eastern People, the *Grecians* behaved themselves, who (as *Atbenæus* attests in several Places) *sat* at their Feasts. He takes notice that *Lying along* or *Leaning* is not once mention'd in *Homer*, but that he makes all his Guests *sit at Table.* And they were seated according to their Worth and Eminency; whence it is, that the *Grecians* shew'd their respect to *Diomedes*,

"Εδρεν τε κρασίν τε, ἰδὲ πλείους δεπᾶσαι,

by seating him first at the Table, by placing him according to his Dignity, as well as by entertaining him with

Μίμν' ὅν' ἀνθρώπων ἐν ταῖς συμπόσιας συννοῖαι χ' ἑλίσσιν
χρᾶνδ' ὡν. De Vitâ Politicâ. * Deipnosoph. l. 8, &c.

with choice Meats and full Cups. So it was with the Old Romans, they feasted *sitting*.

Perpetuis soliti patres considerare mensis.

And that this was their Posture at first on their *Tricliniary Beds*, *Servius* remarks on *Aeneid* the 7th. From abundant Instances it is concluded by *Athenæus*, that ¹ the Antientest Heroes used *Session*, not *Discumbiture*, at their festival Entertainments. This without doubt was the first, and most receiv'd situation of their Bodies at such times. In the most Heroick Ages of the World they sat upright when they were at Meals.

But afterwards this Posture was changed, for when Men gave themselves to ease and delicacy, and grew soft and effeminate, they *lay down* upon Beds at their Dinners and Suppers, and thence the Eating-Bed was call'd ² *Discubitorius Lectus*. Lying upon their left Sides, they upheld and rested the upper Part of their Bodies with their left Elbows (under which was wont to be a Cushion.) It is supposed they might *sometimes* (perhaps when they drank more freely) sit up a little, but for the most part they were in this *leaning lolling* Posture. This became a general Custom among the Greeks and Romans, as Authors relate: but the first Rise of it was from the *Eastern* People, and this we have first discover'd to us from the Holy Scripture, which mentions *Abasuerus's Supper*, and the *Rich and Gaudy Beds* used on that Occasion, *Esther* 1.6. That the Persians lay on Beds at their Banquets, may be

K 3

gather'd

¹ Virgil. *Æn.* 8. ² Καθίζονται ἐν τοῖς συνδειπνοῖς ἐν ἵκῳ, ἢ κατακλύπται. *Deipn.* l. 1. ³ Plin. *Nat. Hist.* l. 33. c. 11.

134 The Excellency and Perfection

gather'd from *Esth.* 7. 8. *Haman was fallen on the Bed where Esther was.* From these and other *Oriental* People, this wanton and effeminate Usage came to the *Jews*. Those among them that were *Luxurious Feeders* lay along, with their Bodies stretched out at their Feasts. This seems to be intended in *Amos* 2. 8. *they lay themselves down upon Clothes, belonging to Bedding at Feasts.* But more expressly 'tis said of them, *Ch. 6. v. 8. they lie upon Beds of Ivory, and stretch themselves upon their Couches.* The next Words which particularly make mention of their *Eating and Drinking*, and the usual Attendants of them at high Festivals, *viz. Vocal and Instrumental Musick*, and *Odoriferous Ointments*, shew that it is meant of their *lying on Beds* at their Feasts. Wherefore I can by no means approve of what our 'Learned English Annotator saith, that the Custom of ἀνακλισις, *accubitus*, lying along at Meat, is not mention'd in the Old Testament. And afterwards these *Dining Beds* began to be a general Custom among the *Jews*, and the best and holiest Persons complied with this Practice, insomuch that *leaning or lying upon them* was the Posture used by our Blessed Saviour and his Apostles at the Passover, as well as at other times. The words *κατακλίνεισθαι* and *ἀνακλίνεισθαι*, but especially *ἀνακείσθαι*, are used in the New Testament to express this particular disposing of their Bodies, although our Translators render it by *sitting down to Meat*, or *sitting at Meat*.

And if we would know what was the Particular Manner of placing themselves in those Days at their

¹ Dr. Hammond's Annot. on *Matth.* 8. 11. ² *Matth.* 14. 19. *Joh.* 13. 23. ³ *Matth.* 9. 10. *Mark* 16. 14. *Luk.* 22. 27. *John* 6. 11.

their Mensal Beds, this may be learn'd from several Passages in Scripture, as well (though not so largely) as from the Greek and Roman Writers: nay, here are Antienter Instances of that way of disposing their Guests than in any other Authors whatsoever. A Room was generally spread with Three Beds, (therefore by the Romans call'd *Triclinium*) one of which was situated at one end of the Table, the other two at both Sides: and as for the other part or the end of the Table, it was left clear for the Waiters to serve up the Dishes. Generally three or four lay upon a Bed together: but this is to be understood of Men only, not of both Sexes. For it was not usual for the Women and Men to eat promiscuously at one Table on one Bed, because the Posture was not fit and decent for the former. These therefore usually had a *Triclinium* by themselves, and feasted apart: thus *Abasuerus* feasted the Men, and *Vashti* the Women, *Esther* 1. 3, 9. So the Daughter of *Herodias* went to her Mother in another Room, feasting at the same time at another Table, *Matth.* 14. 2, 8. for she stept thither to take her Mother's Instructions, and then *came in straightway unto the King*, *Mark* 6. 25. So it was with the *Greeks* generally, the Women did not dine and sup together with the Men. But it was otherwise with the *Romans*: yet this distinction at first was observ'd by them, that 'the Men lay along at Meals; the Women sat: but afterwards in the degeneracy of Times, the same Posture was used by both Sexes.

Again, we find that this Discumbiture (as well as the other Posture before spoken of) was not in

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¹ *Fœminæ cum viris eubantibus sedentes cœnabant.* Val. Max. 1. 2. c. 1.

136 *The Excellency and Perfection*

a disorderly manner, but every one had his Place according to his Dignity. *When thou art bidden of any Man to a Wedding, (i. e. to a Wedding-Feast) lie not, or lean not* (for so it should be rendred according to ' the Greek) *in the highest Room, in the chief Place of Decumbiture, Luke 14. 8.* for the Word is *πρωτοκλισία*, to which is opposed *ἐχατότροπος*, the last or lowest Place, ver. 10. The Invited did not take what Place they pleased, but the Worthiest were placed first; therefore the Pharisees, who thought themselves Persons of the greatest Worth, ambitiously sought after the highest Places, *they loved the uppermost Rooms at Feasts, Mat. 23. 6.* The *πρωτοκλισία*, (for 'tis in the singular Number, though we render it as if it were plural) the *dining Bed*, which they knew was usually preferred before the rest, and the chief and most honourable Situation in that Bed, they also affected. The Order of placing was this; the Chief Guest did lie at the Head of the First Bed, with his Feet behind the back of him that lay next to him: so the second Man's Head rested in the first's Bosom, and his Feet were behind the Back of the third. To this Antient Way of lying along at Eating, those Words in *Cant. 2. 6.* *His left Hand is under my Head, and his right Hand doth imbrace me,* seem to refer (for this is supposed at a *Feast, a Country-Banquet* in a Garden or Orchard, ver. 4. 5, which was the antient Usage; and thence we read that *Canius* a Roman Knight bought a Garden of *Pythias*, in order to invite his Friends, and feast them there). The Person, according to the Situation before named, might, if he pleased, lay his left Hand under the Head of him that lay next to

to him, and was in his Bosom; and he lay also conveniently to imbrace him with his other Hand or Arm. Thus 'tis said, *the Disciple whom Jesus loved leaned on his Bosom*, John 13. 23. And again, ver. 25. *He lay on Jesus's Breast*, which is a plain Proof of this Order of lying at their Suppers at that time. Our Saviour had the first and chiefest Place, *John* who was dearest to him lay next to him, and lean'd his Head in Christ's Bosom. For this was the Custom of those times, their Favourites and Friends, and such as they loved most, were placed just below them, so that they could rest their Heads on their Breasts. That this was a Sign of Familiarity, Love and Respect, is evident from that of *Pliny the Younger*, *3 Cœnabat Imperator cum paucis Veiento proximus, atque etiam in sinu recumbebat*. The Bride's proper Place at Supper was the Bridegroom's Bosom, according to that of the 'Poet;

—*Gremio jacuit nova nupta mariti.*

And those of either Sex that were intimate and dear to them had this Privilege, as we learn out of 'Tully and others. Here then we may guess at the Manner of our Saviour's lying at Supper with his Apostles, who with him were thirteen in all. Three Beds being placed about the three Sides of the Table, there were four Persons in one, four in another, and five in a third; or else two Beds held five apiece, and one of them only three, who it is likely were our Saviour, St. *John*, and St. *Peter*; for as next to *John* he intimates that he should ask of Christ who was to be the Traitor. This Bed

³ Epist. ad Sophr. lib. 4. ⁴ Juven. Sat. 11. ⁵ In Verr. 1.
⁶ Ἐν κόλποις αὐτοῦ αἱ ἐραυμένη ἰδεύοντο. Zonaras de Heliogabalo.

138 *The Excellency and Perfection*

Bed whereon our Blessed Master and these two Apostles lay was the Middle Bed, viz. that which was set at the End of the Table ; but in respect of the Beds which were placed on the two Sides was the Middle one ; for this was reckon'd as the uppermost and most honourable. Christ lay at the Head or upper End of this Bed, for this was the *πρωταλισία*, the Chief Place of Recumbency, and was always reserv'd for the Worthiest Persons ; though I confess there was some Variation as to this among the *Romans*, (and so might be among the Jews their Imitators) among whom the other End of the Middle Bed was sometimes the uppermost and most valued. Moreover, we may gather from *Mat. 26. 23.* that the Table about which the Beds were placed was square and short, so that all of them could eat out of the same Dish. *He that dipperth his Hand with me in the Dish, the same shall betray me*, *Mat. 26. 23.* In which Words our Saviour points not at one particular Person, for all dipp'd their Hands in the Dish, they did eat all in common ; for their Beds were close to the Table, and the Table was not broad, so that they could all conveniently reach to the Vessels in which the Meat was. They could all *put* (that is the Meaning of *Dipping*) their Hands into the same Dish ; and among these that did so at this time, there was one that designed to betray our Blessed Lord.

But though this was the Usage then, yet I must adjoin this, that at the Entertainment of some Special Guests, and to shew a more than ordinary Kindness to them, there was another Custom antiently in use, that is, every one had his Portion apart at the Table. *Homer* makes all his Heroes eat after this fashion ; particularly he tells us, that *Ajax's* Allotment (who 'tis likely was as good at eating

eating as fighting) was *a Chine of Beef*; for the more worthy and honourable the Guest was, the greater was his Allowance. But the Sacred History gives us the earliest Examples of this kind, as indeed it doth of all other sorts of Usages. Here we read that *Joseph*, when he entertained his Brethren, took and sent *Messes* (*μεσσεις* according to the LXX, *particular Portions*) unto them from before him, Gen. 43. 34. If it be said that the Egyptians might not eat Bread with the Hebrews, for that was an Abomination to the Egyptians, ver. 32. and that was the Reason why they had particular Parts or Messes allotted them, and therefore it doth not follow thence that this was a Custom either among the Hebrews or Egyptians when they feasted asunder; I answer, the true Reason why the Hebrews and Egyptians did not sit and eat together at the same Table, was because the one eat Flesh, and the other did not, and on that Account their Different Customs were abominable to one another. But the dividing of the Meat, and distributing a Particular Portion to every one, had no reference at all to this, but was a General Custom in those times, and was (I conceive) partly founded upon this, that hereby they had no Opportunity of shewing their particular Respects to the Guests according to their different Quality; for the greatest and choicest Portion of Viands was allotted to those whose Place and Dignity required more than ordinary Defe-
rence, or for whom they had the greatest Kind-
ness and Love. Thus in the Relation here given us, *Benjamin's Mess* was five times so much as any of his Brethren. This was a Mark of singular Favour and Affection, for *Joseph* was more nearly related
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140 *The Excellency and Perfection*

to Benjamin than to any of the rest, who indeed were but his half-Brethren ; but Benjamin was his Brother both by the Father's and the Mother's side. Hence it may be gather'd that this Practice was not grounded on the Difference of Meats on which the Hebrews and Egyptians fed. And indeed from other Instances in this Divine Book it appears, that though Persons sat at the same Table, and differ'd not about the sort of Food, yet they had particular Messes or Portions distributed to them. So when *Elkanah* and his Family and Friends feasted together on a solemn Occasion, to shew his more especial Love and Regard to *Hannah*, he gave to her a worthy Portion, 1 Sam. 1. 5. *Manab apbajim* (where *apbajim* is the same with *panim*, as is usual in the Holy Stile) a Distribution of Faces, such a liberal share of Meat as shew'd a favourable Countenance, a particular Respect and Love ; such a Portion as was usually given to the best and most beloved sort of Guests. Another Remarkable Example of this we have in 1 Sam. 9. 23, 24. where we read that *Samuel* invited *Saul* to a Feast, and made him sit in the chiefest Place among them that were bidden, (for there was a Precedency in those times according to the Rank of the Persons that were invited) and he said unto the Cook, (whom he had spoken to before to prepare this Entertainment) Bring the Portion which I gave thee, of which I said unto thee, Set it by thee : (which I ordered thee to have in Readiness against the time that I call'd for it) And the Cook took up the Shoulder, (for that was the peculiar Joint of Meat which was design'd for his Portion ; and indeed it appears from being the Priest's particular Portion, Lev. 7. 32. that it was accounted the choicest part) and that which was upon it, (it may be some lesser and daintier

tier Morfels which were serv'd up in the same Dish) and set it before Saul. Whence it is evident that in old times they had a certain Measure and Quantity of Meat appointed them at Feasts by the Governor and Master of it. This is the appointed Portion, rendred by our Translators necessary Food, Job 23. 12. and this is the Food of Allowance or Appointment, Prov. 30. 8. which we render Food convenient, attending to the Sense rather than the Original Word. The set Portions of Meat were called by the Greeks μοιραὶ, μερίδες, νομαὶ; and the Name of the Servants or Waiters that distributed them to the Guests, according to the Order which they received from the Master of the Feast, was διάκονοι, as we may satisfy our selves in Lucian and other Good Writers. And in this very Sense διακονεῖν is taken in Mat. 20. 28. Mark 10. 45. Luke 12. 37. We read of the Ruler of the Household, whose Office was to give them their Portion of Meat, οἰκόμετρον, Luke 12. 12. where σίτος. of which that Word is compounded, is a general Term for all Food, and so the Word signifies a certain *De mensum*, a Set Portion or Dividend of Meat that was allotted to every one at Meals. And I am mistaken if our Saviour's Words concerning Mary, she hath chosen, τὴν ἀγαθὴν μερίδα, the good Part or Portion, Luke 10. 42. do not refer to this Distributing of the Food, and particularly Martha's being cumbered about much serving, οὕτως πολλὴν διακονίαν, the way of providing for the Guests by allotting every one his Distinct Part. And it is not improbable, seeing the Dispensers of the Gospel are compared to ' Stewards and ' Governors of Families, that

1 Cor. 4. 1. 1 Pet. 4. 10. 2 Mat. 24. 45. Luke 12. 42. Ephel. 2. 19.

141 The Excellency and Perfection

that the rightly dividing the Word of Truth, 2 Tim. 2. 15. hath special Reference to this Custom of dispensing to every one his proper share at the Table, though (as I have suggested) this was not a perpetual Usage, and particularly at the Paschal Feast our Saviour and his Apostles supped together in common, and eat out of the same Dish.

Furthermore, from what we read in the Evangelical History, Luke 7. 38. viz. that Mary Magdalen stood at Christ's Feet behind him, we may collect the Truth of what hath been suggested concerning their Posture at their Eatings in those Days. Their Feet lay out behind the Backs of those that lay next to them, and so those that waited at the Table were properly said to stand at their Feet behind. Thence this is the Periphrasis of a *Servitor* or *Waiter*, according to *Seneca, qui cœnanti ad pedes feterat*. Likewise here we are acquainted that *Putting off the Shoes*, and *Washing the Feet*, were an usual Attendant at Eating and Feasting; and the one was in order to the other. I grant that the Antients wore not Shoes at all times, yea their Captives and Slaves went always bare-foot, as is evident from *Isa. 20. 4*. Nay, some of the better sort of People among the Gentiles were put upon this Hardship by their severe Governours and Lawgivers: so *Lycurgus* enjoined the Spartans to go without Shoes. But among the Jews I find no such thing; even in the Wilderness (where they underwent the greatest Difficulties) their Feet were clad with Shoes, by the same token that they were not old, Deut. 20. 5. i. e. by a particular Providence they were preserv'd from any considerable

Decay

* Hac Metaphora à convivii apparitoribus & dapum instructo-
ribus ducta est. Gerhard. Harm. Evang. 2 De Benefic. l. 3.

Decay a long time. And from *Exod.* 3. 5. *Josh.* 5. 15. *Deut.* 25. 9. and several other Places, it may be proved that their Feet were armed with this Defence; yea, it was an Ornament as well as a Defence, and is reckon'd as such in *Ezek.* 16. 10. where we find that *Shoes* of the best and most fashionable sort were made of *Badgers Skins*, viz. dress'd and made into Leather. Now, when they came into a House as Guests to be entertain'd, they stripp'd themselves of this lower Apparel, and had their Feet wash'd and cleans'd; and this was the usual Introduction to their sitting or lying down to eat. A very antient Instance of this you have in *Judg.* 19. 21. *They washed their Feet, and did eat and drink.* And that this was afterwards a Jewish Custom is clear from our Saviour's upbraiding of *Simon* in those Words, *I enter'd into thy House, but thou gavest me no Water for my Feet,* *Luke* 7. 44. which he would not have said if the Washing the Feet had not been a common Testimony of Civility and Friendly Entertainment. From *Athenæus* we learn that the *Greeks* used this Custom at their Feasts; and many Authors attest the same concerning the *Romans*. And as to the Discalceation in order to it, *Martial* and *Terence*, and several other Writers speak of it.

Besides, the Sacred Writings inform us, that *Anointing* was of old an usual Entertainment at their Feasts. Thus the Penitent *Magdalen* bestow'd a Box of Spikenard on Christ's Feet while he was at Supper: and indeed, according to the Account be-

¹ Lib. 14. ² Deposui soleas, &c. *Epigr.* lib. 5. ³ Accurrunt servi, soleas detrahunt, &c. *Heautontim.* ⁴ *Luke* 7. 38. *John* 12. 3.

before given of his Situation at that time, she had the Advantage to do it, his Feet being towards her, and bare; for (as was just now said) they put off their Shoes and lay barefoot on their Eating-Beds. At another time this Religious Woman refresh'd and perfumed his Head with precious Ointment when he was at the Table, *Mat. 26. 7. Mark 14. 3.* And it is particularly recorded that this fragrant Ointment was in an *Alabaster-Box*: which is according to what *Herodotus, Athenæus, Plutarch* and other antient Authors relate, (whom you may see alledg'd in Dr. *Hammond's* Annotations on *Mat. 26. 7.*) that those particular Vessels, viz. *Alabaster-Boxes*, were commonly made use of for that purpose. It is said in the foremention'd Place in *St. Mark* that she brake the Box of *Spikenard*, but *συτρίβειν* signifies to shake or knock, rather than to break; so that the meaning is this, she shook the Box, or knock'd it against the Ground to make the Ointment come forth the better. This pouring of Odoriferous Oils on the Heads of their Guests at Feasts, is taken notice of in *Psal. 23. 5.* where with preparing a Table is join'd anointing the Head with Oil. And in *Eccl. 9. 8, 9.* Eat thy Bread with joy, and drink thy Wine with a merry Heart: and let thy Head lack no Ointment. And because it was used at these times of Mirth and Rejoicing, 'tis call'd the Oil of Joy, *Isa. 61. 3.* Of this it is probable, the Parable in *Luk. 16.* speaks, where among the Steward's Expences a hundred Measures of Oil are reckon'd, which were used at Festivals. With the Holy Scriptures accord the Pagan Writers, who frequently make mention of this fragrant Unction. That it was used among the Greeks is manifest from the Example of *Telemachus*, who according

According to *Homer* was not only wash'd but anointed before he supp'd. *Martial* bears witness concerning the *Romans*,

*Unguentum faccor bonum dedisti
Convivis, here.*

But of this Anointing the Head with perfumed Liquors at Festivals, *Dr. Hammond* hath produc'd several Instances in his Annotations on *Mat. 26. 7.* and therefore I remit the Reader thither.

Lastly, here is mention'd another remarkable Attendant of those Feasts, viz. the *Master* or *Governour* of them. *Ἀρχιτεῖνον* is the Name given him, *John 2. 8.* and it was a known Name among the *Grecians*: from whom the *Latins* borrow'd their *Architriclinus*. He was set over the *Triclinium* as an useful Officer, his Place being to order the Guests at the Feast, and to give Laws concerning the eating and drinking. And generally this *Symposiarch*, this Overseer and Controller of the Feast, was a Friend and Associate of the Person that made the Feast, and was acquainted with the Guests. Thus I have briefly from this Sacred Fountain of all Good Letters, shew'd the Manner and Order of the *Discumbiture* among the *Antients*.

Next, we are here acquainted who were the Inventors of *Mechanick Arts*. We find that *Tubal-Cain* was the first Instructor of every Artificer in *Brass* and *Iron*, *Gen. 4. 22.* Where by the way we may observe, that the late *Philosopher* is mistaken when he confidently asserts, that there were no *Metals* or *Minerals* in the *Antediluvian Earth*. If

Odyss. 2.
in Earth.

Epigr. Lib. 3.

T. Burnet Theory of

146 *The Excellency and Perfection*

he can prove that *Tubal-Cain* was not before the Flood, (which will be one of the hardest Tasks he ever undertook) then he may effect something toward his Hypothesis; but to say that the Primitive Earth was without these *Metals*, and yet to acknowledge this *Tubal-Cain* to be an Antediluvian, is perfect Contradiction, for he could not deal in *Metals* if there had been none at that time. Him then I take to be the First *Smith* and *Brasier* that ever was in the World. Yea, perhaps these Terms of *Brass* and *Iron* may be more large and comprehensive, and then here may be signified to us the general Skill of Improving all *Metals* for the Needs of Mankind. It is not improbable that the *Art of Refining* was found out by this *Tubal-Cain*, and that he taught Men the separation of *Metals* from their *Dross*. However that this Separating and Purifying them, to render them more useful, were very Antient, is plain from *Psal. 12.6.* which mentions *Silver tried in a Furnace of Earth, purified seven times*: And we read, *Mal. 3. 2. of a Refiner's Fire*. But this we are certainly informed of from the forenamed Text in *Genesis*, that *Tubal-Cain* was more especially skill'd in the use of those *Metals* there mention'd, viz. *Brass* and *Iron*: he knew the particular and proper Use of them in all *Trades* and *Employments* that require them, as in that of a *Carpenter*, a *Mason*, &c. and most of the Laborious and Handicraft *Trades*.

With *Mechanicks* and *Manual Arts* we may join *Architecture*, which cannot be managed without *Tools* of either of these *Metals*. Where again we may observe the rash and groundless Assertion of the foresaid Writer, viz. that there were not of old

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any Instruments belonging to Building. This is confuted from what hath been said concerning Metals; for of these they could make Instruments that were serviceable in Building. Therefore when the Egyptians held that *Vulcan* was the Inventor of Architecture, it is probable they had reference to *Tubal-Cain*, (the first Founder of Metals which were so useful in Building) who was the Heathen *Vulcan*, as all Mythologists acknowledg. It is true, This, as all other Arts, was mean and low at first; for it began with making and fixing up of Tents (which I spake of before.) The Father, i. e. the Inventor of which was *Jabal*, who it is probable made them of Skins or Hides of Beasts; for our First Parents, and without doubt all others in imitation of them, were clothed with Skins (of which afterwards) which they found kept out Rain and Cold; and accordingly they learn'd to clothe their Tabernacles with the same Materials, and for the same End and Purpose: and to confirm this, we read in several Places afterwards that the Tents or Booths were made of Skins; in tacking and fastning of which it is likely they at length made use of some of *Tubal's* Hard Ware. This was the first Essay of Building, these were the first Houses. And from thence a Tabernacle and a House are convertible: thus *Job* mentions his Tabernacle, Ch. 31. v. 31. not that he had not a House properly so call'd, he being the Greatest Man in the East: and that he had so, appears further from Ch. 21. v. 28. And his Children had such Houses, else the fall of the House, Chap. 1. v. 19. could not have kill'd them. But sometimes they retain'd the old Name of Tabernacles, which were first in use: therefore *Job* calls his House or Palace a Tabernacle in the Place above cited. So in Judg. 12. 8. his Tent is

148 *The Excellency and Perfection*

explain'd by adding *his House*: for as a ' Learned Critick saith well upon the Place, Because they of old dwelt in Tents, they afterwards call'd any House a Tent. And 'tis further observable that *their Houses* (for so 'tis in the Hebrew, though we translate it *Houholds*) and *their Tents*, Deut. 11. 6. is as much as *their Houses, namely their Tents*: for in the Defart they had only *Tents* or *Booths*, which were instead of Houses. And let me observe further, that *Obel a Tabernacle* is rendered *sin* by the Seventy, in Gen. 9. 21. & 24. 67. Num. 19. 12. Deut. 16. 7. Jos. 22. 4. Job 29. 4. and in several other Places. Yea, sometimes *Obel* is rendered by the Seventy *deggis Pellis*, as in Exod. 36. 15. which confirms what I said before concerning the Materials of Houses. *Booths* and *tents* were alike, and thence perhaps arose the literal Cognation between *Beth* and *Booth*, the latter being an easy Corruption of the former. This is certain that the first *Dwellings* were *Tabernacles*: the Old *Patriarchs* lived in these Moveable Pavilions, especially those of them that kept Cattle, and some of those were the most Considerable in the World. Some a long time after, as the *Rechabites*, a sort of Votaries among the Jews (but not of the Stock of *Abraham*, but originally *Kenites* or *Midianites*) chose this antient and simple way of living all their Days. But *Architecture* soon found an improvement, and the old *Tent-dwelling* was turn'd into another sort of Habitation. Of this Art of Building *Cain* is mention'd as the first Author: this Vagabond after all his Travels at last sat down in a certain Place, and there built

built ¹ *Nod*, *Gen.* 4. 16. and afterwards *be built a City*, a walled City, and call'd it *Enoch*, after the Name of his Son, *v.* 17. (whence in succeeding times it was usual to give the Names of Men unto Cities and Countries, of which there are ² many Instances in Scripture.) This first Murderer was the first Builder, for being haunted and torment-ed with a guilty Conscience, to divert it he fell a building: and perhaps he did it to environ him-self with Walls, to keep himself safe. A City was made a Sanctuary, a Place of Refuge. And as *Cain* is recorded to be the First Builder before the Flood, so *Nimrod* was the first after it; for the City and the Tower which he and his Partisans built, are expressly mention'd *Gen.* 11. 5. And if you would know the chief Materials that these bold Architects made use of in this Work, the 3d Verse will acquaint you, *they had Brick for Stone, and Slime had they for Mortar*. Which intimates, that they would have made use of Stone to build the Tower, (for Stone was ever of greatest Esteem for that purpose, and the Great Mens Houses were built of these, *1 Kings* 7. 9, 11. *Isa.* 9. 10. *Am.* 5. 11.) and would have cemented the building with Mortar, if the Place had afforded either. But it seems it did not, and therefore they used Brick instead of Stone, and a Bituminous Substance which that Soil furnish'd them with instead of Lime and Sand. Accordingly we are told by several ³ Pagan Writers that the Walls of *Babylon* were

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¹ Joseph. Antiqu. l. 1. c. 3. ² Places named of old from Per-
sons; as Adam, *Jos.* 3. 16. Abel, *2 Sam.* 20. 18. Cain,
Jos. 15. 57. Sihon, *Numb.* 21. 34. So Haran, Japheth, Sal-
mon, Rahab, Jezreel, Ephraim, &c. ³ Ovid, Lucan, Ju-
venal.

150 The Excellency and Perfection

were built of *Brick*: and *Pliny* and other Authors commend the *Bitumen* or *Asphalt* of that Country, a kind of *Pitch* which was serviceable in making of *Cement*.

But besides Examples of Common and Prophane Architecture, there are in these Antient Writings others of a different Nature, which are worthy of the Study of all Curious Enquirers into Antient Arts. Here is described the Famous *Thebakh*, Gen. 6. 15. &c. the *Ark* which *Noah* and his Sons and their Assistants built by the particular Direction and Guidance of God himself. There were in this Habitation upon the Waters, this Floating House, three Principal *Stories* and *Floors* of an equal Length from one end of the Fabrick to the other; in which were peculiar *Kinnim*, *Nests*, for that is the Metaphorical Word that is used by the Holy Ghost to express the sundry *Mansions*, the various *Cells*, *Apartments* and *Divisions* for the convenient lodging of *Noah's* Family and all sorts of Animals, and their different Foods. This Structure was six times longer than it was broad, and ten times longer than it was high, and so was exactly proportion'd to the particular Symmetry of Man's Body at its full Extent: and as to several other things, the Admirable and Singular Contrivance of this Edifice, worthy of its Divine Author, hath been demonstrated by the 'Learned. So that we have no cause to wonder at *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, when he propounds the *Ark* (as also the *Mosaick Tabernacle*, which I will mention next) as 'an Eminent

! Arias Montanus, Butco, Hofius, Jacobus Capellus, Kircher, &c. Γαμουτείας δὲ ἔσω μαρτυρίαν ἢ χτισματὸς ἐν ποταμῷ καὶ περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν κιβωτός. Strom. 1.

ment Exemplar of Geometrick Art. Another famous Specimen of Antient Architecture was the *Tabernacle*, that Portable Habitation of God, that Vehicle of the Divinity, that Ambulatory House of the Almighty, that Travelling Temple, that Appointed Place of Publick Worship for the Israelites, that Visible Pledg of the Divine Presence among them. All the Materials of which, as Gold, Silver, Brass, dyed Wool, fine Linen, Goats Hair, Rams and Badgers Skins, Shittim Wood, with all the sacred Utensils belonging to it, and the individual Shape and Formation of every one of them, were by the particular Order, Appointment and Designation of God himself, who extraordinarily inspired *Bezaleel* and *Aholiab* with Skill and Art about that Noble Work. Here likewise we have an Account of that most Celebrated Piece of Architecture, *Solomon's Temple*, wherein every thing is Great, August and Divine, and suitable to its Author. The whole Contrivance is so various, so artificial, that it hath been reckon'd by some of the Wisest and most Judicious Men, as the Basis of the whole Art of Building. *Vallatpandus* (who was a Good Judg in the Case) declares that "the whole Architectonick Art, which the Grecians communicated to the Romans, and which *Vitruvius's* Books present us with, was first derived from the Hebrew Proportions in this Sacred Building, and the Apartments that belong to it. But more especially it is the Idea and Pattern of all Great and Stately Structure whatsoever.

As to the more ordinary way of Building, it is certain that the general Draught or Scheme of

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Erecting

152 *The Excellency and Perfection*

Erecting of Houses, as they are represented in these Sacred Writings, hath been taken for the Model of these Dwellings in all Countries ever since. And here I will choosse out only one thing to speak of, because it may give Light to several Passages in Scripture. It was the Custom in *Palestine* to build their Houses *flat at top*; and they made as much use of *this* as of any part of their Habitation. Here they walked, as may be partly gather'd from *Deut.* 22. 8. but it is in expresse Terms said in *2 Sam.* 11. 2. that *David walked here in the Evening*, the time when he saw the fair *Bathsheba*. Here they pray'd, as is evident from *Acts* 10. 9. *Peter went up upon the House-top*, (*τὸ δώμα*, which is the Word in the New Testament, that answers to *Gag* in the Old) to pray about the *sixth Hour*. For here the Jews had the Convenience of looking towards *Jerusalem*, which they were commanded to do whenever they pray'd in a Place distant from it, *1 Kings* 8. 48. and this was *St. Peter's Case* here, wherefore he went up hither to offer his Prayers. Here they sacrific'd sometimes: whence you read of burning Incense on the Roofs of Houses, *Jer.* 19. 13. & 32. 29. and worshipping the Host of Heaven upon the House-tops, *Zeph.* 1. 5. This was also the place of Publick Mourning and Lamenting, as is clearly deducible from *Jer.* 48. 38. And in *Isa.* 22. 1. to go up to the House-tops, is to make an open Condolance and Lamentation. From these high and eminent Places they were wont to discover any Danger at a Distance; thence you read of the Watchman going up to the Roof, *2 Sam.* 18. 24. They used to speak to the People from these Places as fittest for that purpose; whence that Proverbial kind of speaking used by our Saviour, *Mat.* 10. 27. to preach on the House-tops, is to make a thing known

known to all, to proclaim it to the World. Here they *did eat, and drink, and sleep*, especially in the Summer-Evenings; thus *David rose from off his Bed*, 2 Sam. 11. 2. (the Bed where he had supped, and it is probable had taken a short Nap afterwards) and from hence had his unfortunate Prospect. Again, this was usually among the Jews and other Eastern People, a Place of *Employment and Business* of one kind or other: and therefore, by *him which is on the House-top*, Mat. 24. 17. is meant, the Man that is about his Business or Work at Home, in contradistinction to the Man employ'd in the Field, v. 18. Lastly, from what hath been suggested, and from the very Nature of the Place, it must needs be gather'd that it was open and exposed to the Sight of the World, and therefore *Absalom* purposely made choice of this to defile his Father's Concubines in, that it might be in the Sight of all Israel, 2 Sam. 16. 22.

But then why were the *Spies* that were sent by *Joshua* into the Land of *Canaan* lodged here by *Rahab*? Jos. 2. 4, 6. She brought them up hither to hide them: therefore it seems there was upon this Roof some Place that was private; otherwise she would not have disposed of them here. It might be answer'd, and that from the Context, that though it was an open Place, yet she knew that the green Stalks of Flax which lay there a drying would sufficiently cover those Persons, and keep them from being seen, especially in the Night-season. But I rather think that the Cunning of this good Woman lay in this, that she carried them up to a Place that was known to be open and frequented, and therefore it could not be imagined that she would, or that she could hide them in the openest Place of her House. Here was

154 *The Excellency and Perfection*

was the Subtlety of this Female; she knew that no Body would look for them in that Place, for there could not be the least suspicion of their being there: however, she had taken a Course to prevent their being discover'd, if the busy Searchers should have had the groundless Curiosity of looking into that Place.

Further, I might observe, that because Flat-roofed Houses were the way of Building in those Countries (and generally in all *Asia*) there was care taken to fence this Part about, that it might not be dangerous. Among the Jews this was by the particular Injunction of the Divine Architect, *Deut. 22. 8. Thou shalt make a Battlement for thy Roof.* And the reason of this מִקְוֵה *Murus per circuitum* (as the Vulgar Latin renders it) is added, *That thou bring not Blood upon thy House, if any Man fall from thence.* The flat Roofs of their Houses were rail'd in, that none might slip off of them, and hazard their Lives. And here by the by, I may add, that this was the very Structure of the Temple; it was flat at top, and accordingly was encompassed round with a *Peribolus*, a sett of Rails or Battlements: and this we are to understand by the *Pinnacle of the Temple*, *Mat. 4. 5. i. e. some Part, Side or Wing* (as the Word *πτερύγιον* imports) of the Battlements wherewith the Temple was surrounded at top, lest any should fall down thence. And to confirm this Interpretation, I will produce that Passage of *Hegesippus* (quoted by *Eusebius*) who relates that some of the Pharisees, and others of the unbelieving Jews, came and requested *James the Just*, the Brother of our Lord, and Bishop of *Jerusalem*, to preach

preach at the Passover, when the People came from all Parts to *Jerusalem*: and that he might be both seen and heard of all, they desired him to stand ἐν τῷ πτερύγῳ τῆς ἱερῆς, on the Battlement of the Temple: and he further tells that he did so. It was a Place then that they might safely stand upon, otherwise *St. James* would not have consented to their request. *Dr. Hammond* thinks this was the Top of the Battlement, and adds that it was broad enough to stand upon: but supposing it was, yet it was unsafe to trust their Feet there, lest they should slip, Therefore I rather think that ἐν τῷ πτερύγῳ in *St. Matthew*, must not be taken as it is in the foremention'd Story: in the one it signifies the Top of the Rails or Battlement, a dangerous Place to stand upon, and for that reason the Devil set our Saviour there: but in the other we are to understand by τὸ πτερύγιον the Place within the Battlements, for the whole Space encompass'd with these had that Denomination. However we are hence inform'd that πτερύγιον is not a *Pinnacle* or *Spire*, (for the Jewish Temple had no such thing, though some of our Churches have) but the exterior Circuit, which compassed the Top of the Temple, and was made to be an Ornament to it, as well as to prevent the Danger of falling down. This is the proper Notion of it among Grammarians (as '*Dr. Hammond* hath rightly noted :) and not only the Temple but every House had this πτερύγιον, this Battlement about it. This is the short Account which I thought fit to insert here of the ἀλυσσας, or as the Latins call them *Solaria*, (because

¹ Annot. on Mar. 4. 5.

156 *The Excellency and Perfection*

cause they lay open to the Sun and Air) the *Flat Roofs* with which the Houses heretofore (especially in the Asiatick Regions) were built. And this is certain that there is not so Early an Account in any Writers whatsoever of the Structure of the Antient Houses as this of the Sacred Penmen is.

CHAP.

C H A P. IV.

The first original of Letters and Writing is recorded here. The several kinds of Materials they wrote upon of Old. The Instruments with which they formed their Letters or Characters. The Antientest (as well as the most Excellent) History is in the Bible. So is the Antientest and most Admired Poetry. The first Invention and Practice of Musick, and on what Occasions it was wont to be made use of. The Rise of Natural Philosophy, and who were the first Founders of it. The Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures necessary in order to the due Study of Natural Philosophy. The first Instances of Anatomy, Medicks, Chirurgery, Embalming, and the Apothecaries Employment, are in the Old Testament. Here are the first Examples of Shipping and Navigation. An Enquiry into the Place whither Solomon's Navy went every three Years: A Conjecture concerning Ophir. Astronomy and Judiciary Astrology mention'd in Scripture. Of War and Skill in Arms. The Nature of those Military Weapons which are spoken of in Scripture, particularly and distinctly enquir'd into. The Antiquity of Martial Ensigns and Standards. The vast Numbers which the Armies of old consisted of. The Scripture is not silent concerning Sportive Diversions and Exercises: some of which, but especially Dancing, are considered.

FROM *Mechanical* I proceed to *Ingenious Arts and Sciences*, or such as are approaching to them; and I am to shew that the Sacred History relates the first Rise and Original of these.

these. And what Liberal Art should I begin with but *Grammar*? what should this part of my Discourse commence with but *Letters* and *Writing*? Many have been very inquisitive about the First Author of these: and truly it is worth the Enquiry, it being the Foundation of all Learning in the World. The Rabblins held that כתב *Writing*, and consequently Letters, were created among other things at the Close of the sixth Day's Work of the Creation: but few that are sober will give Credit to this. They were found out before the Flood by Seth, saith the Jewish Antiquary; for according to him there were two Pillars, one of Stone, another of Brick, erected by that Godly Patriarch, on which he caused his Astrological Notions to be written. Afterwards (for we may suppose this Invention lost by the Flood, though the Pillars and Characters on them remain'd) Abraham retrieved the Art of Writing, yea in a manner invented it anew, saith Philo. But there is no Proof at all of what he or Josephus saith concerning this Matter, and therefore we may justly question the Truth of both. But supposing that Seth began this Art, and that Abraham improved it, we are certain of this, that Moses came and perfected it, having that most Compleat Copy before him to instruct and direct him, the Tables written with the Finger of God, Exod. 31. 18. We read of no Writing in Scripture till this writing or engraving the Law on the Two Tables, which is call'd in another Place the Writing of God, Deut. 32. 16. There is no mention, I say, of any such thing before: wherefore it is likely God was the First Inventer of Letters or Writing, and that Mo-

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¹ Pir. Avoth. c. 9. ² Antiq. l. 1. c. 3.

ses learnt it of him, and communicated it to the Jews, from whom other Eastern People received it, and so Letters were imparted to the rest of the World. *Eupolemus* and *Artapanus*, two very Antient Historians quoted by *Clement of Alexandria*, were of this Opinion, and asserted, that Letters had their original from *Moses*. This is favour'd by *Clement* himself, by *Eusebius*, by *Cyril of Alexandria*: and *St. Augustin* inclines to it.

And this is confirmed from that general report of the Pagans, that from the Phœnicians all Letters were derived. Particularly concerning the Greeks, *Herodotus* and *Plutarch* testify, that they recorded the Letters of their Alphabet from the Phœnicians, and that therefore they were call'd *the Phœnician Letters*. Yea, the Word *σοφιστικα* absolutely and by it self is, according to *Hesychius*, as much as *γερμανικα* among the Lydians and Ionians. *Lucan* makes the Phœnicians the first Inventers of Letters,

*Phœnices primi, fama si creditur, ausi
Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.*

Now, when these are said to have first found out Letters, and when these Letters are signally stiled *Phœnician*, it is as much as if they had call'd them *Hebrew Letters*, (so named from that Famous Hebrew *Moses*, and the People of that Denomination) for it is acknowledg'd by all the Learned,

¹ Strom. l. 1. ² De Prepar. Evang. l. 9. ³ Lib. 7. cont. Julian. ⁴ De Civ. Dei, l. 18. ⁵ Φοινικία γράμματα, Herodot. l. 5. Φοινίκια, Plutarch. Sympos. l. 9. quart. 3^o Lib. 3.

Learned, that *Phœnicians* and *Hebrews* are the same in several Authors. The old Distinction was this,

‘Οἱ μὲν ἐπ’ ἐπείρω τοὶ περ Σύριοι καλεόνται;
 ‘Οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι ἐς γῆς ἐόντες ἐπωνυμίην φοίνικας.

That is, those of *Syria* that inhabited the Continent, had the name of *Syrians*, but those that border’d on the Maritime Coasts, were call’d *Phœnicians*, who were the same with the *Canaanites*. When we find *Pliny* professing, * *Literas semper arbitror Assyrias fuisse*, we cannot but know that by *Assyrian* the Country of the *Patriarchs*, and even the *Jewish Nation* are pointed at. When therefore he saith he is of *Opinion*, and always was, that Letters were first of all *Assyrian*, it is certain that he confirms what I am now suggesting. And when the *Gentile Historians* tell us that the Invention of Letters was from *Cadmus*, it is to our present Purpose, to observe who this *Cadmus* was. He is said to be a *Tyrian* or *Phœnician*, whence he hath the Title of Συροφόνιξ ἑμπορεύς, a *Syrophœnician Trafficker*, given him in *Lucian’s Council of the Gods*. This was he that brought the use of Letters to the *Greeks*: which shews that the Original of them was from *Canaan*, from the *Hebrews* who were stiled *Phœnicians*. Besides, that the *Greek Alphabet* was taken from the *Hebrew*, not only the Names but the Order and Figure of most of the Letters do plainly shew. And when it is said by *Plato*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Tully* and others, that *Mercurius* and *Thoth* (who were the same Person) were the Inventers of Letters and Erudition,

Moses

Moses is meant, for he is the true *Mercurius*, as I have had occasion to prove by very convincing Arguments in another Place. This seems to be referred to in the word *Μῦσαι*, the *Muses*, who are the celebrated Authors of Learning and all Ingenious Arts; for *Plato* (who was the greatest Searcher into Antiquity of all the Philosophers) acknowledgeth that this Word is borrowed from the *Barbarians*: and 'tis well known who are the *Barbarians* with the Greeks, viz. the Hebrews; which makes me think that *Μῦσαι* is a Corruption of *Moses*, and that what is said of the *Muses* is to be understood of him, and consequently that he was the First Inventer of Letters and of Learning. Hence it is that the same Divine Philosopher in another Place expressly testifies, that *the Greeks received their Names and Letters from the Barbarians, who were elder than they*. Lastly, I will mention that Notable Passage in *Plutarch*, who speaking of the Egyptians saith, *Ἑρμῶν γραμματικῆς εἶναι εὐνοῖαν νομίζουσι*, they think that *Hermes* was the Inventor of Grammar: where by Grammar is meant all Good Letters, and by *Hermes* we are to understand *Moses*, who (as hath been said already) is universally own'd to be the *Antient Hermes*. To this Excellent Man it pleased God to reveal the Art of Writing, setting him an Illustrious Copy upon the two Tables with his own Hand; so that next unto God himself he was the first Inventer of Letters, or Written Characters: He who, when an Infant, was wrapp'd up in the *Egyptian Papyrus*, (as you shall hear afterwards) was most congruously the Principal Author of Writing on it, and adorning

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¹ In Cratylō. ² Παρὰ Βαρβάρων πῶν αὐτὰ παρελήφασιν
ἐν δὲ ἡμῶν ἀρχαιοτέροις Βάρβαροις. ³ De Isid. & Ostr.

that and other Materials with Letters. The first Penman and Writer of the Bible had the Glory of this Discovery, viz. to be the first Author of Writing.

These Sacred Records acquaint us also what were the First *Ways of Writing* or making Letters. They let us know what *Materials* they of old wrote upon, and what *Instruments* they wrote with. Here we learn that the first way of Writing was *Sculpture* or *Carving*, i. e. they cut their Letters in Stone or Wood, or some other hard and solid Matter. We read that *Moses*, or rather God himself, engraved his Laws on *Stone*, *Exod.* 34. 1. *Deut.* 10. and the People were commanded afterwards to write these very Laws after the same manner, *Deut.* 27. 3, 8. This is the First and Antient Way of Writing that we read of. *Stones* were their *Books* of old. On these they engraved the Characters which they had learn'd. The Egyptians did thus, saith *Jamblichus*, before their Invention of Paper. The Babylonians writ their Laws on stony sort of Substance, saith *Pliny*. Of such sort of Writing speaks *Herodotus*. And all the Old *Marble Monuments* which *Rome* affords, and are at this Day to be seen, witness the Antiquity of the Engraving. On *Wood* and *Trees* it was usual to carve their Letters of old: Thus they wrote the Names of the Tribes on twelve *Rods*, *Numb.* 17. 1. and *Ezekiel* was bid to write upon *Sticks*, final Pieces of Wood, *Ezek.* 37. 16. Writing on a *Table*, *ἑνὶ πινυλῇ* according to the LXX, *super basium* according to the Vulgar Latin, *Isa.* 30. 8. may refer to this, I suppose. This Writing in Wood was

¹ De Myst. Ægypt. l. 1. c. 2. ² Nat. Hist. l. 7. c. 56. ³ Urania.

not unusual among some of the Gentiles: So Shepherds and Lovers used to cut their Names on the Barks of Trees of old. This is called

* ——— *Teneris incidere amores*
Arboribus ———.

Some of the old Roman Laws were written in ' *Tables of Oak*: and from sufficient Testimonies in Authors it might be proved that they cut Letters in *Wooden Tables*, i. e. thin Slices of Wood, which were call'd *Codices*. But afterwards it was the Custom to cover these Tables with *Wax*, and so to cut their Characters on it: of which sort it is probable was the *πινυλίδιον*, the *Writing-Table* that *Zacharias* call'd for, *Luke* 1. 63. These Waxen Boards were in use in the time of the Trojan War, as appears from *Homer*, *Il.* 6. And that they were frequent among the Romans and others, is attested by ' *Pliny*, ' *Quintilian*, ' *Plautus*, *Martial*, and most of the Latin Writers. Of engraving Letters in *Gold* there is an early Instance in *Exod.* 39. 30. where we are told that *Holiness to the Lord* was written on a *Golden Plate*, and worn on the High Priest's Head. So ' *Dio* relates that they antiently made Letters in *Gold*, and wrote in *Silver*. The drawing of legible Characters on *Lead*, i. e. thin Leaves of that Metal, is recorded in *Job* 19. 24. of which there were afterwards Examples in Pagan Writers, as in ' *Pausanias*, who tells us, that *Hesiod's* Poems were thus written. And Publick Records and Decrees, saith ' the other *Pliny*, were

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* *Virgil. Eclog.* 10. ' *Dionys. Halicar.* l. 3. ' *Epist.* l. 7, 27. ' *Instit.* l. 10. c. 3. ' *In Curcul.* ' *Lib.* 44. ' *In Bæotic.* ' *Plumbeis voluminibus monumenta publica fieri cœpta sunt.* *N. Hist.* l. 13. c. 11.

wont to be transcribed into these Sheets of Lead, because they were accounted Lasting and Durable. For the same Reason the *Twelve Tables* of the Old Roman Laws that were fix'd up in publick were written on Plates of *Brass*, as a great Number of good Latin Authors testify. And some, to preserve what they writ, imprinted Characters on Slices of *Ivory*, thence call'd *Litri Elephantini* in *Tacitus* and *Flavius Vopiscus*. Thus *Sculpture* was one antient way of Writing among Men, of which the First Instances are to be found in the Holy Scripture. And I doubt not but *Aboliah*, who was the Chief Master of *Engraving* (and that by the particular Inspiration of Heaven) was the first Improver of this sort of Letters. This was the Primitive Writing of Mankind: the First Letters were cut and engraven, which indeed may be found in the very Word; for to *grave* is the same with *engrave*, and is thence derived without doubt.

As hitherto we have seen by Help of the Sacred Records that *Sculpture* or *Engraving* was the antientest sort of Characters, so These likewise inform us that *Painting* was the next, i. e. that Letters were generally drawn and pourtrayed in some black or fable kind of colouring. And to this end, instead of those Hard Materials which were made use of in writing before, there were others afterwards found out of a more tractable Nature. The Scripture doth not mention those that were but seldom and little used, as *Leaves of Trees*, especially *Palms*, which was the way of the *Sibyls* transmitting some of their Verses. And that of old they wrote sometimes on Leaves not only of

Trees

¹ Exod. 38. 23. ² In palmarum foliis primum scriptitatem Plin. l. 13. c. 11. ³ Virgil. Æn. 3. Juvenal. Sat. 2.

Trees but *Flowers*, is more than once witnessed by *Virgil* and *Ovid*. Still to this Day we seem to retain the Memory of this antient way of Writing when we say a *Leaf* of Paper, and Books in *Folio*. Nor are the thin *Coats* or *Rinds* which were between the Bark and Body of Trees, and were used in Writing of old, (as ⁶ several relate) and from whence came the Name of *Liber* at first, mention'd by the Holy Writers, because their Use continued but a little time, and they were of little Service. Much less is there any thing said of writing in *Linen*, (which yet ⁷ *Livy*, ⁸ *Pliny*, ⁹ *Vopiscus*, and others, take notice of) because this was used among the Indians and such remote People as the Sacred History had no occasion to speak of. But those Materials for writing which were of constant Use, and that among most Nations, as *Papyr* and *Parchment*, are either expressly mention'd or tacitely referr'd to. The former was made of broad Rushes and Flags, which grew in great abundance in *Egypt*: of which the Prophet *Isaiab* foretelling the Confusion of that Country speaketh, *ch.* 19. v. 6, 7. *The Reeds and Flags shall wither: the Paper-Reeds by the Brooks shall wither, be driven away, and be no more.* The *Gnaroth*, the Materials for Writing, which were so celebrated all the World over, and which were the peculiar Commodity of *Egypt*, and which brought in so great Revenues to that Nation, these, even these shall decay, the Traffick of them shall cease. Yea, when 'tis said that *Moses* was laid in an *Ark of Bull-rushes*, *Exod.* 2. 3. a ¹ Great Critick tells us, that the *Papyrus* is

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meant

⁶ Cic. 2. ad Quint. fraer. Plin. l. 13. c. 11. Alexander ab Alexand. Gen. dier. l. 2. c. 30. ⁷ Lib. 4. dec. 1. ⁸ Lib. 18. c. 11. ⁹ In Antonino. ¹ Grotius in loc.

166 *The Excellency and Perfection*
meant here ; and for this he quotes ¹ *Lucan*,

Conferitur bibulâ Memphitis cymba papyro.

And before him *St. Jerom* (the most Critical of all the Fathers) thought the Egyptian Rushes, of which the first Paper was made, are to be understood in this Place, and therefore *Gome* (which is the Word here used) is rendred by him *Papyrus*. And he it is likely had this from ² *Josepbus*, who acquaints us that the Ark in which *Moses* was secured, was made of this great Flag growing on the Banks of *Nile*, of which they made Leaves to write on, and whence our *Paper* at this Day hath its Name. It was divided into thin Flakes, which were press'd and dried in the Sun, and so were made serviceable to write upon in some tolerable manner. Of this ³ *Pliny* and several other Writers speak ; and thence *Nile* is call'd *Papyriferus* by ⁴ *Ovid*.

Parchment, which was made of Sheep Skins, or the thinner Skins of other Animals dress'd, was another thing they writ upon. The best of this sort was made at *Pergamus*, and thence had its Name *Pergamena*, but it was invented before *Attalus* King of *Pergamus* his time, (though the contrary hath been believ'd by some Men) and was in use at the same time that the *Egyptian Papyrus* was; only this was used for common Purposes, and the other for more choice Writing, and such as they designed should last a long time. Therefore it is most probable that the Books of the *Mosaick Law*, and the rest of the Old Testament, were transcrib'd into this. *Moses writ the Words of the Law*,
gnal

¹ Lib. 4. ² Antiq. l. 2. c. 5. ³ *Papyrus est planta nascens in palustribus Aegypti, aut quiescentibus Nili aquis. Lib. 23. c. 11.*
⁴ *Metamorph. l. 15.*

gnal sepheer, upon a Book, Deut. 31. 24. i. e. on Parchment, saith Jonathan the Chaldee Paraphrast on the Place; for so he and other Learned Jews understood the Text. This is meant by *Megillab* a Roll, Ezra 6. 2. and *Megillab sepheer* a Roll of a Book, Jer. 36. 2. and *Gillaion* a Roll, Isa. 8. 1. and a Scroll rolled together, Isa. 34. 4. for it was Parchment (which is of some Consistency) not thin and weak Paper, that was capable of being thus rolled up. To this⁶ Herodotus refers when he saith that writing on Skins was used by the Barbarians, meaning the Eastern People, especially the Jews. And⁷ Josephus avoucheth that the Books of the Old Testament were written in Sheets of Parchment exactly joined and fastned together, of which Testimony of his I have spoken in another Place. It is the general Opinion of Interpreters, that by *μεμβράναι* are meant *Writing-Parchments*, 2 Tim. 4. 13. but I have heretofore proposed another Sense of that Word, and therefore I make no use of this Place here. It is likely that *βιβλίον ελισσόμενον*, a Scroll rolled together, Rev. 6. 14. refers to this. And though I will not aver that by *χάρτης*, (which our Translators render Paper) 2 Job. v. 12. is to be understood Parchment, yet it is not wholly improbable, for this was the usual Word to signify any thing that they writ upon, whether Egyptian Reeds, or Leaves of Lead, or Gold, or Stone, or Wood, or any of the other writing Materials before specified. The Matter, whatever it was, was called *χάρτης* and *Charta*, from *χαράττω*, (and this from the Hebrew *Charath* *sculpit*, *exaravit*) for this was a general Term, and signified any thing that had Characters engraven or written upon it.

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⁶ In Terpsichore. ⁷ Antiq. l. 12. c. 2.

168 *The Excellency and Perfection*

But the Scripture hath not only taken notice of the *Materials* on which they wrote of old, but of the *Instruments* with which they form'd their Letters on them. I mean here such as were of common Use, and therefore we must not expect that it should say any thing of the *Rubrica*, (mention'd by ^s *Perfius* and others) which serv'd sometimes instead of Pen and Ink. With this they writ or rather mark'd their Titles of Books; whence that of ^o *Juvenal*,

————— *Perlege rubras*
Majorum leges —————.

At other times they made use of *Chalk*, and of *Coal*, both which are mention'd by ¹ *Perfius*,
Illâ prius cretâ, mox hæc carbone notasti.

But these were used only on special Occasions, and were not the ordinary manner of Writing, therefore 'tis no wonder that the Bible is wholly silent as to this. But it mentions the Writing Instruments that were of common Use; as first those which were peculiar to the Harder Materials, those wherewith they made Incision into Stone, Wood, &c. Accordingly it tells us, that they used an *Iron Pen* or *Style*, and therewith cut what Characters they thought fit in them. Of this we have mention in *Job* 19. 24. where that holy Man wisheth that his Complaints were written down and recorded, that future Ages might take notice of them; which *Moses*, or some other Inspired Person who digested and compiled this Book, thus expresseth, *O that my Words were engraven with an Iron Pen and Lead*, with a *ῥυ* (*ῥυ* *ῥυ* according to the Seventy) made of Iron, and with *Lead*,
plumbi

plumbi laminâ, (as the Vulgar Latin) a thin Sheet or Plate of Lead, on which they engraved Letters with this Iron Pen. And in the next Clause of this Verse he wisheth yet further, that his Words might be written in the Rock, ἐν πέτραις ἐγγλυφῆναι, (as the LXX render it) *ut sculpantur in silice*, the Vulgar Latin following the Septuagint, as it generally doth every where; which refers to the antient manner of writing in those Days, which was by Engraving of Letters not only on *Leaden Tables*, but on *Stone and Flint*, with Iron Pens or Bodkins. These were the first Instruments used in writing in the World. And when *Jeremiah* saith, * *The Sin of Judah is written with a Pen of Iron, and graven upon the Table of their Hearts*, it is an Allusion to this Practice: though here another Word is used, viz. *Cheret* (from *Charath*, *sculpsit*, whence *χαράττω*) which is a *graving Tool*, and so is rendred, *Exod. 32. 4.* With this they made the Letters on Wood and Stone, and such like hard Substance, and in Wax-Tables.

Next, the Scripture takes notice of the antient Instrument which was proper to the other way of writing, viz. upon the softer Materials, as the *Papyrus* and *Parchment*. This is called *Shebet* (which Word in other Places is rendred a *Scepter*): We read that the Tribe of *Zebulon* afforded some that *handed the Pen of the Writer*, *Judg. 5. 14.* such as were dexterous at this Instrument, such as knew how to wield this *Shebet*, this *Writing-Scepter*, with Art and Skill. In other Places it hath the same Names that were given to the *Engraving Pen*: thus it is stiled *Cheret*, (γχαφίς according to the Septuagint) *Isa. 8. 1.* the *Pen of a Man*, i. e. such a
Pen

170 *The Excellency and Perfection*

Pen as Men usually writ with in those Days when they wrote upon any soft and yielding Matter, and that was a *Reed*: which is confirm'd to us by *Jer.* 8. 8. where *Gnet*, the *Pen of the Scribes*, is $\chi\omicron\iota\nu\textcircled{\text{G}}$ in the Greek Interpreters. And in *Psal.* 45. 1. where it is again call'd *Gnet*, the *Pen of a ready Writer*, the same Interpreters render it $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\mu\textcircled{\text{G}}$ $\gamma\epsilon\alpha\mu\mu\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$, and the Vulgar Latin *Calamus*, which is the Word us'd by *Martial* and others for the *Egyptian Reed*, which was the Writing Pen in their time;

¹ *Dat chartis habiles calamos Memphitica tellus.*

And *Aquila*, a Learned Jew, who knew the genuine Meaning of the Hebrew Word in this Place, renders it $\chi\omicron\iota\nu\textcircled{\text{G}}$, i. e. *juncus*, *arundo aquatica*, wherewith they antiently writ. It appears then that *Egypt* afforded both *Paper* and *Pens*; the former was of that Rushy Plant before described, the latter were of a Reed growing in the same Place, viz. about the River *Nile* and the fenny Parts of *Egypt*, which being dried and hardned, and conveniently shap'd, was the usual Instrument of writing before the Invention of *Quills*. It was so made, that it would contain and convey in it a black sort of Liquor, (which answers to our *Ink* which we use at this Day) into which they used to dip it. To this antient writing with *Ink* or such like dark Substance some have thought *Ezek.* 9. 2. hath reference, where we read of the *Writers Inkborn*; but though the Hebrew Word be rendred *Atramentarium* by the Vulgar Latin, yet in its Original Signification it hath no reference to that particular thing, but may be translated a *Pen-case*, or a *Writing-Table*,
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² *Mart. Epigr.* 38. lib. 14.

as well as an *Inkborn*. From the bare Sound of the English Word we cannot infer the thing it self. We may as well affirm the Art of *Printing* was found out and practised in *Job's* Days, because he wisheth that his *Words were printed in a Book*, *Job* 19. 23. But there is a Place to our purpose, and that is *Jer.* 36. 18. *I wrote them* (i. e. the Words which *Jeremy* spoke) *with Ink in a Book*. The Antient way of writing appears from what *Baruch* here saith, that he wrote *Jeremiah's* Prophecy כְּתִיבָא *atramento*, which was the black and inky Matter (whatever it was) that was laid on by his Pen in writing. This is the μέλαν mention'd *2 Cor.* 3. 3. *2 Ep. John* v. 12. and again *3 Epist.* v. 13. where it is joined with κάλαμος, which shews what was at that time the way of writing, viz. with *Reed-Pens* dipp'd in *Ink*, which (as we are told by *Pliny* and *Persius*) was variously prepared. The Greeks and Romans made it of Soot, saith the ' former of these Writers: and from him and ' *Persius* we learn that the Africans used the dark Excrementitious Humour which the *Sepia* afforded them: and other black Juices serv'd for Ink in other Countries. Thus the most Antient as well as the most Authentick Memoirs concerning *Letters* and the *Manner of Writing* are in the Books of the Holy Penmen. Thus the Foundation of all *Grammar*, and the Root of all Learning is laid here.

Next unto *Grammar* I might mention *History*, the first Father of which was *Moses*, whose Writings begin the Bible. All that I will say of him under this present Character is this, that we are solely indebted to him for our Knowledge of the Transactions of the First Ages of the World. As
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¹ Nat. Hist. l. 35. c. 5. ² Sat. 3.

172 *The Excellency and Perfection*

he wrote before all other Historians, so he gives us an Account of those things which none besides doth; wherefore his Books are the Key of all History. To him are added Others, who are not only of admired Antiquity, but ought to be prized as much for the Admirable and Various Matter they communicate. Here are Excellent Historical Passages of all sorts, Religious and Civil, Sacred and Profane, Foreign and Domestick, relating to Politicks and Oeconomicks, to Publick and Private Affairs. Yea, the Title of *Procopius's* History belongs only and properly to these Sacred Chronicles, for here the *Secrets* and *Depths* of all Antient Occurrences are contain'd, and here are those Choice Materials which no other Histories furnish us with. But I should be endless if I should enlarge here by particularizing; therefore I will not launch out, but only commend to the Reader the Learned Endeavours of *Strigelius* in his Commentaries on the Books of *Samuel*, *Kings*, *Chronicles*, where he will be amply convinc'd of the unparallell'd Diversity, Multiplicity, and Peculiar Excellency of the *Historical* Examples in Scripture.

The Antientest Poetry is in the Old Testament: for as *Moses* was the first *Historian*, so he is the first *Poet* that is extant. A Proof of this we have in that *Eucharistick Song* which he compos'd upon his passing the Red Sea, and is recorded in *Exod. 15*. An Admirable Hymn it is, and in Hexameter Verse, if ¹ *Josephus* may be Judg in this Matter, and if a *Christian Father* may be credited, who had more Hebrew than most of the Writers of the Church in his time, yea more than all of them except *Origen*. But whether this be true or no, this
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¹ Arcana Historiæ.

² Antiq. l. 2, c. 14.

is without Controversy, that there is no Piece of Poetry in the World that hath the Priority of this of *Moses*: for *Orpheus*, who is reckon'd by the Pagans as the First Poet, was, according to the most favourable Computation of some of their Historians, three hundred Years after *Moses*, and *Homer* was towards six hundred. Besides this Divine Hymn, there are other Antient ones of the like nature recorded in the same Authentick Writings, viz. *Deborah's* Song, *Judg.* 5. which hath many Noble Flights of Poetry; and that of *Hannah*, the Mother of *Samuel*, *1 Sam.* 2. 1, &c. which hath Excellent Poetick Raptures. And here by the way I will offer this Conjecture, that perhaps from *Minerva's* bearing her part in *Moses's* Song, (*Exod.* 15. 20, 21.) and from these other *Womens* Poetick Inspiration, which came to be celebrated among the neighbouring Nations, the Poets (who, as I have largely shew'd elsewhere, have frequent References to the Old Testament) took occasion to report that Poetry was of Female Extraction, and that *Calliope*, one of that Sex, was the Author of their Faculty. Other famous Instances there are here of this Sacred Art, as *David's* Incomparable *Elagy* on the Death of *Saul* and *Jonathan*, *2 Sam.* 1. 16, &c. that *Gratulatory Hymn* in the 12th Chapter of *Isaiah*; *Hezekiah's* Song of Praise in the 38th of the same Prophet; *Habakkuk's* Lofly Description of the Divine Majesty and Greatness in Poetick Numbers, chap. 3. the Stile of which is far more sublime and majestick than any of *Orpheus* or *Pindar's* Odes. I appeal to any Man of Skill, and that hath a right Poetick Genius, whether this be not true. And as there are these single Hymns and Songs, so there are Just Poems, for of the Books of the Old Testament there are six that are composed

posed and writ in Verse, viz. the Books of *Job*, the *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Canticles*, *Lamentations*. As to the Nature of the Hebrew Poesy, and the Kinds of Verses which are in the Bible, the Learned ¹ *Mersennus* and others have given us some Account of them, but it is very short and mean, and much of it is mere Surmise, and therefore I will not trouble the Reader with it. A late Writer hath attempted to prove that the Hebrew Verse or Poetry of the Old Testament is in *Rhythm*; which I believe is true in many Places: and if the Pronuntiation and Sound were the very same now that they were when these Poetick Books were composed, we should observe the Cadence in them more frequently. But he goes too far in asserting that all the Hebrew Poesy in Scripture is Rhythmical, for they were not so exact at first: though the Verses end with the same Sound sometimes, yet generally they took a Liberty. Upon Examination we may find this to be true, and I may have occasion to say something further of it when I come to speak particularly of the *Psalms*. But the other Assertion, viz. that the *Psalms* and other Pieces of Hebrew Poetry are *always* Rhythmical, necessarily infers a great many Faults and Mistakes in the Scripture, it supposes several Places to be corrupted and mangled, (for we do not find all the Poetry of the Bible to be such at this day) and consequently subverts the Truth and Authority of the Bible, which is by no means to be allowed of. All that I will add under this Head is, that even among the *Gentiles*, the first and antientest Writers, were *Poets*. ² *Strabo* undertakes to shew that Poetry was before Prose, and that this is but an Imi-

¹ Quæst. in cap. 4. Gen. v. 21. ² Geogr. l. 1:

Imitation of that. It can't be denied that the First Philosophers writ in Verse, as *Orpheus*, *Parmenides*, *Empedocles*, *Theognis*, *Phocylides*, &c. and thence (as 'One of the Learnedest Men of our Age observes) the *Moral Precepts* of the Philosophers were call'd of old *ἁσμάτων* and *Carmina*. The Grecian Oracles were delivered in Verse. Concerning the *Agathyrsi* we are told by *Aristotle*, that their Laws were all in Metre. Concerning the Old Germans, *Tacitus* relates that their very Records and Annals were in Verse. And all this, it is probable, was in Emulation of the First Sacred Writers, the Penmen of the Old Testament, in whose Writings there are several things dictated in Measure, and some entire Books are altogether Metrical; for it was the Design of the Holy Ghost to delight as well as profit.

With *Poetry* let us join *Musick*, it being of so near Affinity with it: and the First Invention of this also is to be known only from the Scripture; which informs us, that *Jubal*, the Son of *Lamech* the sixth from *Adam*, was the Father of such as handle the Harp and Organ, Gen. 4. 21. From whose Name some have thought the *Jubilee* was called, because it was proclaim'd with *Musick*. The Poets tell us, that *Apollo* and *Mercury* were the first Authors of it, by whom it is not improbable they meant *Moses*, who first gives an Account of the Original of this Art, and might well be represented by *Apollo* because of his Singular Wisdom, and by *Mercury* because he was the First Interpreter of the Divine Will in his Writings, and on other Accounts merited that Name, as I have evidenc'd in another Place. Perhaps the Story of *Pythagoras's*

was finding out *Musical Notes* from the Strokes of the Hammers upon the Smith's Anvil, was suggested from this, that the first Musical Instruments were made of Iron and Brass, the Metals of the Smith and Brasier. Or, if I should guess it a downright Mistake of *Tubal* for *Jubal*, (Sons of the same Father) a *Smith* for a *Musician*, or that it was suggested from the Musick of their Names, (*Tubal* and *Jubal* having some affinity in the Sound) it would be hard to disprove it. But that which is certain is this, that as the First Inventors of other things are recorded in Scripture, so particularly is he that found out Musick; and by the *Harp* and the *Organ* all other Musical Instruments are meant, whether Pulsative or Pneumatick. And it is not improbable that the same Person was the Author of *Vocal Musick*, it being so natural and usual to join this with the other.

These Inspired Writings are the first that tell us *on what Occasions* these several sorts of Musick were used of old: as namely, first in a Religious Way. Harmony both Vocal and Instrumental was primitively consecrated to God, as we learn from *Exod. 15.* where 'tis said that they not only *sung unto the Lord*, v. 1. and that Alternately, (for *Miriam answered them*, viz. the Persons that sing before: she repeated their Song, v. 21. which shews the Antiquity of that *Alternate* way of Singing) but they made use of *Timbrels*, v. 20. And afterwards in *David's* Reign it more solemnly became a Religious Exercise, he so often making use of it in his own personal and private Devotions. For he was not only an Excellent Poet, and compos'd *Psalms* and *Hymns*, (which by the by shews that *Poetry* is an Accomplishment worthy of a Prince, yea of a Saint) but he plaid with great Skill

on Musical Instruments. Hence he mentions his Harp and other Instruments often in his Book of *Psalms*. And it appears from what we read in *1 Sam.* 16: 19. that he was initiated into this Art betimes, and was very Eminent in it when he was a Young Man, otherwise he would not have been sent for to Court. But he not only made and plai'd his *Psalms*, but he sung them, and was so famous for it, that he is by way of Eminency, stiled 'the Sweet Psalmist, or Singer of Israel. Nor was Musick his own Entertainment only, but it was by him constituted a part of the Publick Worship. He being Poetical and Musical, endited Hymns, and his skilful Musicians^a set them to grave and serious Tunes, and then they were devoted to the Church, and do still remain Patterns of Devotion, and so shall to all Ages. To the Religious Use of Musick both of Voice and Instrument, those words in *Psal.* 68. 25. refer; *The Singers (Sharim, the Princes or Chief Masters of Singing) went before, the Nogenim, the players on Instruments follow'd after: amongst them (or in the middle of them, according to the Hebrew, viz. between the Singing-men and Players) were the Damsels playing with Timbrels.* So that both Sexes were wont to join in consort at the joyful bringing forth and procession of the Ark, which are here meant, and called *the goings of God in the Sanctuary*, v. 24. To this belongs *2 Sam.* 6. 5. *David and all the House of Israel play'd before the Lord on all manner of Instruments, viz. at the removal of the Ark.* And those Musical Instruments are particularly and distinctly mention'd in the next Words, *Harp, Psalteries, Timbrels, Cornets, Cymbals.* Afterwards, in Solomon's time

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^a 2 Sam. 23. 1.

^a 1 Chron. 25. 2 Chron. 5. 12, 13.

178 *The Excellency and Perfection*

when the Temple was erected, and Singing-men and diverse Orders and Degrees of Musicians were appointed, some being Masters, others Scholars and Candidates, (as we may inform our selves from 1 Chron. 15. 22. & 25. 7. Neb. 12. 46.) Musick was a considerable Part of Divine Service. And there was not only Singing of Psalms, but playing upon Instruments, of which some were *Neginoth*, such as yielded a Sound by touch or stroak, others were *Nechiloth* Wind-Instruments. This was the pompous Service of the Jewish Church, this was the Temple-Musick, which began not (as Dr. *Lightfoot* thinks) till the pouring out of the *Drink-Offering*, when the *Cup of Salvation* (as the Psalmist calls it) went about. And here also it might be observ'd, that the Religious and Prophe-tick Raptures of holy Men were attended with, and promoted by Musick: thus a company of Prophets came down from the high Place (where they had been worshipping) with a Psaltery, and a Tabret, and a Pipe, and Harp before them, 1 Sam. 10. 5. praising God with Songs which the Holy Spirit dictated to them. Thus the famous Prophet *Elisba* call'd for a Minstrel, and when the Minstrel play'd, the Hand of the Lord came upon him, 2 Kings 3. 15. i. e. he was stirr'd up thereby to undertake and accomplish great things for the Glory of God; of which you read in the ensuing Verses. It is no wonder therefore that Musick was thought to be Divine, that it was (as *Plato* saith of it) the Invention *θεῶν* θεῶν. And though he spoke this of the Egyptian Musick, yet all the Learned know that the Pagan Writers commonly call that Egyptian which is Hebrew, for they were wont to take the Jews for

for Natives of *Egypt*: and then it is not to be doubted that the Sacred Use and Improvement of Musick among the *Jews* was referr'd to by this Philosopher. Thus Musick was first dedicated to Religion and Divine Worship.

But we read that upon other Occasions also it was made use of, viz. at all solemn times of Rejoicing. Hence *Laban* complimented *Jacob* after this Manner, that if he had known of his Intentions of going away from him, *he would have sent him away with Mirth and with Songs, with Tabret and with Harp*, Gen. 31. 27. It seems this was the Antient Entertainment at their Farewells. And the same was used at all great Festivals, *the Harp and the Viol, the Tabret and Pipe* (as well as *Wine*) *are in their Feasts*, Isa. 5. 12. *They chaunt to the sound of the Viol*, Am. 6. 5. And therefore to express the Cessation of these Feasts, it is said, *the Mirth of Tabrets ceaseth, the Joy of the Harp ceaseth*, Isa. 24. 8. Yea, at the most Innocent Festivals this was not thought unlawful, as may be gather'd from *Luk. 15. 25.* where at the solemn Eating and Drinking which were occasion'd by the Prodigal Son's return, there was *συμφωνία*, a Consort of many Voices and Instruments, as the Word properly imports. This (as multitudes of Authors acquaint us) was the general Usage among the old Greeks and Romans. And what if I should say that this is meant by 'Homer's ἀναθήματα δαίτῳ? (whence perhaps the Word *Anthems*) for Musick was one of the constant Attendants at their Feasts. This likewise was the manner of expressing their Mirth at Tidings of Victory, and the Triumphal Return of Generals and Captains: thus *Jephthah's Daugh-*

180 The Excellency and Perfection

ter came out to meet him with Timbrels, Judg. 11. 34. When David and Saul returned from the Slaughter of the Philistines, the Women came out of all Cities of Israel singing and dancing, to meet them, with Tabrets, with Joy, and with Instruments of Musick, 1 Sam. 18. 6. And 'tis added in the next Verse, The Women answered one another as they plaid: which is another Instance of *Alternate Singing*. This was the Custom at the Coronation of Kings, 2 Chron. 23. 13. All the People of the Land rejoiced, and sounded with Trumpets, also the Singers with Instruments of Musick. And at all other Seasons of Mirth this was the wonted Diversion and Entertainment. Yea, it was used on special Occasions to expel Melancholy, and to free Men of their Distempers both of Body and Mind: otherwise they would not have sought out a Man that was a cunning Player on a Harp, to allay the evil Spirit with which King Saul was troubled, 1 Sam. 16. 16. And we read how effectual this proved, ver. 23. It came to pass when the evil Spirit from God was upon Saul, that David took a Harp, and plaid with his Hand: so Saul was refreshed and was well, and the evil Spirit departed from him. So powerful and charming are the Chearful Aires of Musick. Conformably to which we find in Pagan Story that Diseases and Madnes have been cured by these: so that *Apollo* was deservedly made by the Antient Sages the God of *Medicks* as well as *Musick*. By which Fiction they acquaint us that this Art is *Medicinal* and *Healing*. This reminds me of what our Chronicles attest, that St. Bartholomew's Hospital was founded by a *Minstrel*. How congruously do the *Musical* and *Sanative* Art meet together? Who hath not heard of the strange and wonderful Virtue of Harmony? *Timotheus* did what he would

would with *Alexander* the Great by playing on his Harp: he had such a Command over him by those powerful Strokes, that he could make him Fight or Drink, hasten to War or Banquets as he pleas'd. And not only Men, but Brutes have been capable of this Charm: several wild Beasts are catch'd, and Birds are enticed to the Net with Musick. Nay we are told by the Poetick Tribe, that Senseless and Inanimate Creatures have felt the Force of it: which indeed is Roman-tick if you take it literally, but the intended Design of this Flourish was to express to us the Wonderful and Astonishing Virtue of this Delightful Art. Hence it is that the Noblest Minds have not disdained to be acquainted with it, the most serious Brains have been entertain'd and ravish'd with its agreeable Pleasures: so *Plutarch* reports of *Plato*; and concerning *Socrates* we are inform'd by another that even ' in his declining Years he was a Student and Practitioner in this Art. Lastly, Musick was made use of of old at *Funerals*, of which afterwards.

Again, *The Rise of Philosophy* (which is so useful to Mankind) and *the best Grounds of it* are learnt from this Divine Volume. Here we are told that *Natural Philosophy* was founded by *Adam*; for no less is comprehended in those words, *Gen. 2.19, 20.* *The Lord God brought every Beast of the Field, and every Fowl of the Air unto Adam, to see what he would call them: and whatsoever Adam call'd every living Creature, that was the Name thereof. And Adam gave Names to all Cattel, and to the Fowl of the Air, and to every Beast of the Field.* And 'tis reasonable to believe that he also gave Names to

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² *Socrates jam senex institui lyra non erubescerebat. Quintil.*

182 The Excellency and Perfection

Plants, Trees, Herbs, and all Celestial and Terrestrial Creatures. Now, it is not to be question'd that their *Names* were bestow'd upon them according to their particular Nature; for this Great *Nomenclator* was created perfect by God, and endued with the Knowledge of all natural and divine Things, and therefore in fixing certain Names on them, he thereby signified their peculiar natural Qualities. And that he really did so, is manifest from his giving a Name to his Female Companion; as soon as God brought her to him, he presently knew her by virtue of that excellent Instinct and Knowledge wherewith he was created, and said, *This is now Bone of my Bones, and Flesh of my Flesh: she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man*, Gen. 2. 23. We see here that the Name *Ishah* or *Woman* was impos'd according to the nature and condition of the Person: and can any Man of deliberate Thoughts imagine that the same was not done in the naming of the Inferior Creatures? No certainly; especially if we take notice of the *like* manner of expressing this and the other Imposition of Names: for as 'tis said here, *God brought the Woman to the Man*, v. 22. whereupon he gave her her Denomination, so in the foregoing place it is said, *God brought the Creatures unto Adam*, viz. in order to their receiving their Names from him. Nay, this very thing is particularly express'd in that forecited Text, which speaks of this Action of *Adam*, (tho Expositors are not pleas'd to take notice of it) *God brought them to Adam, to see what he would call them*. Where *to see* refers not to *God* (as generally Interpreters think) but to *Adam*. The Creatures were brought on purpose that he might see, i. e. that he might know by looking on them what their

their Nature was, and that accordingly he might know how to give Names to them. For it is not reasonable to think that this is spoken of *God*, as if he himself would *see* or *know*, &c. for this would argue imperfection in him, and would imply that he knew not at that time what they were to be called, or at least what *Adam* would call them. Therefore this Interpretation which I give of the Words is rather to be embraced than the other. We are acquainted here with the End and Purpose for which all Living Things were summon'd to appear before *Adam*, viz. that he might give them Names which denoted their Nature. Accordingly some of them that we meet with in Scripture give an Account of the Qualities they are endued with. And though it is true that some of them signify only their Outward and Visible Qualities, yet we are to remember that it was not easy to discover even These at the *first View* of the Creatures, and therefore Man's Sagacity was tried by it. And besides, the Primitive Significations of many Names (as all the Learned acknowledg) are lost, and by length of time are forgot; so that though some of these Words whereby Animals are express'd, seem not to set forth their Internal Nature and Disposition, yet we cannot thence peremptorily infer that they did not so at first, yea that they do not so now, though we do not comprehend it by reason of our being unacquainted with the Original Derivations of Words. I conclude then, that the Creatures were brought to *Adam* to give him an early Opportunity of exerting his Knowledg and Wisdom in fitly distinguishing the several sorts of Creatures by their particular Names: and accordingly, *whatever he call'd them, that was their Name*. Thus it is clear

that this *Nomenclatorship* of *Adam* is a certain Argument of the Insight which he had into the Natures of these Animals: and all the *Jewish Rabbins* and Commentators on the Place acknowledg as much. And thence is that Observation of *Plato*, that there is something extraordinary and Divine in the *Antient Names of things*: they arose from a more than humane Power, he saith. It is not to be doubted then that *Adam* was the *First Philosopher*, and laid the Foundation of all Philosophick Notions. Next to him I will mention *Moses*, who (as I have partly shew'd already, and shall more fully afterwards, when I present the Reader with a Particular Comment on the first Chapter of *Genesis*) was well skill'd in the true Principles of Nature, and perfectly understood the Right System of the World. It is said of this Great Man that he was learned in all the *Wisdom of the Egyptians*, Acts 7.22. which comprehends not only *Arithmetick*, *Geometry*, *Astronomy*, all Parts of *Mathematicks*, *Physicks*, of all which there are several remarkable Strictures in the *Pentateuch*, but *Moral Philosophy*, with which his Books are every-where fraught. *Solomon* also was a most profound Philosopher, as those Words in 1 *Kings* 4. 29, &c, amply testify, God gave *Solomon Wisdom and Understanding exceeding much*. His *Wisdom* excell'd the *Wisdom of all the Children of the East-Country*, and all the *Wisdom of Egypt*. He spake of *Trees*, from the *Cedar-tree* that is in *Lebanon*, even to the *Hyssop* that springeth out of the *Wall*: he spake also of *Beasts*, and of *Fowl*, and of *creeping things*, and of *Fishes*. And, as *Josephus* adds, "after the same manner he
"discours'd

“discours’d of All Terestrial Things: for he was
 “ignorant of no natural Things, he pass’d by none
 “of them unexamin’d, but philosophized con-
 “cerning every one of them, and fully discuss’d
 “the Properties and Nature of them. Thus he
 was certainly the Greatest *Natural Historian*
 that ever was: and his Book of *Proverbs*, and that
 which is entituled *Ecclesiastes*, abundantly inform us
 what skill he had in *Ethicks*, *Oeconomicks*, *Politicks*:
 so that we may justly stile him an *Universal Philo-*
sopher. Job’s skill in the choicest Parts of *Physicks*
 is evident from his excellent Discourses and Dis-
 quisitions concerning *Thunder*, the *Clouds*, the *Sea*,
Chap. 26. concerning *Minerals* and other *Fossiles*,
 and *Fountains*, *Chap. 28.* concerning *Rain*, *Va-*
pours, *Snow*, *Hail*, and other *Meteors*, *Chap. 37.*
 & 38. And several sorts of *Animals*, both wild
 and tame, with their chieftest Properties and Qua-
 lities, are discours’d of in Chapters 39, 40, 41.

And here I must insert this, that the Knowledg
 and Study of the *Bible* are absolutely necessary
 in order to the Study of *Natural Philosophy*. It is a
 very good Thought of an Ingenious Man, “The
 “Doctrine of the Scriptures, saith he, is to be
 “well imbibed before young Men be enter’d into
 “Natural Philosophy; because Matter being a
 “thing that all our Senses are constantly conver-
 “sant with, it is so apt to possess the Mind, and
 “exclude all other Beings but it self, that Preju-
 “dice grounded on such Principles often leaves no
 “room for the admittance of Spirits, or the allow-
 “ing any such things as immaterial Beings in the
 “nature of things. Which shews the necessity of
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186 *The Excellency and Perfection*

our conversing with the Inspired Writings, when we have abundant Proofs of the Existence and Operation of those Invisible Agents. No Book can so fully and demonstratively convince us of their Being and Power as the Holy Scriptures. And the grand Reason, in my Opinion, why so many reject the Notion of Spirits, and run into wild and extravagant Notions, which are the Consequent of it, is, because they are unacquainted with, and (which is more) dislike this Book, which is the Basis of all Natural Philosophy, in that we have here an irrefragable Demonstration of those Incorporeal Beings. Whence it follows that no Man can be a Good Naturalist, if he be a Stranger to the Holy Writings, much more if he slights and vilifies them. We shall perpetually fluctuate without an Adherence to these Infallible Records. The *Cartesian*, and indeed the whole *Corpuscularian Philosophy* depraves Mens Minds, unless it be temper'd by these. Nay, I may say, the Study of Nature, abstract from them, will lead us into Scepticism and Atheism: for many Substantial Notions as well as *Phænomena* are utterly unaccountable without Help from this Book. But this rectifies our Apprehensions, and gives us a true Account of the State of Things, and of the Government of the World, which is managed chiefly by Spiritual and Immaterial Substances. This salves the most surprizing Difficulties, by acquainting us with the Spring of the Generality of those Motions and Transactions which are observable in Natural Bodies. In short, this will season and qualify our Speculations concerning Nature and all its Operations: for when the Operations and Results of Matter are defective, here we are taught to have Recourse to a Higher Principle. Thus the Bible lays a Foundation for
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our Study of Philosophy, and is it self the Best Body of Philosophy, I mean on the foresaid Account, because it assures us of the Existence of Spirits, by whose Influence so many Works of Nature (and those of the greatest Importance in the World) are effected. This was known of old by the Name of the *Barbarick Philosophy*; and 'tis frequently call'd so by *Clement of Alexandria*; and both he and *Eusebius*, and some *Modern Writers*, have shew'd that the *Grecian Philosophy* was derived from this: Which indeed was the Confession of some Considerable Men among the Pagans; whence *Diogenes Laertius* tells us this was their Saying, *Philosophy had its Original from the Barbarians*, i. e. the *Hebrews*; which is as much as to say, that all the true Notions about God and Providence, and the Souls of Men, and other great Doctrines in Philosophy, are taken from the Jewish Writings, the Sacred and Inspired Scriptures.

In the next Place, the Antiquity of *Medicks*, *Chirurgery*, *Anatomy*, *Embalming*, is likewise discover'd here: For *Joseph commanded the Physicians to embalm his Father*, and the *Physicians embalmed Israel*, *Gen. 50. 2.* The Word here repeated is *Rophim*, and it is the proper Hebrew Word for Men skill'd in *Medicks*, and there is no other. Wherefore *Vatablus* and some others are mistaken, who fancy this Place is not meant of *Physicians* properly so called, because this Term is translated *ἐνταφιασά* by the *Septuagint*, and because they are bid to *embalm Jacob*. Whence they infer that they were not *Physicians* in the Sense that we use the Word in at this day, viz. for such as take care of sick and diseased

* *Stromat. l. 1. & 2.* * *Demonst. Evang.* * *Steuch. Eugub. de Perenni Philos. Theoph. Gale.* * *In Proœmio.*

diseased Persons, and endeavour by their Skill and Art to restore them to Health, but that they were only *Embalmers*, that is, that their sole Office and Employment was to take care of the dead Bodies, and to preserve them from putrifying. But this Misapprehension had its Rise from this, that they judged of Physicians and their Employments according to what they see now, according to the Practice of these Days, which no Man of due Consideration and unprejudiced Judgment ought to do. For of old the Physician was both Chirurgeon and Embalmer; yea, even in *Hippocrates's* time the Work of the Physician and Chirurgeon was not different, but the very same. In Antienter times, much more these, Professions were united, and were the Employment of the same Person. It is no wonder therefore that *Embalming* was annex'd to it, and constantly went along with it, for the Chirurgeon or Physician (call him which you will, or both) was the Man that had Skill to dissect Bodies in order to their Pollincture. He knew what Parts to take out, and how, being acquainted with the Situation of the Vessels: for Anatomy was first of all practis'd among the Egyptians, as we may gather from *Pliny* and others, who attest that the Egyptian Kings used it to find out the Cause and Cure of Diseases. By the *Egyptian Kings using it*, is meant undoubtedly their appointing and encouraging their *Physicians* to do it. These then knew how to handle the Anatomick Knife: And moreover, these Persons were skilful in Drugs, Balsams, Ointments, Aromaticks, and the Materials that were fittest for that Business of Embalming: wherefore this was their proper Work. As living Bodies

² Nat. Hist. l. 19. c. 3.

Bodies were their Care, so were the dead ones; and what they could not cure, they dress'd up for the Tomb: those whom they could not keep alive, they artificially preserv'd when dead. Thus it was heretofore, and thus particularly it was with the *Physicians* of *Egypt*, of whom this Text speaks, and who are the first of the Faculty that are mention'd in Sacred History. And with this agree the Records of the Antientest Historians among the Pagans. *Diodorus* of *Sicily* relates that the first Invention of Medicines was from the Egyptians, and particularly that some of them said that *Mercurius*, others that *Apis* a King of *Egypt* was the first Inventer of Physick. *Herodotus* observes that the Egyptians had more Experiments in Natural Philosophy, and chiefly in Medicks, than any other Nation whatsoever. *Strabo* testifies that they were hugely addicted to this Art, and reckon'd it among their Sacred Mysteries: Which is confirmed by what *Pliny* saith, that they used to deposite and keep their choice Experiments of Physick in their Temples. To be brief, *Anatomy*, *Chirurgery* and *Embalming*, met together in these Antient Artists. This was the triple Office and Work of the *Rophim*, the *Physicians*, besides the more general Work of *Curing* the Diseased. From what *Job* saith concerning those that pretended to comfort him, we may collect that there were some of this Profession among the Old *Arabians*; for otherwise he would not have compared them to Persons of this Character, *Ye are all Physicians*, saith he, *of no Value*, *Job* 13. 4. Ye deal with me just as unskilful Men in that Faculty do with their Patients, just as sorry Quacks and Empiricks do with the Diseased: they under-

290 *The Excellency and Perfection*

understand not their Malady, and so make false Applications; their Medicines are good perhaps, (as your Counsel and Advice to me are in themselves) but they administer them in a wrong manner, and without any regard to the Constitution, present Temper and Circumstances of those they have to do with. Thus you deal with me, and therefore are so far from curing my Distemper, that you enrage it, and make it much worse. This Language is founded upon a Supposal of the Profession of *Medicks* in that Country.

That there were such among the *Jews*, may be gathered from *Exod. 12. 19. He that smites and wounds a Man shall cause him to be thoroughly healed, viz. by one who professedly took care of the Wounded, for so the Chaldee Paraphrast renders that Place, He shall pay the Physician.* But that there was such an Order of Men among the *Jews*, we are in more exprefs and positive Words assured from *2 Chron. 16. 12. King Asa in his Disease sought not to the Lord, but to the Physicians.* And it may be some of his Ancestors had been Medically disposed, and were Students in this Art, whence they had their Name, for *Asa* is the Chaldee Word for *Medicus*; and perhaps for this Reason this King had the greater Esteem of those who were skill'd in Medicinal Arts, and therefore put Confidence in them so as to neglect to apply himself to God the Sovereign Author and Giver of Health. And from those Words in *Jer. 8. 22. Is there no Balm in Gilead? is there no Physician there?* it is manifest that there were Medicaments and Proper Persons to apply them, for else the Prophet could not by this Language set forth the incurable and deplorable State of the *Jews* at that time. This way of speaking implies that they had in that Country, in

Gilead

Gilead especially, such healing *Balsams* as they were wont to close up Wounds with, and that there were *Physicians* or *Chirurgions*, (for the Word signifies both, and in this Place is to be taken in the latter Meaning) Artists that knew how to apply the Balsam with Skill. This also is implied and supposed in *Lam. 2. 13. Who can heal thee?* or according to the Chaldee, *Who is the Physician [Afa] that can cure thee?* And when we read of the *Art of the Apothecary*, and his *Confections* and *Ointments*, *Exod. 30. 25, 35.* we are to conceive of these as having some Reference to *Medicks*. The *Holy Anointing Oil* for the Use of the Tabernacle is appointed to be made according to *Magnasheh rocheach*, טִיחַת מִשְׁחֵי רֹכֶעַח, (so the LXX, and the Vulgar Latin renders it *opus unguentarii*) the professed Art and Skill of the Maker of Odoriferous Ointments. Now this is the Man we are speaking of, viz. the *Physician* or *Apothecary*, (which is the same, for they made up all their Medicaments themselves heretofore) whose Business it was to make Artificial Unguents, Sweet Oils and Perfumes, for Health no less than Delight. This is *Rocheach*, φαρμακοποιός, μωροπόλις, *Unguentarius*, *Aromatarius*, and by our English Translators not unfitly rendred *Apothecary*, not only here but in *Eccles. 10. 1.* where from the mentioning of *Shemen Rocheach*, *Unguentum Pharmacopolæ*, (as the Tigurine Version hath it rightly) we are certified concerning the antient Use of *Aromatick Compositions* and *Confections*, which were made use of for the promoting of the bodily Welfare. They were thought by Persons of those early times to be both Sanative and Cosmetick. On both which Considerations they belong to the *Physicians*, whose Task it is to take care not only of the Health, but the Beauty, Cleanliness

192 *The Excellency and Perfection*

ness and Comely Plight of the Body ; in order to the latter of which *Smegmaticks*, *Mundifiers*, *Cleansers*, *Adorners*, are useful. Thus you see how large the *Physician's* Province was in those first times : he was not only all that was said before, but he was moreover an *Anointer*, a *Perfumer*, a *Beautifier* ; the Knowledge of all which we derive from the Sacred Fountains.

Something, though not much, we have derived to us from the Scriptures concerning the early Beginnings of *Navigation* and *Shipping*. God himself instructed *Noah* to make the *Ark*, the first Vessel we read of that swam on the Waters, *Gen. 7. 1.* and it is not to be doubted but that God directed him to steer it aright, and that He from that Knowledge and Practice which he had in managing it so long a time, whilst the whole World was Sea, was able to instruct others in the *Mariner's Art*. It is true we read that *Noah* was ' *shut up* in the *Ark* as in a Prison, but it is probable that this was not all the time the *Ark* was riding on the Waters. When these began to decrease, the happy Prisoner look'd abroad, and was taught how to direct his Course, and to bring his Vessel to Land, even to the particular Place where it rested : and no Man is able to prove that he was not furnish'd with Sails, or Oars, or Rudder to that purpose, and that he did not make use of them as soon as the *Window of the Ark* was opened, *Gen. 8. 6.* and the *Covering of it removed*, ver. 13. Hence arose the first Knowledge of *Navigation*, which is of so great Use in the Life of Man, and so necessary for Commerce and Traffick. Before this time there was no Use of Boats or Ships ; otherwise the Men of that Age

Age would have been sensible of *Noah's* Design when they saw him build the Ark, and would have suspected their own Danger, and they would have attempted to build one for their own Preservation: but our Saviour tells us, that *they knew not until the Flood came, and took them all away*, Mat. 24. 39. which shews that Shipping had not been practised before. Yea, even among the *Egyptians* many hundred Years afterwards, they were content to sail on the Red Sea and the River Nile in *Vessels of Bulrushes*, Isa. 18. 2. To which Profane Writers bear Testimony, as *Herodotus*, who expressly affirms that 'the Egyptians made their Ships of Reeds and Flags. And ' *Strabo*, ' *Pliny*, ' *Theophrast*, certify that these Rush-Boats or Paper-Vessels were used frequently by them and their Neighbours of *Ethiopia*. And from that forecited Verse in *Lucan*, it appears that the Egyptian Boats were composed of the *Papyrus*. Afterwards they and others advanc'd a little higher, and made their Marine Vessels of *Barks of Trees*: which very Name is still retain'd among us and the French, who call a little Ship or Hoy a *Bark* or *Barque*. But to proceed; Next to *Noah*, *Zebulon*, i. e. some of that Tribe, may be accounted the first Founders of Shipping and sailors, who are mention'd to that purpose in the Patriarch *Jacob's* Benedictions, Gen. 49. 13. about six hundred Years after the Flood; the Maritime Situation of this Tribe (which was seated near the *Sea of Galilee*, and reached even to the *Great Sea*, the *Mediterranean*, which was noted for Ports and Havens; besides, that it was near to *Tyre* and *Sidon*, famed for Shipping) promoting this very

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thing.

' Lib. 2. ' Lib. 17. ' Lib. 5. c. 9. l. 6. c. 22. l. 13. c. 11.
' Lib. 4. c. 9.

194. *The Excellency and Perfection*

thing. So *Dan* was seated on the Western Part of *Palestine* near the Mediterranean, and so traffick'd by *Ships*, Judg. 5. 17. Afterwards the Naval Art increased, and arrived to a great Height in King *Solomon's* Days, who made a Navy of *Ships*, 1 Kings 9. 26. and was therein much help'd by *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, who sent him Shipmen that had Knowledge of the Sea, ver. 27. that were expert Navigators. And indeed among the Pagan Historians and Poets the *Tyrians* are said to be Eminent in Sea-Affairs, yea the first that ventured to Sea. *Albertus Magnus* thinks that the Use of the Load-stone in sailing was known to these *Tyrians* of old; and a Learned Writer of our own is of the same Perswasion. But it may be deservedly question'd whether they had in *Solomon's* time attain'd to this Knowledge. I have met with no Certain Proof of this Magnetick Invention in those Days: therefore I am forward to believe that when 'tis said King *Solomon's* Navy made a Voyage to *Ophir*, 1 Kings 9. 28. neither of the *Indies* are meant, but (as was suggested before) some Place in *Africk* that was at a considerable Distance from *Ezion-geber*, the Port (on the Shore of the *Red Sea* next to *Palestine*) whence that Navy set out, and therefore they made a Long Voyage of it in those Days (though it was not a three Years Voyage, as is generally thought, but was every three Years, for so once in three Years, 1 Kings 20. 22. ought to be interpreted) when their Naval Skill was but mean, and they generally coasted along the Shoar. Hither they might make a shift to reach without the Help of the *Compass*: but it is unreasonable and extravagant to think that they sail'd to the *East* or *West Indies* if they were wholly destitute

destitute of that Skill. But as for the *Mediterranean*, they tolerably knew it, and I question whether they knew any other Sea properly so stiled, for this is call'd *the Sea* emphatically, *Psal.* 80. 11. and *the Great Sea*, *Numb.* 34. 6. *Josh.* 1. 4. Nay, it is observable that it is call'd *the Utmost Sea*, *Deut.* 11. 24. & 34. 2. which we may understand of its being not only the farthest Boundary of the Land of *Canaan* on the West, but also of its being the farthest Sea that they had any notice of: Whereas if they had been acquainted with the Wide Ocean, the *Main Sea* through which they must necessarily pass to those remoter Parts of the World, the *Midland Sea* would not have been by way of Eminence called *the Sea*, yea *the Great Sea*, much less the *Utmost Sea*. But though it was but a small River in comparison of the Vast Ocean, it was a *Great Sea* in respect of the *Dead Sea*, *the Sea of Galilee* or *Genesareth*, and other such like Lakes which they were acquainted with, and which they improperly call'd *Seas*. Again, *Africk* seems to be the Place rather than any other to which *Solomon's* Navy was sent for *Gold*, there being several Regions here (as is confess'd by all) that abound with that Choice Metal. These Reasons (besides those offer'd in a former part of this Discourse, where I treated of the *First Plantations*) prevail with me to believe that the Royal Fleet before mention'd sail'd no further than the Coasts of *Africk*.

And I crave leave here to propose this Conjecture, viz. that *Africk* is meant by *Ophir*, to which that Fleet went. I offer it to the Learned to be consider'd whether there be not an exceeding great Affinity between אֹפִיר *Ophir* and אֶפֶר *Apher*, (for so this latter was antiently written, and 'tis known that *f* and *ph* are frequently convertible) or be-

196 The Excellency and Perfection

tween אֹפִיר and *Apbrica*; for the former, you see, is written with an *Aleph*, and so was perhaps antiently read *Apbira*: And that the Letter *c* is inserted into the Latin Word is not to be wondered at, for nothing is more ordinary than the Insertion of a Letter or two, especially when Words are transferred out of one Language into another, as I could shew in abundant Instances. Besides, this Derivation of the Word is the more to be attended to, because the Common Etymologies that are given of *Africa* are very sorry and groundless. Wherefore though I have formerly asserted that *Ophir* is not mention'd by Geographers, (which is very true, if we speak of the Place under that formal Name) yet upon Search I verily believe it to be the same which hath been since call'd *Africa*, from *Auphir*, which is the *Arabick* Pronuntiation of *Ophir*. Before I quit this Particular, I desire it may be observed that it stands upon Record in *1 Kings* 9. 26. that King *Solomon's* Ships (the first Navy that we read of) were built on the Shore of the Red Sea in the Land of Edom, and thence launched and sent forth on their Voyage: whereon I guess is founded that of an Antient Writer, that the *Erythraei* (who are the same with the Inhabitants of the Land of Edom; for *Edom* or *Esau*, and *Erythraeus*, are the same; and the Red Sea, which is known by the Name of *Erythraeum*, is denominated from him) were the first that invented Shipping. And I appeal to any judicious Man, whether this might not give occasion to that

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Οἱ πρῶτοι νηῶν ἐπιρῆσαντο θαλάσσην,
Πρῶτοι δ' ἐμπειὺς ἀλιδίνῃ ἐμνήσαντο.

Dionys. Alexandr.

confused Passage in *Pliny*, viz. that the antient Shipping was first brought out of *Egypt*, and that formerly slight Ships or Boats were made use of, which were invented in the *Red Sea*, among the *Isles*, by King *Erythras*. It is plain that *Egypt* and the *Red Sea*, and *Erythras*, have relation here to the *Infallible Records*, which tell us, that the Place of the first setting forth of any Considerable Ships was on the Coast of *Egypt*, in the *Red Sea* or *Arabian Gulf*, and in that Part of it that belong'd to *Edom* or *Erythras*. Lastly, I offer it to be examin'd, whether the Report among the Heathens, that the first Ship that ever was, went to a Country in the *Euxine Sea*, to fetch thence the *Golden Fleece*, be not grounded on this part of the Sacred History, viz. that the first Shipping of any Note was this of *Solomon*, which went through the *Mediterranean*, of which the *Euxine Sea* is a Part or Arm, (and might be mistaken for the whole) to bring Gold from *Ophir*: And the Ship might justly be call'd *Argos*, because it sail'd so slowly. This is not unlikely, if we remember how the Poets are wont to corrupt and mangle True History, and to affix New Names to Persons and Things: Besides, there is no very great Difference as to the *Chronology* of both these Expeditions.

It is probable that *Astronomy* also was the Invention of those first Ages, (and was useful in both those which I last mention'd, *Physick* and *Navigation*) the *Patriarchs* and other worthy Enquirers (of whom the Scriptures speak) living in those

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¹ Navem primus ex *Egypto* in *Græciam* *Danaus* invexit: ante raribus navigabatur, inventis in mari rubro, inter insulas, à rege *Erythrâ*. Lib. 7. c. 56. ² Stat. *Achill.* 1. *Sil. Ital.* *Punic.* l. 11. *Manil. Astronom.* l. 1.

Eastern Countries where the Sky was Serene, and where upon high Mountains they had a peculiar Advantage of acquainting themselves with the Stars, and studying their Motions, Aspects and Influences. Accordingly ¹ *Josephus* relates that *Seth*, an Antediluvian Patriarch, was skill'd in this Celestial Art, and that his Pillars recorded the Doctrine of the Stars and Rules of Astronomy. And *Abraham* was well skill'd in this Science, saith that ² same Writer, and was Publick Professor of it. The Kings of the East and West came to learn this Art of him, saith *Rabbi Solomon*. And the Talmudists quoted by ³ *Buxtorf* would perswade us that he had extraordinary Skill in the Stars. Which is intimated perhaps in what God said to *Abraham*, Gen. 15. 5. *Look now towards Heaven, and tell the Stars, &c.* and in what he assured him of in other Places, viz. that he would multiply his Seed as the Stars of Heaven, Gen. 22. 17. & 26. 4. Which manner of Speech and Repeating it were, it may be, occasion'd by this Holy Man's frequent Contemplating those Heavenly Bodies, and enquiring into their Nature and Operations. But because there is no clear ground for this, I dismiss it. Only this may be said, that *Astronomy*, like the Sun the chief Subject of it, had its Rise in the East: all Authors agree that it was first known and practis'd in *Chaldea*, whence a *Chaldean* and an *Astrologer* were Terms convertible: and it is certain that the Patriarch *Abraham* was of that Country, and was eminently stiled by the Greeks $\delta\ \chi\alpha\lambda\delta\alpha\iota\tau\eta\varsigma$, and was known and distinguish'd by that Name. But that *Job* (a famous *Arabian*, and who lived, as 'tis thought, by some,

¹ Ant. 1. Jud. l. 1. c. 3. ² Cap. 8. 9. ³ Lex. Chald. p. 136.

some, not long after *Abraham's* time) was Astro-
nominically disposed, is very clear from his univer-
sal Skill in all Points of Natural Philosophy, which
his Book is full of, and particularly from his men-
tioning of *Arcturus*, *Orion* and *Pleiades*, and the
Chambers of the South, Chap. 9. v. 9. and from other
Passages in 26 and 28 Chapters relating to the *Sun*
and *Stars*, to the *Heavens* and their wonderful O-
perations and Influences. Judiciary Astrology,
i. e. foretelling Futurities by insight into the Hea-
venly Bodies, was pretended to of old, as appears
from the frequent Caveats against it, *Deut.* 18. 10,
11. *Jer.* 10. 2. & 27. 9. *Mic.* 5. 12. The Chal-
dean Professors of this Art are particularly menti-
on'd in *Isa.* 47. 13. where they are stiled *Choberim*
Hafhamajim, Viewers of the Heavens, *Chozim* *Bacho-*
cabim, Star-gazers. To this belong the *Teraphim*,
Gen. 31. 19. and in other Places, i. e. Images and
Consignations made according to the certain Positi-
on of such and such Constellations, whereby they
divined concerning future Events. Thus we see
the beginning of False and Counterfeit Arts as well
as True Ones, may be learnt from this Holy Book.

I will not enlarge here upon *Picture* or *Pour-*
traiture, strictly so called, i. e. the representing
and drawing of things with Exactness and Life in
diverse Colours, of which there are notable In-
stances in *Jer.* 22. 14. *Ezek.* 8. 10. & 23. 14. nor
will I speak of *Embroidery*, *Exod.* 26. 1. & 28. 4.
Ezek. 16. 10. & 27. 7. nor of all manner of *Cun-*
ning Work so often mention'd in *Exodus*, for which
Aboliab and *Bezaleel* were so famous, and on which
several Critical Remarks might be made. But I
will proceed to some other things.

Among the First Arts and Inventions, we may
reckon Skill in Arms and Warlike Feats: the first

Instances whereof are registred in sacred Story. *Josephus* thinks that *Tubal*, who was an *Instructor of every Artificer in Brass and Iron*, was the first Inventor of Arms and Military Weapons, they being made of those Metals. A late ¹ Writer was forgetful of this when he said, *There were not of old any Instruments that belonged to War*. And how could there be indeed, when he asserts that there were no Metals in the Earth before the Flood? Which is precariously said, and hath no Foundation at all to support it; yea, it is quite contrary to the express Testimony of Scripture, which assures us that there were *Brass and Iron* in those Days. It is not then wholly improbable that *Weapons of War* were framed of these, and that the People of those times went forth to Battel, though in the whole History from *Adam* to *Noah* there is no mention of their Wars. Neither is there of some other things, which yet we cannot but suppose to have been, notwithstanding *Moses* is silent concerning them. If we consider what are the great Incentives to *War*, viz. Lust and Passion, we have no reason to disbelieve that there were Wars from the beginning, tho they are not mention'd. It is likely they were but rare then, partly because they had not found out such expedite ways of managing their Feuds as have been since, and partly because the Numbers of Men were not so great as afterwards: the Earth could better hold them at that time than now, and consequently they had not occasion to quarrel about their Territories, and to strive how they should enlarge their Dominions. However, Hatred, Malice and desire of Revenge might push them on to fall out one with another, and to proceed to

Acts

¹ Dr. Burnet Theor. Tellur.

Acts of Hostility, and to bring Forces on either side into the Field to decide the Quarrel in Battel. But I grant there is no certainty of this, there is nothing expressly deliver'd concerning any Warlike Enterprizes before the Deluge. The first that we read of after it, is the Battel of *four Kings against five*, four of *Assyria* and the adjoining Parts, against five of *Sodom* and the neighbouring Parts of *Palestine*, Gen. 14. 1, 2. &c. And presently after this was the Military Expedition of *Abraham* and his *armed trained Servants*, v. 14. whom he had instructed in Martial Affairs. This is the first *War* or *Battel* that we read of in the Sacred History, and is thought to have been about *A. M.* 2030. It is certainly the first that is to be read of in the World; for the *Theban War*, the most antient that either Historians or Poets among the Gentiles write of, was about six hundred Years after this: and the *Trojan War*, that famous Expedition which Prophane Writers talk so much of, and is one of the antientest Subjects of Humane History, was not till *A. M.* 2760. or thereabouts. Afterwards we read in the Sacred Writings of the Wars of the *Jews* before and after their coming into *Canaan*; which were as remarkable as those of the *Old Romans*, and much more just and lawful: they were indeed generally *Holy Wars*, and Battels of the *Lord of Hosts*. In *Leviticus* and *Numbers* we read of their *Laws of Arms*, and *Councils of War*, and in 'other places of their *Military Stratagems*: and all along we are told what were the *Martial Preparations* not only of that Nation, but those they fought with.

From this Antient Register we are particularly inform'd what were the *Warlike Weapons* of old, both

¹ Jos. 8. 4. Judg. 7. 16. & 20. 38. 2 Sam. 5. 24.

202 *The Excellency and Perfection*

both the *ὑλαιντήρια* and *ἄμυντήρια*, as the Greeks distinguish'd them, 'those that were to defend the Persons that wore them, and those that were to incommode and hurt the Enemy. Of the former sort were first a *Helmet* [*Cobang*] * to cover and defend the Head. This was part of the Military Provision which that warlike King *Uzziah* prepar'd for his vast Army, 2 *Chron.* 26. 14. And we read before this, that part of *Saul's* Armour was an *Helmet of Brass*, 1 *Sam.* 17. 38. It was used by the *Philistines*, as appears from 1 *Sam.* 17. 5. *Goliath* had a *Helmet of Brass* upon his Head. And this Martial Cap for the Head was worn by the *Persians* and *Ethiopians* when they fought, *Ezek.* 38. 5. Another Defensive Piece of Armour used in those early times, was a *Breast-plate* or *Corset*, Heb. *Shirjon*, by the LXX rendered *ὄσπερ*, and by the Vulgar Latin *Lorica*. *Goliath* was accoutred with this warlike Defence, 1 *Sam.* 17. 5. which we translate here a *Coat of Mail*. This is mention'd among the *Jewish* Armoury, 2 *Chron.* 26. 14. and is english'd an *Habergeon*. This was part of King *Saul's* warlike Furniture, 1 *Sam.* 17. 38. and is translated, as before in that Chapter, a *Coat of Mail*. Between the Joints of this *Harness* (for so we english it, 1 *Kings* 22. 34.) King *Abah* was casually struck with a Dart. To this Species of Armour the Prophet alludes, *Isa.* 59. 17. where the same Hebrew Word is used that is in the fore-mention'd Texts, but is here rendered a *Breast-Plate*. And in *Jer.* 46. 4. a *Brigandine* is our English Word for it. So that according to what may be gather'd from this various rendring of it, it seems

* Alia ad tegendum, alia ad nocendum. Cic. pro Cæcio.
 ὁπλισματάρια (as the Seventy render it.)

seems to me to answer to the *Cuirasse* or *Corset-Armour* both for *Back* and *Breast*. It is likely that it was chiefly designed to defend this *Latter*, and thence had its Denomination. But some had it made so long as to come over all their other Clothes: which is the reason why in some Places (as you see) it is otherwise translated.

Again, a *Shield*, to defend the whole Body in time of Battel, and to keep off the Enemies Insults, which was either *Tsinnab* the great Shield or Buckler, or *Magen* the lesser kind of this Weapon, was of great Service of Old. It was used by the *Babylonians*, *Chaldeans* and *Assyrians*, Ezek. 23. 24. and by the *Egyptians*, Jer. 46. 3. in both which Places the two Hebrew Words aforesaid are made use of. It was frequent among the *Jews* in their Wars, as is manifest from 2 *Sam.* 1. 21. and many other Places which are well known. Hence *David*, a Great Warriour, so often mentions *Shield* and *Buckler* in his Divine Poems, to set forth that Defence and Protection of Heaven which he expected, which he experienced, and which he wholly trusted in. And when he saith, God will with Favour compass the Righteous as with a Shield, Psal. 5. 12. he seems to allude to the Use of the Great Shield, *Tsinnab*, (which is the Word he uses) wherewith they were wont to cover and defend their whole Bodies. King *Solomon* caus'd those two different Sorts of Shields (the *Tsinnab* which answers to *Clypeus* among the Latins, such a Large Shield as the Infantry wore, and the *Maginnim*, *scuta*, used by the Horse-men, which were of far less Size) to be made, 2 *Chron.* 9. 15, 16. The former of these are here translated *Targets*, and are double in weight to the other. The *Philistines* came into the Field with this Defensive Weapon: so we find their Formidable

dable Champion was appointed, 1 Sam. 17. 7. *One bearing a Shield went before him*, one whose proper Office it was to carry this and some other Weapons, wherewith he was to furnish his Master upon Occasion. It seems this was an Office among the *Jews* as well as *Philistines*; for we read that *David*, when he was first call'd to Court, was made King *Saul's Armour-bearer*, 1 Sam. 16. 21. And there is mention made of *the young Man that bore Jonathan's Armour*, 1 Sam. 14. 1. By the Grecians this Officer was call'd ὑπασπιστής, ὑπασπιστής and ἀσπίδοφορος; and by the Latins (as *Plautus* and *Virgil* testify) *Armiger*. The very same with כְּלִי נֶשֶׁא ferens arma, in the Places above cited. But the bearing of the Shield was the most considerable Piece of Service, and was reputed most Honourable. The Longobards call'd this Military Attendant (as our *Great Antiquary* acquaints us) *Schilpor*, i. e. a *Shield-bearer*: and *Scutifer*, *Escuier*, *Esquire*, became a fix'd Title of Honour; and *Escuage* a particular *Tenure* or *Service*. The Original of it we see in the Example before us, the *Great Philistian Warriour* was waited upon into the Field by his Military Squire, *one bearing a Shield*. And besides this *Tsinab*, this Great Massy Shield, he was furnish'd with a lesser One, which is not express'd by one of the foremention'd Words, but is call'd *Cidon*, which we render a *Target*, v. 6. and a *Shield*, v. 45. and was of a different Nature from the common Shields, and (as I conceive) was not only to hold in his Hand when he had occasion to use it, but could also conveniently at other times be

¹ In Casimâ.
Rout.

² Æncid. 9.

³ Mr. Selden's *Titles of Honour*.

be hung about his Neck, and turn'd behind: wherefore 'tis added that *it was between his Shoulders*, v. 6. So I understand those Words, and truly I think it is a more genuine and unforced Interpretation of them, than what is usually given by the Jewish Writers, and some others. And this *Target* (as well as his *Helmiet*, and some other Pieces of his Armour, of which anon) *was of Brass*, which was the usual *Metal* of which their Arms were made in those Days, and in the Times following, as *Homer* and *Virgil* testify, who mention *Helmets*, *Shields*, *Swords*, *Spears* of *Brass*. This is evident from *Hesiod*, and *Alcæus* an old Poet quoted by *Athenæus*. The like we learn from *Statius* in several Places. The Arms of the *Massagetae*, saith *Herodotus*, were of this Composure. *Lucretius*, speaking of the first Weapons that were used in War, tells us that they were of *Brass*, and afterwards of *Iron*,

Et prior æris erat quam ferri cognitus usus.

Lastly, the *Greek* and *Roman* Warriours, and all Nations used this serviceable Weapon, to fence off the Blows of their Adversaries, and particularly to repulse their Arrows. The *Grecians* especially affected a very large sort of Shields, which we may gather from the Description of them in the Poets, and from what the *Lacedemonian* Women, when they sent their Sons into the Wars, used to say to them at parting, ἢ σὺν τῷ τῷ, ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ τῷ, either return back with this Piece of Armour, or be carried to the Grave upon it. It seems by this that they were so broad and capacious, that they might serve

206 *The Excellency and Perfection*

serve them for *Biers*, or *Open Coffins*. It was infinitely opprobrious among these *Greek Warriors* to lose this Weapon in Fight, insomuch that *Phararch* relates that the *Lacedemonians* banish'd *Ambiculus* his Country, because he had said and written that it was better for a Man to throw away his Shield than himself, *i.e.* to perish in Battel. And from what the same Author saith of *Epimanondas*, that he asked when he was dying whether his Shield was safe, we may infer that nothing was so dear to them as this one Piece of Armour. And I can prove that it was thus among the *Eastern*, and particularly the *Jewish Warriors*: the loss of this Weapon was excessively resented, as well as condoled by them. If you ask me on what I ground this, I answer, on 2 *Sam.* 1. 21. where it is a signal Ingredient of the Publick Mourning, that the *Shield of the Mighty was vilely cast away*. I apprehend this to be the meaning of the Words; *David* a Man of Arms, who composed his Funeral-Song, was sensible how disgraceful a Thing it was for Souldiers to quit their Shields in the Field: yet this was the sad and deplorable Case of the *Jewish Souldiery* in that unhappy Engagement with the *Philistines*, they fled away (1 *Sam.* 31. 7.) and left their Shields behind them: this vile and dishonorable casting away of that principal Armour is the deserved Subject of this Lofty Poet's Lamentation. I propound this Interpretation (or Conjecture, if you will call it so) as preferable to any that I have met with.

And farther, it may be useful to observe that their Shields were wont to be oiled, scoured and polish'd, as indeed it was the Custom to use the like Care towards their other Armour, as may be gather'd from *furbishing the Spears*, *Jer.* 46. 4. and making

making bright the Arrows, Jer. 51. 11. But more especially their Shields (which were Weapons that they so highly valued and took a kind of Pride in, and on which they generally engraved their Names and Warlike Deeds, if they had atchieved any; whereas those that had none of these, were call'd Blank Shields, and were thought to be disgraceful, according to that of Virgil, ——— *Parmâque inglorius alba*.) these Weapons, I say, were carefully polish'd with Oil, and made exceeding Bright. Whence two Places of Scripture may receive some Light: the former occurs in the Chapter before cited, where 'tis said, the Shield of the Adigbty is vilely cast away, the Shield of Saul, as if it had not been anointed with Oil: for so I render that latter Clause, referring it to the Shield, and not to Saul; and the Hebrew Text bears this Version best. The meaning then is, the Shields were cast away and trod under Foot as if they had not been made bright with Oil, as if there had not been that care taken about them. And that other Passage, Isa. 21. 5. Anoint the Shield, is a plain Reference to this antient Custom of polishing their Shields with Oil: and therefore the Import of these Words is this, Furbish and make ready that Weapon, and prepare for Battel. I could also observe that as they anointed their Shields to give them a Brightness and Lustre, (for Glittering Arms were in great esteem among Warriours) so they cover'd them with a Case when they used them not, to preserve them from being rusty and soil'd: thence you read of uncovering the Shield, Isa. 22. 6. which signifies preparing for War, and having that Weapon especially in readiness.

Another Defensive Provision in War was the Military Girdle; which was for a double End, first in

208 *The Excellency and Perfection*

in order to the wearing the Sword, for this hung (as it doth at this Day) at the Souldier's Girdle or Belt. Secondly, it was requisite to gird their Clothes and Armour together: thus *David girded his Sword upon his Armour*, 1 Sam. 17. 39. This the Sacred Writings take some notice of, as an Antient Accoutrement of Military Men: for this is meant, it is probable, in *Exod.* 13. 18. *Jos.* 1. 14. *Judg.* 7. 11. where according to the Hebrew Idiom, Souldiers and Armed Men are call'd *Chamushim*, *accincti*, *girded*. These *ἐνζυγοί*, as the Seventy render it, are *Armati* according to the *Vulgar Latin* Interpreter, and *harnessed*, *armed* according to our *English* Translators: for the Souldier's Girdle was a principal Part of his Arms. So it was among the Old *Latins*, *Cincti* and *Accincti*, were as much as *Armati*, and among the *Greeks* (as *Sudas* lets us know) *ζώνουσαι* is the same with *ἐκποπλίζουσαι*, because Souldiers unless they were girt could not wear a Sword. But to confine our selves to the Scripture, here to *Gird* and to *Arm* are synonymous, 1 *Kings* 20. 11. *Isa.* 8. 9. And in 2 *Kings* 3. 21. those that were able to put on Armour, are, according to the *Hebrew* and *Septuagint*, girt with a Girdle. Hence *girding to the Battel*, 2 *Sam.* 22. 40. *Psal.* 18. 39. And there is express mention of this *Warlike Girdle* in 1 *Sam.* 18. 4. where 'tis recorded that *Jonathan*, to assure *David* of his entire Love and Friendship by some visible Pledges, *stript himself* not only of his usual Garments, but of his Military Habiliments, viz. his *Sword*, *Bow* and *Girdle*, and gave them to *David*. From the joining of these together, it is plain that *Chagor* here is the *Sword-Girdle* or *Military Belt*, wherewith they not only girt on their Swords, but made their Clothes and Armour sit close and fast about them.

Boots

Boots were part of their Defensive Harness of Old, because it was the Custom to cast certain Obstacles, ἐμπόδια, *Impediments* (so call'd because they did hurt and entangle the Feet) afterwards known by the Name of *Gall-traps* (which since in *Heraldry* are corruptly stiled *Caltrops*) in the Way before the Enemy. The ὑπόδησις πολεμικὴ (as ' *Strabo* calls it) the *Military Boot* or *Shoe* was therefore necessary to guard the Legs and Feet from these Iron Stakes placed in the Way to gall and wound them. This gives an Account of *Goliath's Greaves of Brass upon his Legs*, 1 Sam. 17. 6. which were his warlike Fence against any Mischiefe design'd to those Parts of his Body. These κνήμυδες (for so the LXX render them) were of the same Nature with those mention'd by the Prince of the Gentile Poets, and from which the Grecian Souldiers had the Epithet of εὐκνήμυδες. Yea their *Boots*, their *Martial Gambadoes* were sometimes of *Brass*, as *Goliath's* were; whence χαλκοκνήμυδες in the fore-mention'd Poet, whereby are signified not only those Grecian Souldiers that were clad in Brass Boots, but Synecdochically those that had Brass Arms, which was the old Grecian Fashion in War: but the first Tidings of this sort of Armour we have in the Sacred Records of the Bible.

And not only *Defensive* but *Offensive Weapons* are mention'd here: and these are either such as they made use of when they came to a close Engagement, or when they were at a Distance. Of the former Sort were the *Sword* (*Chereb*) and *Battel-Ax* (*Mapheng.*) The first of these is the antientest Piece of Armour that we read of (except the *Bow*, of which afterwards.) In *Gen.* 34. 25.

P

we

¹ Geogr. l. 10.

² Κνήμυδες μὲν πολεμικαί, &c. ll. λ.

210 The Excellency and Perfection

we find it was treacherously handled by Jacob's Sons when they invaded the Shechemites: To which refers *Gen.* 49. 5. and is rendred by some Learned Jews thus, *Instruments of Violence are their Swords, Mecheroth* (for that is the Word here) the Plural of *Mecherah, Gladius*, whence μάχαιρα and *Machara*. And in *Exod.* 32. 27. we find it was used by the *Israelites* in the *Wilderness*. If it be ask'd how they furnish'd themselves with this and other Weapons in that Place, seeing (as 'tis generally said) they left *Egypt* without taking any Arms with them, we need not answer (as some do) that the great Winds and Tide upon the return of the *Red Sea* beat the Egyptians Arms upon the Shore where the *Israelites* had pitch'd their Tents; for this is more than we can prove. And so indeed is their Supposal that the *Israelites* came unarmed out of *Egypt*, for the contrary is plainly asserted in *Exod.* 13. 18. *The Children of Israel went up barnassed* (*Chamulim*, girt, i. e. armed, as I said before) out of the Land of *Egypt*. And then 'tis no wonder that you read of their being Armed in the *Wilderness*. This may be meant when 'tis said, *they borrow'd of the Egyptians Rayment*, *Exod.* 12. 35. in which may be included Military Habits. However, they are comprehended in what follows, *The Lord gave the People favour in the Sight of the Egyptians, so that they lent unto them whatever they required: and they spoiled the Egyptians*, v. 36. For the *Israelites* left *Egypt* with leave of the Inhabitants, yea, with their request to be gone, for the last Plague which slew all their First-born in one Night put them upon hastning away the *Israelites*: and to be rid of them they were willing to part with any thing, and accordingly they not only suffer'd them to take with them their own Goods and Cattle, but gave them

them a great deal of Gold and Silver, and all sorts of Rich Materials, *Exod. 3. 22.* with which afterwards they furnish'd the *Tabernacle*. And among other things they let them carry away as many *Warlike Weapons* as they pleas'd, for they that lent them *Jewels*, would not deny them *Armour*.

The *Battel-Ax* mention'd in *Jer. 51. 20.* was another Weapon which they antiently fought with when they came to a close Engagement. We have no particular Account of this *Martial Club*, but it is reasonable to believe that it was a weighty Weapon or Hammer (as 'tis call'd *Chap. 50. v. 23.*) made use of when there was occasion to break asunder any hard thing that stood in their way, and to beat down the Enemies, and lay them prostrate, and to bruise and batter their Armour. It is likely it was a sort of *Poll-Ax*, but proper to the Cavalry, which I gather from the following Verse, which speaks of *breaking in pieces with it the Horse and his Rider, the Chariot and his Rider*.

The *Weapons Offensive* to wound and hurt the Enemy at some distance, were, 1. The *Spear* or *Javelin*, for so the Words *Chanith* and *Romach* are diversly rendred in *Numb. 25. 7.* 1 *Sam. 13. 19.* *Jer. 46. 4.* These Weapons were of different Kinds according to their length and make. Some of them might be thrown or darted, 1 *Sam. 18. 11.* others were a sort of Long Swords, *Numb. 25. 8.* And from 2 *Sam. 2. 23.* we may gather that some of them were piked or pointed at both Ends. 2. A *Sling*, *Kelang*, with which they slung Stones at the Enemy. This is reckon'd as a Part of Warlike Provision, in 2 *Chron. 26. 14.* and in other Places. *David* made use of one of these to good Purpose when he came into the Field against the Giant of

212 The Excellency and Perfection

Gath, 1 Sam. 17. 49, 50. The *Benjaminites* (for so we should read the Word, and not call them *Benjamites*, as if they were derived not from *Benjamin* but *Benjam*) were famous in Battel, because they had attained to a great Skill and Accuracy in handling this Weapon, *they could sling Stones at an Hair's breadth, and not miss*, Judg. 20. 16. And whereas it is said here that they were *Left-handed*, it should be rather rendred *Ambidexters*, such as could use both Hands, as will appear from comparing this Place with 1 Chron. 12. 2. which speaks of these *Benjaminites*, and tells us that *they could use both the right Hand and the left*. When therefore 'tis said in the former Place, that they were *strong of their right Hand*, (for so 'tis in the *Hebrew*) the meaning is that they did not constantly use their right Hand (as others did) when they shot Arrows or slung Stones, but they were so expert in these Military Exercises that they could perform them with their left Hand as well as with their right. This is the true Sense of this Expression, and therefore the *Septuagint* render it ἀμφοτεροδεξιοι, and the *Vulgar Latin*, *ita sinistrâ ut dextrâ praeliantes*. Which is said to express how skilful and exact Slingers they were, and of what great Use and Service this singular Way of managing this Weapon was to them. Fighting with the *Sling* was afterwards used by the *Baleares*, as *Diodorus* the *Sicilian* testifies, and by other Nations, as *Virgil* and *Livy* relate: yea, 'tis generally known, saith *Vegetius*, that in all the Battels of the Antients this was the way of Fighting. 3. Bow

¹ Aen. 9.
Lib. 1.

² Lib. 8. Dec. 4.

³ De re militari

and Arrows [*Kesheth* and *Chitzim*] are of great Antiquity. Indeed no Weapon is mention'd so soon: *take thy Weapons, thy Quiver and thy Bow*, Gen. 27. 3. though it is true these are not spoken of here as used in War, but Hunting. And so they are supposed and implied before this, viz. in Gen. 21. 20. where 'tis said of *Ishmael* that he became an Archer, he used Bow and Arrows in shooting of wild Beasts. It is likely that the Military Art commenced from Mens encountering with Brutes. They fought wiith wild Beasts, and for that purpose invented Arms, which afterwards they unhappily used against one another. Particularly, shooting with the Bow was first used in Hunting and Killing of Beasts, and then of Men. At last there was scarcely any Battel fought but it was decided by the Bow. It was so useful a Weapon that care was taken to train up the Hebrew Youth to it betimes. When *David* had in a solemn Manner lamented the Death of *K. Saul*, he immediately gave order for teaching the young Men the use of the Bow, 1 Sam. 1. 18. that they might be skill'd in the Primitive Artillery of the World, that they might be as expert as the Philistines, by whose Bows and Arrows *Saul* and his Army were slain. So in 2 Chron. 26. 14. we read that these were part of the Military Ammunition: for in those times Bows were instead of Guns, and Arrows supplied the Place of Powder and Ball. From Job 20. 24. I gather that the War-like Bow was generally made of Steel, and consequently was very stiff, and hard to bend: wherefore they used their Foot in bending their Bows; and thence to tread the Bow, Jer. 50. 14. is to bend it; and Bows trodden, Isa. 5. 28. & 21. 15. are Bows bent, as our Translators rightly render it: but the Hebrew Word which is used in these Places is *darak*,

214 *The Excellency and Perfection*

vak, calcavit. In short, this Weapon was so requisite in War, that it is thence call'd *Kesheth Milchamah*, the *Bow of War*, or *Battel-Bow*, Zech. 9. 10. & 10. 4.

Fourthly, You may observe that the Great Commanders and Chief Warriours not only among the *Egyptians*, Exod. 14. 6, 7. *Canaanites* and *Philistines*, Josh. 17. 16. Judg. 1. 19. & 4. 3. 1 Sam. 13. 5. *Syrians*, 2 Sam. 10. 18. 1 Kings 20. 21. *Babylonians*, Ezek. 23. 24. but among the *Jews*, 2 Sam. 15. 1. 1 Kings 10. 26. fought in *Open Chariots* or *War-Coaches*. This was the ancient manner of Fighting, and afterwards was used by other Nations, as *Diodorus of Sicily* reports. *Homer* acquaints us that these Military Chariots were in use among the *Trojans*. And that they were so among the *Persians*, *Quintus Curtius* lets us know when he describes *Darius's Army*. *Xenophon* attributes the Invention of these *ἰσθητοφόρα ἄρματα* (as he calls them) these *Sithed Chariots* to *Cyrus*. But from this (as many other things) we may discern the Defect of these Historians, and their failure in the Point of Antiquity. These great *Iron Chariots* for *Battel* were much older than that Monarch. We read of them in the Sacred History about a thousand Years before his time; for *Pharaoh's Chariots* without doubt were of this kind, which we may infer from the great Number of them, which was *six hundred*, and from the appointing of *Captains over them*, Exod. 14. 7. which shews they were no other than their *Fighting Chariots*. And we read that about fifty Years afterwards the *Canaanites* had got this sort of *Warlike Vehicle*, and used them in that *Champion Country*, which struck Terror into the *Jews*,

¹ Hist. lib. 4. c. 9.

² De Cyri Instrut. l. 6.

Jews, and made them almost despair of conquering that part of the Nation, *Josh.* 17. 16, 18. I might add that our Predecessors the *Old Britains* (as both *Cæsar* and *Tacitus* record) fought in these Chariots, which (as they describe them to us) were fang'd at the Ends of the Axle-trees with Iron Hooks or Siches. With these fastned on both Sides, and standing out about a Yard in length, they cut down their Enemies that came in their way. I remember the Hebrew Word *Ketzir* is both *Harvest* and War, (*Exod.* 23. 16. *Isa.* 9.) here we have too true an Account of it, for with these *Sithe-Chariots* they mowed Men down as some Corn at Harvest is wont to be.

Fifthly, We learn from the Scriptures that when they were besieged of old, they made use of *Engines* on their Towers and Bulwarks to shoot Arrows and great Stones withal, 2 Chron. 26. 15. and when they sat down before a Place and resolv'd to besiege it, they dug Trenches, 2 Sam. 17. 20. they drew a Line of Circumvallation, Lam. 2. 8. they made Ramparts, they built Forts against it, and cast a Mount against it, and set the Camp also against it, and set battering Rams against it round about, Ezek. 4. 2. for though *Carim* in the last Place here mention'd signifies both *Arietes* and *Duces*, and is taken in this latter Sense in Ezek. 21. 22. yet in this Place it seems to be restrained to the former denotation, viz. of Iron Engines wherewith they batter'd down the Walls of a Town. Of this sort is *Mechi*, Ezek. 26. 9. (whence perhaps μηχανή, *Machina*) an Engine of War (as we render it) which they made use of to set against the Walls (as you read there) to demolish them and lay them even with the Ground. It may be this is that Military Instrument with which they shot Stones into a City or besieged Place,

216 *The Excellency and Perfection*

which the foremention'd Place in the *Chronicles*, and is perhaps the same with *Sollelah*, Jer. 6. 6. *an Engine of Shot*, as our Margin renders it. These were of a resembling Nature with the *Balistæ* and *Catapultæ* among the Romans, which were used for throwing Stones and Arrows, and were to them of old instead of *Mortars* and *Carcases*. Next I might observe that to give notice of an approaching Enemy, and to bring the dispersed Inhabitants of the Country together to resist and repel him, they used to set up *Beacons on the Tops of Mountains* as a fit Alarm on that Occasion, *Isa.* 30. 17. This perhaps is *Mafeth*, Jer. 6. 1. which we translate a *Sign of Fire* lifted up, that those that were afar off might be warned of the Enemies coming. Nay, if I am not mistaken, this was of far greater Antiquity; for that *great Flame with Smoke rising up out of the City*, which was appointed as a *Sign between the Men of Israel, and the Liers in wait*, *Judg.* 20. 38, 40. seems to be meant by this.

And now when I am enumerating the *Kele Milchamah*, the *Instruments or Utensils of War*, (as the Prophet calls them, *Jer.* 51. 20.) I might take notice that *Trumpets* were antiently used on this Occasion (as they are at this Day) *Numb.* 10. 5, 6, 7. *2 Sam.* 2. 28. & 18. 16. *Jer.* 4. 21. & 6. 1. *Jer.* 42. 14. *Zeph.* 1. 16. So were *Ensigns, Banners, Standards*, *Exod.* 17. 15, 16. *Psal.* 74. 4. *Cant.* 6. 4. *Isa.* 13. 2. *Jer.* 4. 6. & 51. 12. But the most eminent Place for this purpose (and which shews the Antiquity of this Military Usage, and will give us an Account of the first and most early *Marshalling of Armies*) is *Numb.* 2. 2. *Every Man of the Children of Israel shall pitch by his own Standard, with the Ensign of their Fathers House.* For the explaining of which we must know that when *Moses* had received the

the Law and finish'd the Tabernacle, he mustered all the Tribes and Families of *Israel*, and disposed them for their March through the Wilderness. This Great Army (as this Chapter informs us) was divided into four Battalions or Squadrons, each of which contain'd three whole Tribes. The first contain'd the three Tribes of *Judah*, *Issachar*, and *Zebulon*: and every Tribe being distinguish'd by his particular *Standard*, this Squadron marched under the *Standard of Judah*. And it was peculiar to this Tribe to encamp always on the East Side of the Tabernacle, and to hold the first Place and lead the Vanguard. The second Battalion consisted of the Tribes of *Reuben*, *Simeon* and *Gad*: and *Reuben's Standard* was that which they were placed under. These had the second Place in the Army, and encamped on the South Side of the Tabernacle. The third Division marched under the *Standard of Ephraim*, to whom were joined the Regiments of *Manasse* and *Benjamin*, and they were situated always on the West Quarter. The fourth Squadron were rank'd under the *Standard of Dan*, to whom belonged the Tribes of *Naphthali* and *Asher*. These were placed on the North Side of the Tabernacle, and always march'd in the Reer. In every *Standard* or *Banner* there was a particular *Ensign* or *Badg* by which those of that Squadron were known. In that of *Judah* which march'd in the *Van* there was pourtrayed a *Lion*: in that of *Reuben* a *Man*: in that of *Ephraim* an *Ox*: and in that of *Dan* an *Eagle*. Where by the way we may observe here the Invention of *Badges* and *Coats of Arms*. The Tribes were distinguish'd by their different *Scutcheons*, which were of diverse Figures, and ('tis not to be doubted) of different Colours. Though truly this Invention seems to have been begun

218 *The Excellency and Perfection*

gun first of all in *Gen.* 49. where the several Tribes have assigned them by *Jacob* their particular *Distinctive Ensigns* and *Armorial Cognizances*, as *Judah* a Lion, *Dan* a Serpent, *Issachar* an Ass, &c. which were certain *Arms* or *Badges* by which they were known and distinguish'd. In these and the forenamed Instances, *Heraldry* had its Original, hence it may fetch its Pedigree. Thus that Noble *Camp* was disposed and situated, thus the several Tribes and Princes of them were marshall'd. Thus the *Tabernacle* was placed in the midst of the four Divisions of the Army, which pitched round about it, as a Guard to Defend and Protect it. But I should note withal, that the *Tabernacle* was more Immediately surrounded by the *Priests* and *Levites*. *Moses* and *Aaron*, and *Eleazar* and his Brethren were lodg'd on the East, at the Entrance of the Court of the *Tabernacle*: the Families of *Cobath* were placed on the South, the Families of *Merari* on the North, the *Geshurites* on the West: and all others that were dedicated to the Service and Attendance on the *Tabernacle*, were quartered near it. This was the Excellent Order that was observ'd, the Ecclesiastical Persons were placed next to the *Tabernacle* because of their Employment and Office: and to guard both them and the *Tabernacle*, the whole Host was drawn about them in a Circle. I might further take notice that there was not a fixed Distance of Ground from every part of the Camp to the *Tabernacle*, for it was necessary that some should be further off than others: but this was enjoined them, that the Limits of their travelling on the Sabbath-Day should not be above two thousand Cubits, *Josh.* 3. 4. But by reason of the different Acception of the *Cubit*, it is not easy to determine exactly the Length of the Way which they

they were permitted to travel. If it was two thousand Paces, it amounted to two Miles: but most of the *Rabbins* agree that it was 2000 *lesser Cubits*, which make a large Mile. So far the furthest Part of the Israelites Camp was distant from the Tabernacle, according to the general Opinion of the Hebrew Doctors. This, whatever it is, is call'd a *Sabbath-Day's Journey*, Acts 1. 12. *i. e.* as much space of Ground as it was lawful for the Jews to go on a Sabbath-Day. This shall suffice to be said concerning the Antient Situation of the *Camp of Israel*. A very Curious and Excellent Prospect it is, and worthy of our Observation, it being the First Platform of a Military Encamping.

To close this Head, I will take notice of the *Vast Numbers* which some of the Armies mention'd in Scripture consisted of of old. That of the Jews in the Wilderness (which I last spoke of) according to the Muster-Roll in *Numb.* 1. contain'd no less than *six hundred thousand and three thousand and five hundred and fifty*. There were enrolled about a thousand thousand fighting Men in *Israel*, and about half as many in *Judah* when *David* numbred the People, 2 *Sam.* 24. 9. 1 *Chron.* 21. 5. King *Uzziah* had an Host of three hundred thousand and seven thousand and five hundred, besides a choice Band of two thousand and six hundred, 2 *Chron.* 26. 12, 13. King *Asa's* military Force consisted of about six hundred thousand, 2 *Chron.* 14. 8. And against him came an Ethiopian Army of above a thousand thousand Chariots, 2 *Chron.* 14. 9. whence we must collect that the whole Force was much more Numerous, for the Chariots generally had more than one single Person in them. King *Jeroboam* brought
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eight hundred thousand Men into the Field, of whom five hundred thousand were slain, 2 *Cbron.* 13. 3, 17. And other vast Numbers we read of in the Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles* that were brought into the Field in those Days. Which I the rather mention because some have questioned the Truth of it, and have thought that it is by the Fault of *Transcribers* that the Arithmetick mounts so high. And I am sorry to find a Great Man, whom I will not name, enclining this way. I doubt not but if he had lived to revise his Writings, he would have expung'd what seems to favour this; for so Great an Asserter of the Authentick Verity of the Scriptures (as well as of the Christian Religion) could not have done otherwise. But this I desire may be considered by those that think the Number of the Men in the foremention'd Armies is mistaken by those who copied out the Bible, they setting down (as they imagine) one Arithmetical Figure instead of another; I desire (I say) this may be consider'd, that the Numbers in these Sacred Writings are set down in Words at length, and not in Figures, which these *Objectors* did not think of; and therefore those who transcrib'd the Bible did not mistake the Numbers by writing down one Figure for another, and consequently these Mens Conceit is groundless. Again, we are to remember what is said in *Numb.* 1. 45. *they numbred from twenty Years old and upward all that were able to go forth to War:* and so afterward they train'd up all that were able to bear Arms unto Martial Exercises and Military Discipline: which if we consider, it will not seem strange and incredible that the Number of those in their Armies was so great. Moreover, the Cavil will vanish if we consult Pagan Authors, and thence learn how numerous their Armies

Armies were of old. *Ninus* the third Assyrian Monarch, rais'd an Army of seventeen hundred thousand Foot, and two hundred thousand Horse, and ten thousand six hundred Chariots of War, and invaded *Bactria* with these Forces, as *Diodorus Siculus* and other Good Authors relate. *Zerobastar* the King of *Bactria* met him with four hundred thousand fighting Men, say the same Historians. And the foresaid *Diodorus* tells us that *Semiramis* that celebrated Queen of *Assyria*, *Ninus's* Relict, carried an Army that consisted of three Millions of Men into *India*: and *Staurobates* the King of *India* encountred her with more numerous Forces, and vanquish'd her. It is universally acknowledg'd that *Xerxes* entred *Greece* with an Army of above a Million of fighting Men. Thus *Prophane* History may induce us to credit that which we meet with in the *Sacred*. When we find such vast Numbers mention'd in the former, we have no reason to wonder at the like in the latter. And though, it is true, there is a Disproportion between *Judea* and those Countries which I have named, yet if it be remembred how Populous the one was in respect of the others, and likewise that in time of War every Man that could handle a Weapon turn'd Soldier, the great inequality which some imagine between this and the others will soon vanish. This is some Account of *Martial Affairs* which the Antient Writings of the Bible give us: and though we read since the like things in other Authors, yet here we see the First and Earliest Instances of them.

I might pass from Military Affairs to some *Sportive Diversions* and *Exercises* which the Scripture speaks of, and gives us the first notice of, as *Hunting*, which was the mighty *Nimrod's* Sport, *Gen.*

222 *The Excellency and Perfection*

10. 9. (though, as was said before, under that Term likewise his Tyrannical and Arbitrary Rule is denoted to us) It is likely that he kill'd and destroy'd the wild savage Beasts that grew numerous at that time, and became very troublesome and noxious: for upon that signal Dispersion of Mankind they remain'd not together in so great a Body as before, and thence the Beasts were more formidable; and therefore *Hunting* began to be necessary to preserve themselves. But this Great Man might follow this Employment also for Pleasure and Recreation. So the first *Hunting* was for private Delight, and publick Profit. *Esau* afterwards is call'd a *Cunning Hunter*, Gen. 25. 27. and his *Game* is particularly specified, Gen. 27. 3, 5. And I have intimated before that this Robust Exercise was a Specimen of Warlike Enterprizes and Arms. *Hunting* and *Fowling* are joined together in Lev. 17. 13. and in order to the catching both Beasts and Birds, there is mention of ' *Nets, Traps, Snares, Gimmes, Washing* or *Bathing* (as it was a Recreative Exercise of the Female Sex) you will find mention'd Exod. 2. 5. where we read that *Pharaoh's* Daughter washed her self in the River Nile. It may be Ruth 3. 3. *Wash thy self* (after which immediately follows, *anoint thee*, which was the usual Attendant of *Bathing*) refers to this. *Ruth's* Mother thought this not an improper Exercise before she went to engratiate her self with *Boaz*. *Bathsheba* was bathing her self in a Garden in the Evening when *David* espied her, 2 Sam. 11. 2. This made way for *Artificial Baths* afterwards among the Jews

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¹ Prov. 1. 17. Psal. 124. 7. Prov. 7. 23. Eccles. 9. 18.
Job 18. 8, 9, 10. Job 40. 24. Am. 3. 5.

in their Gardens and Orchards: which, if we may credit the *Targum* upon *Ecclesiastes*, are meant by the *Delights of the Sons of Men*, Eccl. 2. 7. This was the known Practice of the Persians, Greeks and Romans, and other Nations; but the Antientest and most innocent Examples are in the Bible, viz. among the Egyptians and Hebrews. Other Recreating and Pleasurable Entertainments I had occasion to mention before, as *Instrumental* and *Vocal Musick*; though I consider'd them chiefly as they were used on serious Occasions. I will now add *Dancing*, which also was sometimes on a Religious Account, as in *Exod.* 15. 20. where *Miriam* and her Females with *Dances* (as well as *Timbrels*) sang, and glorified God after the Deliverance from the Egyptians. This *Miriam* may pass for the true *Terpsichore* whom the Poets make the Inventer of Dancing, she being the first famous Instance of it. We read that *David danced before the Ark*, 2 Sam. 6. 16. But it is not the Sacred but Civil Use of this Exercise, which I am now to take notice of. It is certain that a pleasant and decent moving, a Graceful Agitation of the Body (help'd by some innocent noise of Musick) was one of the first and most natural expressions of Joy when there was some great occasion for it. This we learn, as from Reason, so from the sacred Monuments of Antiquity in the Scriptures. Here we are inform'd that this was an old Expression of Mirth at times of solemn Feasting, *Judg.* 21. 19, 21. There was not only *Musick* but *Dancing* at the Festival of the returning *Prodigal*, *Luke* 15. 25. This was usual also after Victory, and in Publick Triumphs, *Judg.* 11. 34. 1 Sam. 18. 6. & 21. 11. and at all Seasons of Mirth and Rejoicing, *Psal.* 30. 11. *Jer.* 31. 4, 13. And still, so far

224 *The Excellency and Perfection*

far as *Dancing* imports a Graceful Motion and Comely Deportment of the Body, I see no reason to declame against it. But we read that this Usage oftentimes degenerated into inexcusable Extravagancy and Vice. The Idolatrous Jews made it part of their mad Worship which they paid to the Golden Calf, *Exod.* 32. 19. The Amalekites after their Victory used it to advance their Luxury and Debauchery, *1 Sam.* 30. 16. *Job* makes it part of the Character of the *Prosperous Wicked*, such as forget God and Religion, that *their Children dance*, *Job* 21. 11. And what was the bloody and execrable Fruit of this sort of Lewd Frolick, the Evangelical History records, *Mat.* 14. 6, &c. where *Herodias's* Daughter's Heels made the *Baptist's* Head fly off his Shoulders. And it cannot be denied that this is the frequent Companion of Luxury and Wantoness in these Days, in which so great Numbers (yea and of the inferiour and ordinary Rank) immoderately affect and addict themselves to this Diversion. This Vanity seems to be part of the Temper and rooted Inclination of the gay People of this Age, as if the *Punctum Saliens* were yet in their Blood, and they were still made up of those Capering Particles, the first Rudiment of their Conception and Life. One would think the Scene chang'd from *Naples* to *England*, and that our People were stung with the *Tarantula*, and were (as we might hope) dancing and playing it away. But then, when we see that the Sting is rather encreased than cured, and the Venom of Lust and Debauchery is daily more and more instill'd by it, we have cause to lament the fashionable Folly and Levity of our Times.

C H A P. V.

We are furnish'd in the Bible with the Knowledge of the first Usages relating to Matrimony. Of Nuptial Feasts; and other Antient Feasts. We have here the first Notices of Buying and Selling, and the Antient use of Money. We learn hence what was the first Apparel, and what Additions there were afterwards. The chief Ornaments of Men and Women, viz. Crowns, Mitres, Frontal Jewels, Ear-rings, (the occasion of wearing these at first, and among what Persons and Nations, together with the Abuse of them) Chains, Bracelets, Finger-Rings and Signets. Changes of Garments. The Antient use of White Apparel. Fullers Earth. Looking-Glasses. Rending of the Garments.

TH A T the Scriptures contain the Knowledge of all the First and Antientest Usages in the World, I will make good in the next Place by speaking of *Marriage*, and several things that have reference to it. Concerning which we have the best Notices from this Authentick Book. There we are told that Man was no sooner made but God extracted a Woman out of him: and when he had divided them, he presently joined them together, so that a Conjugal Life became the first and blessed State of Paradise, *Gen. 2. 21, &c.* The first Person that violated this primitive Law of Wedlock was *Lamech*, who took unto him two Wives, *Gen. 4. 19.* and if we may believe *Josephus*, had 77 Children

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¹ Antiqu. lib. 1. c. 3.

226 *The Excellency and Perfection*

Children by them. The Example of this first Polygamist was afterwards drawn into practice by the *Jews*, and Polygamy became frequent, and *Divorcements* were permitted in order to the marrying of other Wives. The first that kept *Concubines* was *Abraham*, Gen. 25. 6. whose Practice was followed afterwards by other Patriarchs, not without some permission from God, but grew at last to a most scandalous Excess in *Solomon* and *Rehoboam's* Days. That there were *Prostitute Harlots* betimes we may gather from Gen. 34. 31. and Chap. 38. v. 14, 15. in which latter Place there are mention'd some Circumstances whereby those Mercenary Women were known in those times, as their *Vail*, their sitting in an open Place, &c. That they were vail'd may be gather'd from the Practice of *Tamar*, but it was with a proper and peculiar sort of Covering, by which they were known from others, for all the Sex generally in those Eastern Countries went vail'd. It was not worn because those first Prostitutes were modest in respect of those since, (as some have thought) but because they were Distinguish'd by this from other Women. I know that *Bochart* and some others attempt to infer from Isa. 47. 3. and such like Places, that they were not vail'd; but this, as I apprehend, is upon mistake, for those Words have no reference to *Harlots*, but to *Slaves*, and so the Learnedest Commentators agree. Their placing themselves by the way side or in some open Place, may be gather'd from the foresaid Example of *Tamar*; and this was a long time afterwards the usage among Persons of that infamous Character, Prov. 7. 12. *She is in the Streets, and lieth in wait at every Corner*; where by the Corner are meant the chief and most eminent Places in the Streets, open and to be seen. Wherefore we find her Seat to be

be in the high Places of the City, Chap. 9. v. 14. To this impudent Practice refer those Passages, In the ways hast thou set for them, Jer. 3. 2. Thou hast made thee an high Place in every Street, ——— at every head of the way, Ezek. 16. 24, 25. So the Roman Strumpets were wont to sit in *triviis*, in the high Way where there was the greatest Resort of People, as from *Catullus* and others might be proved, if it were worth the while. But to return to our main Subject, that of *Matrimony*, we see what kind of Treaty there was about it, Gen. 34. 6, 12. what the Contract, Gen. 24. 50, 51, 57, 58. what the Solemnizing of it, Gen. 24. 67. were in those early Days. We read not of any Formality in joining of Man and Woman. Mutual Consent made Marriage. *Wilt thou go with this Man? And she said, I will go.* Then when she was come to his House, he took her, and she became his Wife. To this some have thought those Words of the Prophet, *Hos. 3. 3.* refer, *I bought her for an Homer of Barly*, as if they alluded to the antient Custom of Marriage solemnized *per Confarreationem*; by a Cake of Bread or some Corn put into the Bride's Hand (which here by the way I might observe was perhaps the Original of the *Bride-Cake* which hath been the constant Attendant at Nuptials:) But though that be questionable, yet it is certain that these Words have respect to the Antient *Buying of Wives*. The *Bridal Purchase* here spoken of by the Prophet, was partly with Corn and partly with Money; for he saith *he bought her to him for fifteen Pieces of Silver*, as well as for an *Homer*, &c. So that the *Dowry* consisted in Money and Goods. But we have a much earlier Example of this *Dowry or Gift*, as it is call'd *Exod. 34. 12.* where it appears that there was wont to be given a certain Sum of

228 *The Excellency and Perfection*

Money to the Father of the Woman who was courted and designed for a Wife. And this may be gather'd from 1 Sam. 18. 25. for when 'tis said *the King desireth not any Dowry*, it is implied that although *Saul* in Craft seem'd to refuse a Dowry for his Daughter, yet it was usual in those Days to give it for a Wife. This is that which is call'd *ἐξδρα* by the Great Father of Poets and of all Pagan Antiquities: and there is reference to this Practice in several Places of his Poems. Whence *Aristotle* speaking of the Usages of the Old Greeks, saith *'they bought their Wives'*. And this Conjugal Buying or Purchasing was reciprocal, *i. e.* it was performed by both Parties generally, Husband and Wife. It was the same Matrimonial Coemption or Mutual Purchasing which prevails at this Day: the Woman purchases the Man with her Portion or Jointure, and he her with his Estate, or part of it. The Simplicity of those first Ages was such that there were then no such *Ceremonial Rites* in their Nuptials as have been observ'd since. And indeed it became partly necessary to have a Publick and Solemn Celebration of Marriage after the World was grown more numerous, to fix and ascertain the Legitimacy of Succession in Families, and to tie the Matrimonial Knot the faster in these slippery times.

Yet this we may take notice of, that notwithstanding the Nuptial Bonds were entered into without Ceremony and Formality, yet they were always attended with a *Feast*. Which ever afterwards became fashionable among all Nations, but especially the *Romans*, of whom we have

have Examples in ¹ Tully, ² Suetonius, ³ Juvenal and many others. We read of a *Feast* at Jacob and *Rachele's*, or rather (as *Latan* order'd the Matter) *Leah's* Wedding, *Gen.* 29. 22. which lasted seven Days, as may be gather'd from *v.* 27. *Fulfil her Week*, i. e. stay till the seven Days of the Wedding-Feast be over, for so you will find it explain'd in the next Verse. So *Samson's* Nuptials were accompanied with a Festival which continued a Week, *Judg.* 14. 12. And this it seems was the usual Term not only of these but all other great and solemn Feasts, *Esth.* 1. 5, 10. And here I might observe, that it is peculiarly recorded that at *Samson's* Marriage-Feast he put forth a Riddle, and required the Bridal Companions to declare and expound it some time before the Days of that Solemnity were ended. This was one way of diverting and entertaining themselves at those times of Mirth, as other Writers testify. *Herodotus* and *Plutarch* mention these among the Antients, telling us that they were wont to propound certain Quaint Problems to be solved by the Company, and thereupon arose Battels of Wit. And from *Athenæus* we may be informed that these Enigmatical Questions were used at their Computations. Another famous Instance of Feasting on this account was that at the Royal Nuptials of *Abasuerus* and *Esther*, *Esth.* 2. 18. signally stiled *Esther's* Feast. Where by the way observe that a *Feast* was called by the Hebrews, מִשְׁתֶּה a *Drinking*, for that is the Word here used; and the same you will find in *Judg.* 14. 12. *Job* 1. 4. *Esther* 3. 5, 6. in which Places the Seventy Interpreters render it מִיָּצֵה: Accordingly to drink, *Esth.* 3. 15. is to Feast, and so again,

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Chap.

¹ Ad Q. Fratrem, l. 2. ² In Caligulâ, Cap. 25. ³ Satyr. 6.

230 *The Excellency and Perfection*

Chap. 7. v. 1. Thence in the New Testament the Word *πῶτοι*, 1 Pet. 4. 3. is render'd very rightly *Banquetings*. And the Feasts or Banquetings among the Greeks were call'd *συνήθεια*, *Compotations*, *drinkings together*. Because the *Wine* generally bore the greatest part in those Meetings, the Denomination was thence. But to go back to what I was speaking of, the *Marriage-Feasts* are taken notice of in several Places in the New Testament, *Mat. 9. 10. & 22. 2.* *John 2. 1.* which shews the frequent use of them in those Days. The Word to express them is *γάμος*, which in those forecited Texts, yea three or four times together in *Mat. 22.* is by our Translators render'd a *Marriage*; but that is not the proper Translation of the Word in these Places, for *γάμος* here is a *Marriage-Feast*, and so it is in *Homer* and other Authors, (as the Learned Dr. *Hammond* hath observ'd) and you may perceive from the Texts themselves that it must be so translated. Further, 'tis observable that of old there were *Proper Vests* made use of when they went to these *Wedding-Feasts*. They generally put on white Garments (which you shall hear afterwards were in great Request of old) upon this Occasion: however, 'tis certain they chang'd their Apparel, and were clad in a Vestment fit for that Solemnity. This is call'd *ἐνδυμα γάμου*, the *Wedding-Garment*, *Matth. 22. 11.* that distinct bridal Attire which was usually worn at such a time.

And here I might take occasion to speak of *Other Feasts*, besides the Nuptial Ones, mention'd in these Sacred Monuments. To say nothing of the *Religious Feasts* of the Jews, as the *Passover*, &c. which were particularly appointed by God, we read

read that there were some of *Royalty and State*, *Esth.* 1. 5. 9. some at the *Weaning of Children*, *Gen.* 21. 8. some at *Sheep-bearing*, 1 *Sam.* 25. 36. 2 *Sam.* 13. 23. others at *making of Leagues and Treaties*, 2 *Sam.* 3. 20. others at *finishing of them*, and to render the Compact sure, *Gen.* 26. 30. some on occasion of *Great and Publick Deliverances*, *Esth.* 9. 17. 18. some at *celebrating of Birth-days*, as that of *Pharaoh*, *Gen.* 40. 20. (the first Instance of this Nature that we can possibly produce) and that of *Herod*, which is call'd *εὐαγέριον ἡμέρα*, *Mark* 6. 21. which we render a convenient Day: but our Learned Annotator translates it a *Festival Day*, it answering to the Hebrew *Yom Tob*, a good Day, a merry Season: and such was the Anniversary of *Herod's Birth*, which was kept as a Festival. And among Other Nations there were usually Feasts on this Account. That there were so among the Persians and Grecians, *Athenæus* bears witness: and particularly concerning the Persian Kings *Herodotus* doth the like. From *Suetonius* and other Historians we learn that the Birth-days of *Julius Caesar*, *Augustus*, *Titus*, *Nerva*, *Antoninus*, *Gordian*, were celebrated in the same manner. *Seneca* kept the Birth-days of *Socrates*, *Plato*, &c. for such he understands by *Great Men*. *Mecænas* and *Virgil's* Nativities were observed, as is evident from *Horace* and *Pliny* the younger. But enough of this.

I will next enquire what antient Notices we have from the Scripture concerning *Buying and Selling*. We do not read that there was any Pecuniary Traffick before the Flood; but 'tis likely that Swapping or Bartering of one thing for another was the

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Practice

* *Deipnosoph.* l. 4. c. 6. * *In Calliope.* * *Epist.* 64.
* *Lib.* 4. *Ode* 11. * *Lib.* 3. *Epist.* 7.

232 The Excellency and Perfection

Practice of those times (as it is still among the most Barbarous Nations.) That the first way of trafficking was without Coin, was the Opinion of the Prince of Philosophers, ' *Ἡ ἀλλαγή ἢ πρὶν τὸ νόμισμα ἢ*, Before the Invention of Money Exchanging (saith he) was in use. And even after the Flood this way of Commerce did not cease, as when there was a Dissention between *Abraham's* and *Abimelech's* Servants about the Well that *Abraham* dug, we read that he took *Sheep and Oxen*, and gave them to *Abimelech*, which perhaps may denote his Bartering for the Well, *Gen.* 21. 27. no less than furnishing him with Beasts for Sacrifice. Whence perhaps *Kesitah*, which signifies a *Lamb*, signifies also a *Piece of Money*, *Gen.* 33. 19. and is so translated: and the same Hebrew Word is used in *Job* 42. 11. and is rendred by the Syriac and Chaldee, Greek and Vulgar Latin, a *Lamb*, because Cattel heretofore (the chief Commodity they had) was instead of *Money* to them, and these they frequently chang'd for other Commodities. Though I know *Grotius* and some other Learned Interpreters think this *Kesita* was that Piece of Money which was of the Value of a Lamb, and for that Reason had the Figure of that Creature stamp'd on it. So * *Pliny* tells us, that among the Romans *Pecunia* was so named, because the first Money was mark'd with the Figure of a Sheep or Ox, or some other Cattel. † *Varro* gives the same Reason of the Name: And ‡ *Plutarch* confirms this, telling us, that they engraved on the Antient Coins the Figure of a Cow, or a Sheep, or a Hog; though withal he acknowledges that it was the Opinion of some, that the Reason

* *Aristot.* *Ethic.* l. 3. cap. 8.
 † *Re Rust.* l. 2. ‡ In *Poplicolâ.*

‡ *Nat. Hist.* l. 33. c. 3. § *De*

Reason why *Pecunia* had its Name from *Pecus*, was not because a Sheep or other Animal was engraven on their antient Money, but because their chief Substance consisted in Cattel heretofore, those were their first *Riches*.

But to wave this, this we are certain of, that when in process of Time Men saw that they had no need always of one another's Wares, and so could not change one thing for another, they invented *Money*, which might be given at any time instead of Commodities, and which was supposed to answer Exactly to the Value and Price of the things which they bought: For, as *Aristotle* saith, 'there was a necessity of having all things valued and estimated by a certain Price, that so by this Means there might be on all Occasions an equal and proportion'd way of Changing, *i. e.* Money for Goods, and Goods for Money. Wherefore in the same Place he saith, 'All things are measured and duly proportion'd by the Invention of Money. And the Dictate of Reason, and the Necessities they were generally under, prompted them to make use of this way, because Goods and Wares could not so conveniently be carried up and down. The antientest mention of Money or Coin is in *Gen.* 13. 2. *Abraham was rich in Silver and Gold*; for *Keseph* and *Zabab* are the Words used in 7 other Places for Money of Silver and Gold; But generally *Keseph* (which is properly *Silver*) is the Word that is rendred *Money* in the Holy Writings. That *Money* was used in *Abraham's* Days is evident from *Gen.* 17. 13. which makes mention of *him* (*i. e.* a Servant) that

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¹ Δὴ πάντα τιμῶνται, ὅτε γὰρ ἔσαι αἰὲ ἀλλάγη. *Ech.* l. 5. c. 8.

² Μετρεῖται πάντα νομισματι. ³ *Gen.* 20. 16. & 23. 16. & 29. 9. & 43. 22. *Deut.* 2. 28. 2 *Sam.* 18. 11. *Judg.* 8. 26. 2 *Kings* 5. 5. 2 *Chron.* 9. 16.

234 The Excellency and Perfection

is bought with Money; him that is the Acquisition of Silver (as the Hebrew hath it). And concerning this Patriarch 'tis said, He bought a Burying-place with Money, as much Money as the Field was worth, viz. four hundred Shekels of Silver, Gen. 23. 9. And 'tis observable, that this is call'd here current Money with the Merchant: the Silver was Good, such as passed to the Merchant or Trader, such as he would take as well as give. It was good Coin that would not be refused by merchandizing Men. This is a plain and undeniable Proof that Money, Silver Coin, was in use betimes, even in those first Ages of the World. Yea, I gather that the use of Coined Money was frequent in those Days, for that is implied in its passing from one to another. And from this time we constantly read that things were purchased with Keseph, Money, properly Silver, and therefore rendred by the Seventy *argentei*. This is the Word for a Shekel in all those Texts where it is put absolutely, and alone by it self. It is generally translated a piece of Silver, but in Isa. 7. 23. a Silverling.

Further, it might be observed that they weighed their Money in those Days, as appears from the Instance before mention'd in Gen. 23. 16. where 'tis said, that Abraham weighed unto Ephron four hundred Shekels of Silver for the Field he bought of him. So you read of weighing of Money or Silver, Exod. 22. 17. Job 28. 15. Jer. 32. 9. Zech. 11. 12. Yea, their common Coin, a Shekel, had its Name from *shakal*, to weigh. And this was in use among the Persians, for in Esth. 3. 9. to weigh is to pay. The Reason of which was because generally their Money was in Large Pieces, and very Heavy; and because in Moneys the Account went by Shekels among the Jews, and the common Pound-weight was fifteen

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Shekel, therefore some used *Great Weights* to weigh the Money which was paid to them for what they sold: And thence you may understand the Meaning of *Amos* 8. 5. where those are complain'd of that made the *Shekel* great, viz. for their own Advantage and Profit. It is not unlikely that the Old Romans had this Custom of Poyzing the Money which they paid, or received in Paiment; whence *pondere*, *expendere*, *appendere*, are both to weigh and to pay. Likewise hence (as I suppose) what is very *Valuable* and *Precious*, what is *Choice* and *Worthy*, is said to be *Weighty* not only in the Idiom of the Hebrews, but among the *Greeks* and *Latins*: as on the contrary those things are said to be *Light* which are *Vain*, *Vile*, *Little* and of *no Value*. This way of speaking (of which I have largely treated in another Place) had its Rise from the weighing of Money of old: Because their Coin went by Weight, therefore what is very *Valuable* (as Money is always reckon'd to be) is signified by *Weight*. But we cannot hence infer that they did not tell their Money, (as some have thought) for the same Money that was weighed might be told, that there might be no Cheat, especially if it were a great Sum. We are not certain that the one did exclude the other: but the telling of their Money, as well as the weighing it, might be in use at the same time.

Moreover, the *First* and *Antientest* Apparel is to be known out of this Sacred Volume. Here we are informed that after *Adam* and *Eve* had transgressed the Divine Law, and thereby vitiated both Souls and Bodies, their Nakedness became shameful to them, and therefore to cover it they sewed Fig-leaves together, (which were broad and wide, and therefore fit for that purpose) and made themselves *Aprons*, Gen. 3. 7. These were the first Clothing; for

236 *The Excellency and Perfection*

for I do not see any ground for the Interpretation of a ¹ late Writer, who by *Chagoroth* (which we translate *Aprons*) understands some *Booths* or *Tavernacles*, which they dress'd up with Fig-leaves that were broad and shadowy, to hide themselves. The Original Word hath never any such Sense, and therefore we cannot but look upon this Exposition as precarious. Besides, he might have satisfied himself from very credible Authors, that among some Nations, even at this Day, their Garments are made of *Leaves* of Trees: so that there is no Cause to wonder, much less to deny that the *First Apparel* was of this kind. We are to understand by *Chagoroth* (*חֲגֹרֶת*) such Garments where-with they girded themselves about, and therefore in other Places the Word is rendred *Girdles*; 1 Sam. 18. 4. Prov. 31. 24. Ezek. 23. 15. They had this Denomination because they were tied or girt about, and on that Account are not unfitly translated *Aprons*; as also because they hung down before, it being the Design of that Covering of Fig-leaves to hide those Parts of the Body which by the Fall were become disgraceful and uncomely. And there is no need of supposing such Instruments in order to an artificial sewing of them, as a Late Author would suggest, and thereby would enervate the Truth and Reality of the Adamick History; for we may reasonably conceive them to be tack'd and fastned together with sharp Stalks and small Twigs which the Garden of *Eden* afforded them. (As afterwards for a long time People sew'd or pinn'd their Clothes together with Thorns; whence a *Pin*, as a ² Great Onomatologist tells us, is from the French *Pingle* or *Espingle*, *Acicula*, and that from

¹ J. Clerici Commentar. in Gen. 3. 7. ² Dr. Skinner.

from *Spina* or *Spinula*.) Whence you see how frivolous and childish, how frigid and dilute that Cavil is; 'Where had they Needles when the Art of working Iron was not found out? and where had they Thread when the Thread-makers Trade was not invented? For indeed there was no Necessity of Needles or Thread: nay, 'tis certain that *Leaves* could better be fastned together with little Twigs, or something of that nature, than with those other Materials. Besides, this Gentleman shews himself as unacquainted with the Original Language as with the Antient Usage and the Nature of the thing it self; for the Hebrew Word *Tapbar*, which is here used, is of a large Signification, and denotes *putting on, fitting together, or any kind of applying*, as in *Job* 16. 15. *Ezek.* 13. 18. So that he hath no ground hence to understand this Word of *sewing* in a strict and proper Sense. And the Verb *ῥαπτω*, which is here made use of by the *Seventy Interpreters*, is also of great Latitude, and is rendred *adapto, concinno*, as well as *suo*. Thus our first Parents made themselves Garments, but afterwards God clothed them, *Gen.* 3. 21. They had not sufficiently cover'd themselves with their Fig-leaf Aprons; therefore unto them the Lord God made *Coats of Skins*, i. e. he taught them how to make them. These Garments are call'd *Coats*, because they were a Rayment that came over their Bodies, whereas the other covered a Part only, viz. from the Waste and Belly downwards. It is not improbable that they wore the former ones still, and so these latter may partly be call'd their Upper Garment. And they are call'd *Coats of Skins*, because they were made of the *Hides* of Beasts, which, it may be, were worn at

at first raw, and afterwards dress'd and made into Leather, and so were a Substantial Apparel, whereas the Covering of *Fig-leaves* was very slight, and deserv'd not the Name of *Clothing*. I will not stay here to debate, as the *Talmudists* and some other Jewish Writers do, what *Beasts Skins* or *Skins* they were that these *Coats* were made of. Perhaps these *Skins* wherewith they were array'd were *Sheep-Skins*, with the Inside (which was cool) towards them in Summer-time; and with the warm Fleece next to them in Winter (for they had their Summer and Winter in the *Paradisiacal Earth*, whatever this Archæologist saith to the contrary). But I own this to be mere Conjecture, though the thing it self is not unworthy of the Divine Wisdom and Providence. But this is beyond Conjecture, that *Cothnoth gnor* (which we rightly translate *Coats of Skin*) doth not signify *Tabernacles* made of, or covered with *Skins* to keep out the Heat, as the forecited *Commentator* on *Genesis* doth imagine; for it is said, *God made them Coats of Skins, and clothed them*, the latter being purposely added to explain to us the former. And we are sure of this, that Garments of the *Skins of Animals* were the antientest Apparel: so that there was no Unlikelihood of the thing. *Diodorus* of *Sicily* expressly relates, that in the times of old they did use the *Skins of wild Beasts* to cover them: And that they lasted a long time among the *Indians*, *Persians*, *Scythians*, and the *Old Romans*; we may inform our selves from *Profane History*, which will tell us likewise that these *Skins* were the only Clothing that the *Old Britains* (the first Inhabitants

Britain

ants of our Country) were Masters of. This was all the *Covering* they and others had at first. We see then what was the *Primitive Clothing*, and what it was made of. Our first Progenitors (as gay and trim as we go now) were clad in plain *Leathern Coats*; yea she of the softer Sex, and who was the Queen of the World, had no other Gown to wear. This plain rude Habit, which was to hide their Nakedness, and to defend them from the Injury and Inclemency of the Weather, not to adorn them, was the only Dress a long time: But their Posterity by degrees found out other Materials for Clothing, as *Wool* (taken off from the Skin) and *Flax*, and made of them *Woolen* and *Linen Garments*, *Lev. 13. 47. Prov. 31. 13. Ezek. 34. 3.* The richer Sort, not content with this common Drapery, sought out for something more artificial and gay, more fine and delicate. Hence *Joseph*, when he was made Vice-roy of *Egypt*, was arrayed in *Vestures of fine Linen*, *Gen. 41. 42.* and afterwards this and *Silk*, and *Purple*, and *Scarlet*, and *Crimson*, i. e. Fine Linen or Silk dyed with those Colours, became the usual clothing of all Persons of Quality, *Judg. 8. 26. & 14. 12. 2 Sam. 1. 24. Prov. 31. 21, 22. Jer. 4. 30.*

Though their *Garments* of old were but few, yet their *Ornaments* were many. I will not here trouble you with inquiring into *Jezebel's* פִּזְיוֹן (whence the Greek and Latin φῦμα and *fucus*) σῖβη (70) *Sibium* (Vulgar Latin) *2 Kings 9. 30.* or *Esther's* *Tamruk*, σμυγμα (70) *Esth. 2. 3, 9.* which though they were *Ornamental*, yet belong not to *Apparel*. Nor will I rifle all the fantastick Gaieties of the wanton and proud Dames of *Jewry*, *Isa. 3. 18, &c.* but I will only take notice of some of the Chief and most Usual Ornaments of Men and Women,

and

240 *The Excellency and Perfection*

and those which we most frequently find mention in Scripture, that thereby we may understand what we read, and that we may be confirm'd in the Truth, (which I have so often urged) that the first Rise of the most Antient things whatsoever is to be derived from the Writings of the Old Testament. The Head-Ornament known by the Name of a *Crown* [*Gnatarah* or *Gnatereth*] was not peculiar to *Kings*, but was made use of by others, as is to be inferr'd from *Ezek.* 16. 12. & 23. 42. where 'tis reckon'd among the other usual Ornaments appertaining to Women. It was worn by them at solemn and extraordinary times only, and most of all on the Day of their Nuptials, as the Jewish Doctors inform us. The better sort of these Attires were gilt, the common ones were made of Flowers. And that they were a Piece of *Gentile* Pomp and Gaiety, might be proved from several Authors, but I forbear. But there was a *Crown* which was proper to *Kings*, and is frequently call'd not only *Gnatereth* but *Nezer*, (which latter Name is never, as I remember, given to the other Crown) this was the peculiar Badg of Regal Authority among the Ammonites, *2 Sam.* 12. 30. and Persians, *Esth.* 1. 11. & 2. 17. & 6. 8. (where the Word is *Cether*, and it is call'd the *Crown of the Kingdom*, or the *Royal Crown*, as we translate it) and among the Jews, *2 Sam.* 1. 10. *2 Kings* 11. 2. From *Esth.* 8. 15. *Psal.* 21. 3. *Zech.* 9. 16. we may gather that this Royal Crown was made of *Gold*, and set with *Precious Stones* and *Jewels*. The *Tsaniph*, another Capital Ornament, rendered sometime *κίραξ* by the LXX, and english'd by our Translators a *Mitre*, and sometimes a *Diadem*, was worn by Great and Honourable Persons, and was a Badg of Authority and Eminency, as appears from *Job* 29. 14. *Isa.* 62. 3. *Zech.* 3. 5. The Persian

Persian Kings and Priests were clad in this *Cidaris*, as *Curtius* and other Historians acquaint us: and it is not to be doubted that they had it from the Jewish High Priests and Priests, the former of which wore a *Mitre*, *Mitsnepheth*, Exod. 29. 6. & 39. 28. and the latter *Bonnets*, *Migbanoth*, which were of fine *Linen*, Exod. 29. 9. & 39. 28. (as well as the *Mitre*) and are said to be bound upon their Heads, for that is the true Import of the Hebrew Word in the forecited Place in *Exodus* and in *Lev.* 8. 13. which plainly shews that these *Mitres* and *Bonnets* were of the Nature of *Turbants*, and so were the same with the *Tsaniph*, which was a Covering rolled up in Folds, and tied about the Head, from *tsanaph*, *circumvolvere*, *circumligare*. And indeed *Tsaniph*, if we exactly enquire into it, will be found to be the same Word with *Mitsnepheth*, only this latter is with a *Mem Heemantick* in the beginning, and a *Tau* in the End of it. If I had time I could shew that other Ornaments were borrow'd from the Jews, and that what God himself enjoined the High Priests was afterwards used by the Eastern Princes.

As to the antient Head-Covering of Women, I had occasion given me to speak of it when I discours'd on 1 Cor. 15. 29. therefore now I shall only speak of what was meer Ornament: the most eminent of which sort was their *Frontal Jewel*, which though it was fastned on their Foreheads, hung down lower, and thence is call'd *Nezem Ha-naph*, a *Nose-Jewel*, Isa. 3. 21. *Gemma in fronte pendens*, as the Vulgar Latin renders it: and St. *Jerom* tells us that the Women in his time had Rings

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* *Cidarim* Persæ capitis vocabant infigne. Hist. lib. 6. * Comment. in Ezek. 16.

242 *The Excellency and Perfection*

or Jewels hung from their Foreheads dangling over the Nose. Nor was this of old reputed an immodest and unbecoming Ornament, for we find that *Rebekah* was presented in the Name of her absent Lover with this *Forehead-Pendant*, as a Pledg of his Conjugal Faith and Love, *Gen. 24. 22.* For it is a Vulgar Errour, yea 'tis a Mistake which I find hath prevail'd among some Learned Writers, that Part of the Love-Token which was sent *Rebekah* was an *Ear-Ring*: there is no ground at all for it, for in exprefs Terms it is said that the *Nezem Zabab*, the *Jewel of Gold* (as 'tis call'd in this *v. 22.* which our Translators render a *Golden Ear-ring*) was put gñal *Aphab*, upon her Nose, *v. 47.* or, as our Translators themselves render it, upon her Face; for the Word *Aph* is largely taken sometimes for the Face. But we never find that it is taken for the *Ear*, and therefore this place can't be meant of an *Ear-ring*, yea our Translators themselves acknowledg as much when gñal *Aphab* is rendered by them upon her Face: wherefore there was no reason to render *Nezem* an *Ear-ring* at the same Time and in the same Place. Besides, the Women wore that sort of Ornament by *Couples*, and consequently we may gather thence that this Golden *Nezem* which was sent to *Rebekah* was no *Ear-ring*, but a Pendulous Jewel upon her Face or Forehead. *Isaac* had more of Generosity and Courtship in him than to make an offer to his Mistress of a Half-Present. The truth then of the Matter is this, they had of old Forehead-Ornaments, as well as those that they wore in their Ears. The plain and unquestionable Difference between these is observable in *Ezek. 16. 12.* I put a Jewel on thy Forehead, and Ear-rings in thine Ears. The *Nezem gñal Aph*, the Jewel on the Forehead, or on the Nose or Face, (for 'tis the same with *Gen. 24. 47.*)

is distinguish'd from the *Ear-Ornaments*, the Rings and Pendants that hung at that part. Some have thought (and St. *Augustin* was of that number) that the *Nezem* before mention'd, *Gen.* 24. 22. and the *Nose-Jewels* mention'd *Isa.* 3. were Rings in their Nostrils; for, as this Father observes, there was ' such a Custom among some of the African Women: and others since that time tell us the like of some of the Eastern People. Particularly a ' Modern Traveller informs us that at this Day not only in *Persia*, but other Oriental Regions, it is usual with the Women to bore their Nostrils, and wear Pendants there. But whatever may be the Custom at this Day, there is no Author that makes mention of it as practis'd of old by the People of the *East*, and particularly of *Syria* and *Judea*. Therefore we may conclude that the *Nezem* *Haaph* was a Jewel for the Forehead, but had its Denomination from its hanging above or over the Nose. So much of this ἐπιρρίγιον (or *Nose-Ornament*) as *Symmachus* renders it, and very properly: whereas the LXX most absurdly translate it ἐνώτιον; and that too in the forenamed Place in *Ezekiel*, where it is plainly distinguish'd from the *Ear-Ornament*. I thought theretore I was obliged to give you a true and exact Account of the Original Word. And truly if we observe what large Searches *Eustathius* and *Servius* make into a single Word in *Homer* and *Virgil*, and how busily and concernedly other *Critical Commentators* on Prophane Authors dive into some dubious Expressions which occur in them, we cannot think this present Criticizing or any other undertaken in this Dis-

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course

¹ Mos Maurorum est ut inaures etiam in naribus habeant ferreæ; &c. Quæst. in Genes. ² Thevenot. lib 3.

244 *The Excellency and Perfection*

course upon the Words in this Holy Book, to be superfluous and impertinent, unless we can persuade our selves that the Terms which the Holy Ghost makes use of in this Sacred Volume, are not as well worth our enquiring into as those in other Authors.

Another Ornamental Furniture which I will name, and which (of all others) is most frequently mention'd in the Books of the Old Testament, is that which is appropriated to the *Ears*. Concerning which these useful Remarks may be made: First we may take notice of the Words whereby this Pendulous Ornament is express'd. The Word *Nezanim* (the Plural of the former Word *Nezem*) is not only a general Term for Jewels, but it is particularly used concerning those which are worn in the Ears, *Gen.* 35. 4. *Exod.* 32. 2. and accordingly are render'd ἐνώτια by the *Seventy Interpreters*. Another Word is used in *Isa.* 3. 20. viz. *Lechashim*, from *lacasb* to whisper or mutter, also *charm*; because these are the Ornaments of that part (the *Ear*) which is most affected and wrought upon in *Charms*, and by which the Incantment is receiv'd. But the more particular and restrained Word is *Gnagil*, *Numb.* 31. 50. *Rotula*, *spharula*, a round Ring, from *Gnagol Circulus*; and the Plural *Gnagilim* we read in *Ezek.* 16. 12. which is render'd ῥότูลαι, i. e. *rotulae*, by the *LXX*. *Ear-rings* had this Denomination because of their circular Figure: and the Jewels and Pearls which hung at them were known by this Name, because they hung at these Circles, these round Wires of Gold put into the Ears. These then are the *Ear-Ornaments* properly so call'd, being peculiar to this part alone, and no other. It seems they antiently chose the lower part of the Ear as the fittest Place to have
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little Incisions made in it, because it is spongy and flexible, and will safely admit of these soft Penetrations; and indeed it seems as it were to be made to receive some Ornament to hang there. Yea, it is it self a kind of *Pendant*, in respect of the other parts of the Ear. Besides, this is a Part in view, where Ornaments may be seen, which was one design of wearing them. This might prompt them at first to bore holes in this fleshy Part, and hang Jewels in them. Likewise, the Ear is the Organ of Hearing, and the grand Medium of Instruction and Discipline; it is on this account the most Honourable Part of the Body, and therefore in the first and innocent Ages they endeavour'd to adorn and honour it with placing Jewels there. This a Reverend and Learned Writer of a neighbouring Nation gives as the reason why they made these small Perforations in the Ear, and inserted Rings of Gold or Silver into them. He conjectures it to be done as a Sign of Honour to that noble Part, which is the Instrument of the chiefest and most useful Sense.

Again, from the Sacred Writings we may satisfy our selves what People and Nations wore this antient Ornament. Here we read that those of Abraham's Race, particularly Jacob's Family, were decked with it, *Gen. 35. 4.* By this it appears that they retain'd the innocent Fashion of the Country whence they came, for it was customary with the Assyrians to make these Apertures in their Ears, and let the Light through them as it were, according to that of the Poet,

*Natus ad Euphraten, molles quòd in aure fenestræ
Arguerint.*——

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¹ Mr. Weems, of the Image of God. ² Juvenal. Sat. 1.

246 *The Excellency and Perfection*

And afterwards it became among the *Jews* a way of adorning themselves, as is deducible from that manner of God's expressing his Kindness and Bounty to the Jewish People, *I put Ear-rings in thine Ears*, Ezek. 16. 12. And that this antient Bravery was not confined to one Sex only among them, is plain from *Exod.* 32. 2. where we read of *golden Ear-rings in the Ears of their Wives, of their Sons and of their Daughters, yea of all the People*, in the next Verse. That boring of the Ears, and admitting of Gold into them, was also in use among the antient *Arabs*, we cannot but conclude from *Job's* accepting of an *Ear-ring* as a Present from his Friends, *Job* 42. 11. and wearing it for their sake; for *Nezem* is one of the Words (as you have heard) that is made use of to express that particular Ornament: and besides, it could not be the *intelligible* way (which is sometimes signified by that Word) because this was proper only to Women. Further, this was the usual Ornament of that Country, as several Historians since acquaint us. We have a Proof of this in *Num.* 31. 50. where it is enumerated among those Ornaments of the *Midianites*, i. e. *Arabians*, which became a Prey to the *Jews* when they slew all the Males, and took the Women Captive. And there is another very notable Proof of this in *Judg.* 8. 24. where 'tis recorded that the *Ishmaelites* (or *Midianites*, for they were the same) who were a People of *Arabia*, *had golden Ear-rings*; and 'tis added that they had so *because they were Ishmaelites*, because by this means they would take off the Imputation of Slavery, of being of the Race of the *Bondwoman*, which some might object to them. They all made Holes and Fissures in the tender Lobes of their Ears, and therein wore these Ornaments to signify they were

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Free; for this antiently was reckon'd as a Token of Ingenious Breeding, and an Argument that the Persons who were deck'd with them, were of some considerable Rank and Station.

But how then came it to be a Sign of *Servitude* among the *Jews*, for we read that they bored their Servants Ears? I answer, this was not a Mark of their being *Servants*, but it was a Testimony of their Voluntary Subjection and Obedience to their Masters, and a Mark whereby they might be known to be *Theirs*. The Words of the Law are observable, *If the Servant shall plainly say, I love my Master, then his Master shall bring him unto the Judges, and he shall bore his Ear through with an Awl, and he shall serve him for ever*, *Exod. 21. 6, 7.* His great Love to his Master made him continue in his Service, and this *Loving Service* (for it was such, and not a *Constrain'd Servitude*) was testified by the boring of the Ear. The Perforation of this Part was significant, in that the *Ear* (as hath been said before) is the Organ of Hearing, and consequently of Obedience. *To hear* and *to obey* are synonymous, to give ear and yield obedience are Terms convertible: therefore the Ear was submitted to the Threshold, and bored, to express the Person's submissive Obedience and Harkning to his Master. And it is probable that when the boring of the Ear was done, they put some Iron or Brass Ring into the Hole, for otherwise it would close up, and there would be no Mark: whereas the Design was to mark the Person, that he might be known to belong to such a one. So that piercing the Ear was in order to something else, *viz.* to have something put into it by the Master, perhaps sometimes a Ring of some value, if he had a great Esteem of him as a very faithful Servant. This as a Visible Memento was

248 *The Excellency and Perfection*

to hang at that Place, and he was distinguish'd by it from others of better Rank, because it was in one Ear only. This, as I apprehend, is the true Notion of that Jewish Usage: and it is the more likely and credible, because this Custom of boring the Ear was used towards those Servants who were so pleas'd with their Master and the Family, that they would not part from them, they would live with them continually, and be always in their Service. The Master had a proportionable Kindness and Love to such a Servant, and might reward him with an *Ear-ring* of Silver, or it may be of Gold. This Ornament was ever esteemed by the Antients as a Mark of some Gentility, as a Badg of some Repute and Creditable Estate in the World. Whence the *Arabians*, who had no mean Opinion of themselves and of their Descent and Gallantry, were the most noted of all People heretofore for boring their Ears, as we learn from ¹ *Petronius* and others. Yea indeed, it was an universal Practice (as ² *Pliny* observes) among the Eastern People both Men and Women, to punch the Lap of the Ear, and to hang some Ornament there. Concerning the *Africans* the same hath been observ'd by Authors, whence that Piece of Raillery in *Plautus*, ³ *Digitos in manibus non habent: incedunt annulatis auribus*. The *Carthaginians*, saith he, as if they had no Fingers, wear their Rings (which were wont to shine there) in their Ears. And we may take notice that this is spoken of the *Servants* of that Countrey: whence we gather that these as well as Freemen had their Ears bored, and wore Rings in them. As to the

Romans,

¹ Pertunde aures ut imitemur Arabas. ² In Oriente quidem & viris aurum gestare eò loci decus existimatur, Nat. Hist. l. 11. c. 37. ³ In Pœnulo, Act. 5, sc. 2.

Romans, some even of the Men among them (but very few) had their Ears bored, and wore Jewels in them, or in one of them at least, as appears from one of *Tully's* Jests which *Macrobius* relates. But a Multitude of Authors agree that 'twas the Mode of the other Sex among them, the Wealthy Matrons especially, to adorn that Part with Pearls and Precious Stones: and they purposely made their Incisions very large and wide for the Reception of Rings and Jewels of a great Magnitude, according to that of the Satyrift;

Auribus extensis magnos commisit Elenchos.

The Females underwent those troublesome and uneasy Perforations in the Lappets of their Ears, in assurance of having them loaded with some Rich Pendants as a Reçompence. Those tender Women ventur'd to wound their Flesh, because these Wounds were to be fill'd up with Gold. They became at last so extravagantly lavish as to this Ornature, that (as *Pliny* observes either of these or some other Women) no part of them was so expensive and costly as their Ears. It was *Seneca's* Complaint, that ¹ whole Patrimonies and more dangled at the Tips of Ladies Ears. And some of the Antient Doctors of the Church were wont to lash this unsufferable Prodigality among the *Christian* Women, telling them, that they were so shamefully profuse, as to hang ² a whole Year's Revenue at this Part.

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¹ Saturnal. l. 7. c. 3. ² Juvenal. Sat. 1. ³ Nec in aliâ parte feminis majus impendium, margaritis dependentibus. Nat. Hist. l. 11. c. 37. ⁴ Muliebris insania viros ita subjecit, ut bina aut terna Patrimonia auribus singulis suspenderent. De Benefic. l. 7. ⁵ Graciles aurium cures Kalendarium expendant. Ter-pull. de hab. mulierum.

Furthermore, I take occasion from Scripture to remark that this Ornament was heretofore used to *Idolatrous Ends*; for else we can't give any Account of the Patriarch *Jacob's* Injunction to his Servants and Household to *put away the strange Gods that were in their Hand, and the Ear-rings that were in their Ears*, Gen. 35. 2, 4. These two would not have been thus join'd together, unless the latter had been made use of in a Superstitious and Idolatrous manner. Enchanted Rings were usual of old, as we are informed from several Passages in History besides that concerning *Gyges*. And this may be one Reason perhaps why those Rings that were peculiar to the Ears were call'd *Lecbaskim*, (as we heard before) viz. because they were wont to be made use of in Enchantments. Gold Rings were a sort of *Talismans*, and were used (as *Petronius* testifies) by the People of the Isle of *Samothracia*, in a Magical way, to drive away Diseases, and to do strange Feats; and they learn'd this from the Egyptians, he saith. An Ecclesiastical Writer upon the Place before alledged tells us, that among the Gentiles their Ear-rings had in them the Effigies of their Deities, and that they were made by them the *Phylacteries of their Gods*. That they were used in way of Magick, is attested by the same Antient Writer, who reproves and condemns the execrable Superstition of Ligatures in those Days, which was performed by *Ear-rings*, which the Men wore *in summis ex unâ parte auriculis*. Whence a late Learned Critick would infer, that the African

¹ S. Augustin. de Doctr. Christian. l. 2. ² Execranda supersticio ligaturarum, in quibus etiam in aures virorum in summis ex unâ parte auriculis suspensæ deputantur, sed ad serviendum demonibus adhibetur. Augustin. Epist. 73. J. Clerk Commentar. in Gen. 35. 4.

can Servants wore their Ear-rings (not as others did, but) on the top of their Ears. But I conceive there is no ground for this Inference from St. *Augustine's* Words; for if we consult the Place, we shall find that he speaks in general, and consequently not of Servants any more than others. And moreover, there may be another and more proper Construction of *summæ auriculæ*, for *summæ* may be as much as *extremæ*, and then not the upper part of the Ears, but the lowest, *i. e.* the Tips of them (where all Ear-rings are hung) are meant here. And *ex unâ parte* seems to me to signify their wearing their Ear-rings on one Side only, not in both Ears. This I conceive is the true and genuine Sense of that African Father's Words. But the main thing we observe from them is, that this sort of Ornament was employed heretofore to wicked and Diabolical Purposes; and thence were deservedly call'd by this Pious Writer, in the same Epistle, *the Mark of the Devil*. And this, it is probable, was derived from that more antient Practice of some of *Jacob's* Household before cited. As the Pagans used to consecrate their Hair, their Clothes, and things of all kinds to their Demons, so here some of *Jacob's* Family engraved the Image of some Idol on their *Ear-rings*, and wore them in remembrance of the feigned Deities: Or perhaps the Good Patriarch saw some ground to fear that they would do thus, and therefore that these Ornaments might not be serviceable to Idolatry, or (as *Grotius* saith) lest some Golden Calf should be made of their Ear-rings, he bids them cast them away; and when they had done so, he took them, and *hid them under an Oak*, ver. 4. buried them and their Gods together.

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It is to be lamented that the Number of those who dedicate their *Ornaments* to false Gods, and make them serviceable to some sort of Idolatry, is too great at this day. ' Indeed the fond Bigotry of the Emperor *Severus* was reprobable, who, when a pair of Pearls of inestimable Value was presented to his Lady, order'd them to be hung at the Ears of *Venus*: but there are those who wear the richest Jewels themselves, and at the same time devote them to this *Goddeſs*, *i. e.* they make them wholly subservient to *Lust* and *Lewdness*, to Wantonness and Luxury, and other vicious Purposes: and when 'tis thus, *Jacob's* Injunction should be put in practice, the Choicest Ornaments are to be laid aside, it is time now to inter these Pernicious Idols. But those who know how to use their Ornaments in a right manner, that is, to subſtract them from all vicious Principles and Ends, to suffer them not to administer to Levity and Vanity, to Softness and Effeminacy, to lewd Desires and Inclinations, to Pride and Vain-glory; these, and only these, are the Persons to whom the using of them is lawful. And this must more particularly be applied to that kind of Ornament which I have been speaking of, which seems to be no effeminate one in it self, both because it was used by *Men*, and likewise because 'tis accompanied with some Hardship, and requires some Valour to endure the piercing of the Bodkin. They must bleed first before they wear it: and afterwards those little Wounds are continually kept gaping. And it cannot be thought unlawful and vicious in its own Nature, seeing the *Israelites* deck'd themselves with it, but are never reprov'd and check'd for it. They are not blamed for wearing Ear-

Ear-rings, but for making an Idol of them. The religious *Rebekah*, who wore the *Frontal Jewel*, did not boggle at the *Auricular* one; for questionless this is comprehended in the *Keli Zabab*, the *Jewels of Gold* which she was presented with, *Gen.* 24. 53. Yea, Holy *Job*, whose Spirit had been unspeakably broken and mortified by his Afflictions, yet refused not this Innocent Gift (which was of general Use in that Country) from the Hands of his Friends. So much of this Ornament, which was the Antientest, the most Universal, the Simplest, and the most Unaffected of any that we read of in the Sacred Records: on which Accounts it hath the Precedence of all others. But this and other Adornings, in these licentious times, are abused by their *Commonness*: whereby that Distinction which ought to be made between the different Ranks of Persons is taken away; and that Money is lavish'd in a needless and unbecoming Dress, which should be laid out in Bread.

Again, the *Neck* was not destitute of its proper Decking, *viz.* *Chains*. These in great Persons were Ensigns of Authority and Dignity (as they are in several Places at this Day): thus *Pharaoh* put a Gold Chain about *Joseph's Neck*, *Gen.* 41. 42. and *Belshazzar* did the same to *Daniel*, *Dan.* 5. 29. This was a general Ornament of the *Midianites* or *Arabians*, as appears from *Numb.* 31. 50. where it is mention'd with a great many others that were in fashion among that People. It was used by the *Jews*, as we may gather from *Prov.* 1. 9. It was more especially the graceful Attire of the softer Sex, *Cant.* 1. 10. *Charuzim* are Pearls on a String orderly disposed, as *Buxtorf* explains the Word. And these Necklaces of Pearl are, it is probable, meant by *Gnanak*, *Cant.* 4. 9. *One Chain*, *i. e.* one of

254 *The Excellency and Perfection*

of those Strings of Pearl. And that this was a piece of Woman's Finery is plain from *Ezek. 16. 11.* where it is numbred among other Ornaments of that Sex, and is stiled *Rabid*. Another sort of Neck-Ornaments (we may call them *Counter-points*) much antienter than these, is mention'd, *Judg. 5. 30.* *Needlework of divers Colours, wrought on both Sides, for the Necks* (*ad ornanda colla*, as the Vulgar Latin hath it) of those that take the Spoil.

The Arms or Wrists were wont of old to have their peculiar Adorning, viz. with Bracelets: Of which we read first of all in *Gen. 24. 30.* these as well as the Forehead-Pendants being presented to *Rebekah* by her Servant *Isaac*. We find it in the Catalogue of the Female Ornaments used by the Jews, *Ezek. 16. 11.* And this was worn not only by Women but Men, viz. such as were of some considerable Figure in the World, as *Judah*, *Gen. 38. 18.* and King *Saul*, *2 Sam. 1. 10.* And from *Exod. 35. 22.* it may be concluded that both Sexes at first made use of them. As to the Nature of them, I shall not here enquire into it: only I remark this, that from the several Distinct Names given in Scripture to them, as *Tsemidim*, *Petilm*, *Chach*, *Atsgnadab*, we may infer, that there were several sorts and kinds of them. It is certain that the first mention of them is in the Bible: and afterwards we read of them in Profane Authors. These tell us, that even Men, yea Martial Men, did not disdain this Finery; of which we have a remarkable Instance in the Sabines, who inveigled *Tarpeia* to betray the Capitol to them, by promising to give her what they wore on their left Arms, by which she thought they meant their Bracelets; but they, both to keep their Word, and to punish the Treason, threw in their Bucklers to boot, where-

wherewith the poor faithless Maid was stifled and overwhelmed.

We read of another Ornament, which was for the *Hands and Fingers*, viz. a *Ring*, *Tabbagnath*. This is reckon'd among other *Habiliments* of the *Midianites*, *Numb.* 31. 50. and of the *Jewish Women*, *Isa.* 3. 21. And that it was an *Innocent Ornament* among the *Jews* afterwards, we may gather from the *Parable*, where the kind Father put a *Ring* on the *Hand* of the returned *Spendthrift*, *Luke* 15. 22. And *St. James's* *χρυσόδακτυλῶ*, *Ch.* 2. v. 2. shews it was fashionable in those Days. Sometimes their *Rings* were garnished with *Precious Stones*, for we read of *Gold Rings set with the Beryl*, *Cant.* 5. 14. Some of them were antiently wont to be cut and engraved, and so were made use of as *Seals*. The first mention of this *Chotham*, this *Sealing Ring*, is in *Gen.* 38. 18. *Judab* gave his Daughter (whom he took to be another Female) a *Signet*, as a *Pawn*, to assure her of something of another nature. Perhaps some began then to betroth Virgins with a *Ring*, and so this *Pledg* was a *Symbol* of *Judab's* espousing *Thamar*. If this were so (which I think can't be disproved) the *Wedding Ring* is of greater *Antiquity* than is imagined. The *Seal-Ring* was worn on their right *Hands*, as appears from *Jer.* 22. 24. It was of great Use, and much prized, and therefore carefully kept, as this Place and others, *Cant.* 8. 6. *Hag.* 2. 23. import. And not only *Jews* but *Persians* frequently used this sort of *Ring*, *Esth.* 3. 12. & 8. 8. and it was a *Badg* of *Authority* among them, for *Abasuerus* pluck'd off his *Ring* from his *Finger*, and bestowed it on *Haman*, *Esth.* 3. 10. and afterwards on *Mordecai*, *Esth.* 8. 2. to signify the *Power* and *Honour* he invest'd them with. And the like Practice was long before

256 *The Excellency and Perfection*

before among the *Egyptians*, Gen. 41. 42. *Pharaoh took off his Ring from his Hand, and put it on Joseph's*. Where by the way we may observe, that ¹ *Pliny* is no good Antiquary when he saith the *Egyptians* knew not the Use of these *Rings*. And he further shews himself deficient in Antiquity, when he tells us, that they were not used in the Time of the Trojan War (because forsooth *Homer* doth not make mention of them): for this Instance was at least five hundred Years before that *Trojan Expedition*. And the other of *Judah* was somewhat before this. So that it is clear that the first Discovery of things in the World is made in the Writings of the Old Testament: and afterwards Humane Authors derive their Relations from these, or speak of things that were in imitation of them, as ² *Dionys. Halicarn.* ³ *Livy*, ⁴ *Pliny*, mention the Sabines and Romans wearing of *Rings*.

Before I quit this Part of my Discourse concerning the *Attire* made mention of in Scripture, I will take notice that this was according to the Rank, Place and Dignity of the Persons, or according to the Occasion or Business they were employed about. Thus we read of *Lebush Malkuth*, Esth. 6. 8. *The Royal Apparel which the King used to wear*. And the Queens had their *Royal Vestment* proper to their Dignity, which is absolutely and barely stiled *Malkuth*, Esth. 5. 1. *She put on the Kingdom*; so the Hebrew. To this belong the *μαλακά ἱμάτια*, the soft Apparel, fit for Kings Houses, i. e. their Courts, Mat. 11. 8. Others, though not of so high a Rank, had their *Calipboth shemaloth*, their Changes of Raiment, Gen. 45. 22. which are rendred by the Greek

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¹ Nat. Hist. l. 33. c. 1. ² Lib. 11. ³ Hist. l. 3. ⁴ Nat. Hist. l. 33. c. 1.

Interpreters διῶσαι στολαί, *double Raiment*; and in the same Verse again ἑταλλάσσειν στολαί, *changeable Garments*. Of these we read in Judg. 14. 12. 2 Kings 5. 5, 22. Zech. 3. 4. These were their Different Habits which they put on, according to the Difference of Times, and the Employment they were about. These were an usual *Present* of old (as appears from some of the Texts which I have here alledg'd) that they customarily bestow'd on their Friends as Tokens of Hospitality and Love. That this was an antient Practice may be collected from *Homer*, by whom these *Changes of Garments* are call'd ἑματτα ἑκημοιβὰ. And among other Gifts and Presents which *Alcinous* gave to *Ulysses*, — ὕφαντα τε ἑματτα καλά, are reckon'd. That the same Persons had Different Sutes of Clothes appears from Gen. 27. 15. which mentions *Esau's goodly Raiment*, which was very rich and fashionable, and which had been laid up by his Mother among those Aromatick Spices and Odours (as 'tis likely was the Custom then) which the *Fields* in those warm Countries supplied them with; whence we read of the *Smell of his Raiment*, ver. 27. This Perfumed Sute was fetched out and worn by him at solemn Seasons, as we may gather from the Occasion of *Jacob's* using it by his Mother's Order. So in succeeding times they were clad on Festival Days, and Times of Rejoicing, with a better sort of Apparel than they wore at other times. These are stiled *Garments of Beauty*, Isa. 51. 1. and *Garments of Praise*, Isa. 61. 3. such as they put on at times of Rejoicing and praising God.

Especially *White Garments* were then much in fashion: to which refers that of *Ecclesiastes*, ch. 9.

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¹ Odyf. θ.

² Odyf. υ.

258 *The Excellency and Perfection*

ver. 7, 8. After he had said, *Go thy way, eat thy Bread with Joy, and drink thy Wine with a merry Heart*, he adds, *Let thy Garments be always white*. Of this particular sort of Garments used at Feasts among the Jews, *Philo* speaks in his Discourse of a *Theoretick Life*. And perhaps such a Linen Vesture or *Ephod* *David* wore at a solemn time of Rejoicing, 1 *Chron.* 15. 27. This is certain, that the richer sort of People among the Jews were wont to wear, especially in publick, this *White Clotbing*. Whence the Nobles and Great Men were stiled *Chorin*, 1 *Kings* 21. 11. *Neb.* 13. 17. *Eccles.* 10. 17. *Isa.* 34. 12. *Jer.* 27. 20. & 39. 6. i. e. *Candidi*, from the Colour of their Garments. This gives an Account of *ἑαδὶς λαμπρῶν*, the bright Apparel, *Jam.* 2. 1. Whence it was that the *Fullers* were an ancient Trade, and are more than once mention'd in Scripture, 2 *Kings* 18. 17. *Mal.* 3. 2. But by this Name are not meant those who deal about combing or plucking the Wool, but those that wash'd and whiten'd both Woolen and Linen, and took out their Spots and Filth; which were soon contracted, and as easily seen in that White Raiment. It is probable that the *Fullers Field*, *Isa.* 7. 3. was the Place where they dress'd and dried their Cloth: and it is likely that it was made choice of by those Tradesmen, because it was so near the Pool (which they had occasion to use constantly) mention'd in the same Verse. The *Fullers Sope*, *Mal.* 3. 2. was useful to this purpose: The Hebrew Word *Borith* is rendred *πόα*, *herba*, by the *Seventy*, because they used some certain Plant or Herb of an absterive and cleansing Nature, a kind of *Sope-wort*. In the *New Testament* likewise this Employment is spoken of; for the Evangelist, speaking of our Saviour's Garments at his Transfiguration, saith, *they became shining*.

shining, exceeding white as Snow, such as no Fuller on Earth can white them, Mark 9. 3. Where it is not improbable that *ἔτι τῶν*, which we render *on Earth*, should rather be english'd *with Earth*; i. e. *with Fullers-Earth*; which, with other things, was so useful in scouring and cleansing their Garments, and reducing them to their former Whiteness: Πολλὴ γὰρ in Theophrastus (whom the Learned Hammond quotes) signifies *much of this Fullers-Earth*; whence that Excellent Critick is enclined to think that that is the meaning of γὰρ here. And 'tis certain that the Preposition *ἔτι* is sometimes used in that manner which it is in this Place. The Use of *White Garments* was in great Esteem not only among the Jews (of whom I have spoken already) but the Persians, as may be seen in *Esth.* 8. 5. But especially the Romans hugely affected to wear Clothes of this Colour, and that chiefly at their Feasts and on High Days: Then their bright Gowns were put on, which with their Eatings and Drinkings they brought home soil'd, and thence they had occasion for Fullers very much, to cleanse their Gowns of Spots, and to make them white again. These Garments which they put on when they went out upon solemn Invitations to Suppers, were called *vestes accubitoriae, cœnatoriae, cibariae, togæ triclinariae*, and are often mention'd by Pliny, Martial, and other Writers. Among the Greeks this Habit was known by the Name of *ἔνδυμα λεπνικόν*, and (as we learn from *Xiphilin*) *σολὴ λεπνίτις*. To these belongs the *ἔνδυμα γαυρὸν* spoken of before, and perhaps that *Linen Garment* (Mark 14. 51.) which a young Man had cast about him. This young Man (saith St. Ambrose) was John the Evangelist,

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who

¹ In vit. Adriani.

260 *The Excellency and Perfection*

who went with Christ from the Supper into the Garden, having on his Festival Garment still. I could observe also that Garments of *diverse Colours* were in great Esteem of old: thus the Beloved *Joseph* had his *Phassim*, (ποιμήλον, LXX) *Gen.* 37. 3. And the Royal Ladies were thus apparell'd, *2 Sam.* 13. 18. This is call'd *Rikmah* in *Judg.* 5. 30. and *Tsebagnim* in the same Verse.

To see themselves, and how their Apparel sat, they had of old no *Looking-Glasses*, properly so call'd, for we have no Word for *Glass* in the Old Testament, though in the New we have ὕαλον and ὑαλινός, *Rev.* 4. 16. & 15. 2. & 21. 18, 21. and it is probable that the Artificial making and ordering of it was found out about that time, as we may gather from what *Pliny* saith of it. Their *Speculums* were not made of *Glass*, (as now) but of polished *Brass*, otherwise the Jewish Dames could not have contributed them towards the making of the *Brazen Laver*, *Exod.* 38. 8. These are the *Miroirs* here spoken of, which are also expressed by other Words, as *Rei*, *Job* 38. 8. and *Gilinim*, *Isa.* 3. 23. all three from *Hebrew* Roots, which signify *to see*, *to reveal* or *discover*, because Objects appear and are seen in these *Speculums*. Of this sort of Mirrors, made of some bright Metal, and particularly of burnish'd Brass, ¹ *Pliny* and ² *Vitruvius* speak. But before this Invention, yea and afterwards, among all the plainer sort of People, the *Water*, in Ponds and Rivers, when the Surface of them was smooth and even, was instead of *Looking-Glasses* to them: and that might be one Reason why they often of old went down to visit these Places, and after they had

¹ Nat. Hist. l. 36. c. 26. ² Nat. Hist. l. 33. c. 9. ³ De Architect. l. 7. c. 3.

had well viewed themselves in them, made use of them for Bathing. Men likewise at first used to look themselves in Fountains and Rivers:

————— ⁴ *Nuper me in litore vidi,*

saith the Shepherd in *Virgil*. Thence *Speculum udum* is the Periphrasis of a *River* in *Apuleius*. And from other Testimonies it might be proved, that they antiently look'd their Faces in Waters. So that when the Burnish'd Looking-Glasses of the Hebrew Women were commuted into a *Laver*, they were thereby seasonably put in mind of the first *Warry Speculums*.

Lastly, to put a Period to this Head of my Discourse, I will take notice of the rending of the Garments, so often spoken of in the Divine Writings. This they did either when some great Calamity beset them, or when some Enormous Fact was committed, or when some Impious and Blasphemous Words were uttered; and briefly it was a Sign of extraordinary Grief, Perturbation of Mind, Anger, great Displeasure, Detestation. Frequent Examples we have of it among the *Hebrews*, Gen. 37. 29. & 44. 23. *Numb.* 14. 6. *Josh.* 7. 6. *Judg.* 11. 35. 2 *Sam.* 1. 2. *Mat.* 26. 65. *Acts* 14. 14. And the *Arabians* express'd their doleful Resentments by this Ceremony, *Job* 1. 20. & 2. 12. And so did the *Persians*, as may be rationally supposed from *Mordecai's* running in this mournful Posture through the Streets, where he would have been thought to be mad, if that People had not used the same way of testifying their Mourning, *Esth.* 4. 1. And indeed we are assured from ⁵ *Herodotus*, ⁶ *Xenophon*,

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nophon,

⁴ In *Bucolic*. ⁵ *Lib.* 3. ⁶ *De Cyri Institut.* l. 3.

262 *The Excellency and Perfection*

nophon, and ⁷ Q. Curtius, that the *Persians* were wont to rend their Clothes when they had any doleful Tidings brought them. In imitation of them the ⁸ *Greeks* did so, but very sparingly. And several ⁹ *Historians* ascertain us, that the *Romans* used this Custom when they would shew their excessive Sorrow and Trouble of Mind, especially at the Death and Funerals of their Friends.

Which reminds me of the last Part of my Task, viz. to speak of the *Scripture-Antiquities* which relate to *Burial* and *Funerals*.

⁷ De reb. gest. Alex. M. l. 5. ⁸ Musæus in Erone. ⁹ Dionys. Halicarn. l. 3. c. 24. Herodian. l. 1. Dio l. 40.

C H A P. VI.

Here we are informed concerning the *Primitive Institution of Burying*. Graves and Sepulchres were generally in the Fields, and without the Walls of Cities. They usually embalmed the dead Bodies. Why they sometimes burnt them. Burning also signifies Embalming. There was a Difference between the Funeral Burning of the Jews and of the Heathens. The Manner and Time of Mourning for the Dead, Both Vocal and Instrumental Musick used at Funerals. The Antiquity of Funeral Monuments. The old way of erecting great Heaps of Stones over the dead. Stone-heng is a Sepulchral Monument, and in imitation of it. Anah's Invention of Mules. Writers borrow from one another. The Bible only is the Book that is beholden to no other. Here is the Antientest Learning in the World: and that of all Kinds. 'Tis common with Authors to contradict themselves, and one another: they are uncertain, lubricous, and fabulous. But the Divine Writers alone are certain and infallible. How strange and improbable soever some of the Contents of this Holy Book may seem to be, they justly command our firm Assent to them.

HERE, and only here, we find the first Institution of *Burying or Inhumation*; the Antiquity of which is greater than is commonly thought. Man's Original and Interment are both joined together, Gen. 3. 19. for he is told by God himself, that he must return unto the Ground, because out of it he was taken: and that he may be assured of it, it is repeated in the same Place, *Dust thou art,*

264 The Excellency and Perfection

and to Dust thou shalt return. Man acts in a Circle, he goes back to his first Principle, to the same Point again, the Earth of which he was compounded. Here is the Primitive Law of *Burial*, i. e. of committing the Body to the *Earth* (which is properly *Interring*): this was instituted by God, and this is the most proper way of disposing of the dead Body. Of this the Pious Sufferer speaks, saying, *Naked came I out of my Mother's Womb, and naked shall I return thither*, Job 1. 21. Having in the former Clause mention'd his *Mother's Womb*, and the *Earth* being as it were his *Mother*, he saith, he shall return *thither*, as if he had mention'd the *Earth*. Therefore, according to *Chrysostom* and some other Expositors, his *Mother's Womb* is interpreted the *Earth*. But there is something more than this, which hath not been taken notice of by Interpreters: therefore the better to shew the Tenour of the Words, I desire it may be observed, that it is in the immediately foregoing Verse said, *Job fell down upon the Ground*, grovell'd upon the bare *Earth*, and then he took occasion to utter these Words, *Naked came I*, &c. As if he had said, I am here laid low upon the *Ground*, which reminds me of my original Extraction: out of this I and all Mankind were first taken, as we were since out of our *Mothers Wombs*, and to the *Ground* we must return again, which is the *Mother* of all. This, as I conceive, is the true Meaning of the Words, which could not have been discover'd without attending to the foregoing Verse, to which these have a plain Reference. This Notion hath been entertained by Pagan Writers when the *Earth* is called by them *παμμήτηρ* and *δυσμήτηρ*, but none of them mention (because they were ignorant of) that first and original Order of Burial, *Unto Dust thou*

thou shalt return, on which this is founded. Man by these Words is appointed to be laid in the Ground, to be buried in the Earth. In pursuance of which Order Men have been naturally enclined to take care of decent *Burial*, and to bestow the Bodies of the Dead in the Earth. Therefore the burying with the *Burial* of an *Ass*, which is properly no burying at all, is abhorred by Mankind, and is threatned as a Judgment from Heaven, *Jer.* 22. 19. for I suppose few will attend to what *Josephus* saith, that *Nebuchadnezzar* took *Jeboiakim* (who is the Person to whom this is threatned) and kill'd him, and ripping up an *Asses* Belly, buried him in it, which this Writer saith is the fulfilling of the Prophecy. It is rather to be understood of his being not buried at all, but expos'd to the Air and Putrefaction above ground (as Beasts are) he being cast forth beyond the Gates of *Jerusalem*, as it follows in the next Clause; and more expressly in *Jer.* 36. 30. his dead Body was cast out in the Day to the Heat, and in the Night to the Frost.

Though *Burial* was used from the beginning, yet the first Instance we meet of it is that in *Gen.* 23. 19. viz. of *Abraham's* burying *Sarah*, to which purpose he bought a Field with a Cave in it, wherein he lodg'd his beloved Wife, *Gen.* 23. 17, 18, 19. and there afterwards he was buried himself, *Gen.* 25. 8. and in the same Sepulchre were deposited the Corps of *Isaac* and *Rebekah*, *Jacob* and *Leah*, *Gen.* 49. 31. This then we are certain of, that Fields were the first Places of *Burial*, (I mean the first that we read of) and Caves the first particular Repositories of the Dead. And thus generally it was afterwards, so far as we have any Discoveries

266 *The Excellency and Perfection*

veries from these Holy Records. The Burying-Places were in the *Fields*, and not within Cities and wall'd Towns. Only here I must premise that there were some few *Exceptions*, as that in *1 Sam. 25. 1. they buried Samuel in his House at Ramah*. There were at that time some Persons interr'd privately, and then their Corps were not carried abroad. This was the Case of *Samuel*, who though he had been an eminent Person, yet chose an obscure Burial. Nay, it is likely that all Persons at first of a mean Figure and private Capacity, were lodg'd when they were dead, in the same Ground on which they dwelt when they were alive. Which is *Servius's* Remark on a Passage in *Virgil*, 'Of old, saith he, all Men were buried in their Houses. And *Isidore* agrees with him. Another Instance of this private Interment was *Joab*, who though he had been a Great Man, yet went off the Stage in very ill Circumstances, and was buried in his own House in the *Wilderness*, *1 Kings 2. 34*. And King *Manasses* who had been so exorbitant an Offender, voluntarily chose a mean and humble Grave in the *Garden of his own House*, *2 Kings 21. 18*. as thinking himself unworthy of the Royal Sepulchre of his Fathers, which was in the *City of David*. And here also is remarkable another Exception, viz. as to the Burial of some of the *Jewish Kings*, who were not buried without the Walls, but in the City it self, viz. *Zion*, (the upper Part of *Jerusalem*, where the Temple and the King's Palace were seated) the *City of David*, as we expressly read concerning the Burial of *David*, *1 Kings 2. 10*. *Solomon*,

* Apud majores omnes homines in suis domibus sepeliebantur. In *Act. 6*. * Prius autem in domo sua quisque sepeliebatur. *Orig. 15. c. 11.*

mon, 1 Kings 11. 43. *Jeboram*, 2 Chron. 21. 20. and others. The rest had a Royal Burying-place without the City, and King *Uzziah* being a Leper, was not interred with some of the other Kings, but in the *Field of the Burial which belong'd to the Kings*, 2 Chron. 26. 23. And in the *Fields* or Places separated from their Cities and great Towns, they generally disposed of their Dead heretofore. *Rachel* was buried in the way to *Ephrath*, i. e. *Bethlehem*, Gen. 35. 19. Not to speak of *Moses's* Burial in a Valley, Deut. 34. 6. which was of God's own disposal, we read that *Aaron* before him was buried on *Mount Hor*, Numb. 20. 28. Deut. 10. 6. and *Josua* after both these on *Mount Ephraim on the Side of a Hill there*, Josh. 24. 30. The Son of the Widow in *Naim* was carried to be buried without the Gates of the City, Luk. 7. 12. *Lazarus's* Grave was without the Town of *Bethany*, John 11. 30, 32. *Joseph's* Sepulchre, where our Saviour was laid, was in a Garden without *Jerusalem*, John 19. 41. in the Place where he was crucified there was a Garden. And that the Graves of the Jews were without the Cities, is evident also from *Mat. 27. 52, 53.* The Graves were opened, and many Bodies of Saints which slept arose, and came out of the Graves, and went into the holy City. Thence the Devils are said to abide among the Tombs, *Mat. 8. 28.* these being Places of Solitude, remote from the City. Hence we read of the *μνημεία τὰ ἄδολα*, Graves that appear not : and the Men that walk over them (they being in the Fields and High-ways) are not aware of them, Luk. 11. 44. To prevent which, they sometimes wash'd them over with White Lime, that Passengers might the better discern and discover them, and thereby avoid Defilement. These are the whited Sepulchres, *Mat. 23. 27.* to which our Saviour compares the

the Pharisees. These were situated in the Common Ways and Fields, at least some were in the Suburbs. This was the Law and Practice of the *Greeks*, and from them the *Romans* borrow'd this Custom, who (as several Authors witness) buried none within the City, but without the Gates in the Fields and High-way Sides: whence the Epitaphs were directed *ad Viatores*. Thus it was among the *Christians* of old: *We bury our dead without the City*, saith ² *Chrysostom*, therein letting us know what was the antient Custom of the *Eastern Churches*. But afterwards People were loth to lie in the wide and open Fields, and desired their dead Bodies might be taken into *Cities*, then into *Church-yards*, and *Constantine* the Great was peculiarly favour'd to be interr'd in the *Church-porch*. Afterwards, when some presum'd to bury their dead in *Churches*, there were ¹ *Canons* made against it. But by degrees it became lawful to do it in most Countries where Christianity was received: and as to *England*, Bodies were first brought to be buried in *Churches* heré, by the Means and Procurement of *Cuthbert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, A. D. 758. The *Turks* at this Day refuse to bury in their *Mosches* or *Temples*, or within the Walls of their *Cities*, though (if you will believe it) their Prophet had the Privilege to be exempted from the common way of Burial, and was entomb'd at *Mecca*. I have this likewise to observe, that as Persons of great Rank had particular Apartments and Places set apart for the burying of themselves and their Family, (as is evident from what hath already been said, and may be confirmed from 2 *Sam.* 19. 37. 1 *Kings*

¹ Homil. 89. tom. 6. ² Bibliothec. Jur. Can. Collect. Conciliorum. Eccles.

1 Kings 13. 22, 31, 32. where these peculiar Repositories are call'd the Graves of their Fathers, and of their Mothers, and the Sepulchers of their Fathers) so the poor and meaner sort of Persons were buried in a common and promiscuous Place of Sepulture, Jer. 7. 32. & 26. 23. the Graves of the Sons of the People.

To Burying appertains *Embalming*, of which we have the first Instance in Gen. 50. 2. And the next is in the 26th ver. for Joseph who had taken that care of his Father, was embalmed himself, and then put in a Coffin, a Chest, as the word *Aron* signifies. No History whatsoever goes so far back as this: though, 'tis true, we have these particular Passages of Moses's History confirmed by Pagan Historians, afterwards; for *Herodotus* tells us this was the Practice of the *Egyptians*, and fully describes the manner of it: yea he mentions the *ὄνυχα*, the Coffins wherein the Corps were deposited after the Embalming was finish'd. *Pliny* doth the like, shewing us how they open'd the Bodies, disbowell'd them, and fill'd them with Aromatics. *Moses* records that forty Days were fulfill'd in Embalming, Gen. 50. 3. which agrees with what *Herodotus* and *Diodore* of Sicily say of this Egyptian Performance, viz. that it was done with great Curiosity and Art, and that a Considerable Time was spent about it. And seeing there was required Skill to know and choose out the best Herbs, Drugs, Ointments and Spices, it is no wonder that this was (as you heard before) the Physicians work. From the *Egyptians* this was derived to other Nations, and particularly to the *Jews*, who constantly used it more or less towards the Bodies of such as were of any Rank and

• In Euterpe. • Nat. Hist. lib. 2, c. 27.

and Quality. Hence we read of the Embalming of King *Aſa*, 2 Chron. 16. 4. of King *Zedekiah*, Jer. 34. 5. of which more anon. And it was uſed to our Saviour, as is particularly recorded, *John* 19. 40. *They took the Body of Jeſus, and wound it in linen Clothes,* (which was a Cuſtom generally obſerv'd by all other Nations, though the ⁷ *Lacedemonians* by a particular Order of *Lycurgus* buried all in *Woollen*, as we do at this Day) *with the Spices, viz. a mixture of Myrrh and Aloes about a hundred Pound weight,* (mention'd in the foregoing Verſe) which *Nicodemus* liberally beſtow'd on Chriſt's Body for this Purpoſe. This they did, deſigning to preſerve it entire and ſound, and to keep it free from Putrefaction, not knowing or being perſwaded of his Reſurrection. And 'tis added here, that this Care of Embalming dead Bodies, was a Jewish Cuſtom, *As the Manner of the Jews is to Embalm;* for ſo we may truly read the Text, ἐνταφιάζεν being the Word here uſed, which is the ſame that the *Seventy Interpreters* expreſs *Embalming* by in *Gen.* 50. 2. So ἐς τὸν ἐνταφιάζον, *Mark* 14. 8. may be rendred not to the burying, but to the embalming: for 'tis ſaid, the pious Female ^a *came afore-hand* in order to this; ſo that ſhe now anticipated that Funeral Work which ſhe and others of her Sex afterwards came to perform to their Dear Maſter, by bringing ſweet Spices to his Sepulchre, *Mark* 16. 1.

But though committing the Body to the Ground (in order to which *Embalming* was uſed) was the generally received Cuſtom of the Jews, yet ſometimes, but very rarely, another was practis'd by them, and that was *Burning* the dead Bodies, or ſome part of them at leaſt. Thus they took the Bodies

⁷ Plutarch. vita Lycurg. ^a ἀποβιβάζει.

dies of Saul and of his Sons from the Place where the Philistines had hung them up, and came to Jabesh, and burnt them there, 1 Sam. 31. 12. They laid the dead Bodies on a Pile of Wood, and consumed the Flesh of them to Ashes, but they buried their Bones (which were not consumed by the Fire) under a Tree at Jabesh, v. 13. But this was an extraordinary Case; for these Bodies had hung so long in the Air, that the Flesh was putrified and rotted, and partly eaten with Worms, so that the committing them to the Fire was the best way of Funerations at that time. There is another Instance of this Funeral Conflagration in Amos 6. 9, 10. *If there remain ten Men in one House, they shall die: and a Man's Uncle shall take him up, and be that burneth him, to bring out the Bones out of the House.* But as we may easily perceive from the Words themselves and the Context, this was in the time of a great Pestilence, which raged so furiously, that there was scarcely a sufficient Number of Men left to bury the Dead, and it was unsafe at such a Time to go abroad, and carry the Corps in solemn manner to the Grave, and perform the Rites of Funeral. In such extremity Burning was a good Expedient, because after the Carcase was reduced to Ashes, the Bones (which being hard and solid remain'd unburnt) might easily be carried out of the infected House, and laid in the Ground. Wherefore from this Place in Amos, and from the foregoing one in Samuel, I think it is evident that they burnt the Corps among the Jews sometimes, though very seldom. There is another Burning at Funerals which we cannot but take notice of: so concerning King Asa, 'tis said that they laid him in the Bed (the Funeral Bed, 2 Sami 3. 31.) which was filled with sweet Odours, and divers kinds of Spices, prepared by the Apothecary's (or Physician's)

lician's) *Art*, (for this King *sought unto them*, and is now come under their last Hands) and *they made a very great Burning for him*, 2 Chron. 16. 14. which cannot be meant of burning his Corps, for 'tis expressly said before in the same Verse, *they buried him in his own Sepulchre* : wherefore this was not a burning his Body in the Fire, but only an usual Piece of State which was observ'd at the Funeral Solemnities of Kings and Great Personages. It was, it seems, the Custom not only to *embalm* the Bodies of such eminent Men, (for that is meant here by the *sweet Odours and divers kinds of Spices prepared by the Apothecary's Art*, whose Employment it partly was to dress Men for their Funerals) but to set up a great Heap or Pile of this sort of Aromaticks, and make a Bonfire of them, as a Triumphal Valediction to the departed. Some add that it was the Custom to burn the Clothes, Chariots, Armour, and other things belonging to the Dead, and that this was in Honour of their Memory. King *Zedekiah*, though he died a Captive, was not denied this last Honour and Obsequy, *Jer. 34. 5. He died with the Burnings of his Fathers, the former Kings that were before him : so they burnt Odours for him, and lamented him.* On which place *Maimonides* notes, that the Jews did not use to burn the dead Bodies, but that this is meant only of burning their Clothes, and some other things appertaining to them, with Frankincense and other Aromatick Drugs, in Honour of the deceased. But though it was no Jewish Custom to burn the dead Bodies, yet it is probable that they extracted the *Entrails*, (as was usual in *Embalming*, to which this and the former Texts do partly refer) and consumed them in the Fire with those Perfumes before spoken of. So that the *Serephah*, the Burning which you read of in the fore-named

named Place was not (as is imagined by Interpreters generally) for *Royal State* only, but it was in way of *Pollinſure*.

And this Opinion was firſt ſuggeſted to me from 2 Chron. 21. 18, 19. where the reaſon is aſſigned why the People of *Iſrael* reſuſed to pay this Funeral Duty to *K. Jehoram*, *He was ſmote in the Bowels with an incurable Diſeaſe, and his Bowels fell out by reaſon of his Sickneſs, of which he died: and his People made no Burning for him, like the Burning of his Fathers.* Obſerve it, his Bowels being rotted, and by that means looſned, fell out, and were immediately diſpoſed of by reaſon of the Stench, and conſequently theſe Parts could not be pompouſly laid on the Fire with ſweet Odours, as was the Cuſtom, and (as the Conſequence of this) there could be no Funeral Burning for him. I know 'tis generally ſaid by Expoſitors, that this Ceremony was omitted meerly becauſe this *Jehoram* was a wicked King: and *Grotius* goes along with them, and adds, that they paid a greater or leſſer Honour to their Kings when they were dead according to the Merits of their Actions when they were alive, which he applauds as a Good Cuſtom. But though this might be true, yet it is not the Reaſon that is here given (which we are now enquiring into) why there was no Burning for *Jehoram*. The true Cauſe of this Omiſſion was (as this Text acquaints us) *the falling out of his ulcerated Bowels by reaſon of his Sickneſs*, whereby it became impoſſible to have the uſual Burning of his Fathers, whoſe Bowels were entire and ſound, and ſo capable of being burnt in a ſolemn Manner with all ſorts of Spices and Odours. This was a Concomitant of the Embalming, and ſo accordingly in the forenamed Inſtances of *Aſa* and *Zedekiah* 'tis probable their Entrails were taken out

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(according to the Custom of *Embalming*) in order to have their dead Bodies replenish'd with odoriferous Compositions: and *the Burning for them* spoken of in the respective Places, is meant of the consuming of their Intestines in the Fire with sweet-smelling Gums and precious Ointments. But *Jehoram* was wholly incapable, because of the unusual Malady whereof he died, of this Fragrant Burning, which was the Funeral Ceremony generally used at the Deaths of his Progenitors. This I take to be the genuine meaning of the Place: but however, I submit this to the Judgment of Learned and Impartial Criticks, who (whether this Comment be true or conjectural only) will not disdain this free offer of my Sentiments on this Text. It appears from what hath been said that the *Funeral Burning* of the *Jews*, and of the *Heathens*, was not of the same kind. The former was only a committing of the Bowels of the Dead to the Flames, the latter was a Burning of their whole Bodies. Besides, among the *Jews* their Conflagration was used to their Kings and Great Ones only, but among the *Pagans* to all. *Burying in the Ground*, as *Pliny* acknowledeth, had the Priority among the *Romans* and others, of *Burning the dead Bodies*; for this latter had its Rise, he saith, from the barbarous and inhumane digging up of the Carcasses by Enemies: to prevent which they consumed a great Part of them in their Funeral Pyres, and what was remaining was preserv'd in Sepulchral Urns and Pitchers, and deposited so deep in the Earth that they were for the most part out of the Reach of the Adversary. This was the Custom of the Old *Germans*, as *Tacitus* reports: and from other Authors it ap-
pears

pears that the Antient Galls, Spaniards, and other Nations, were no Strangers to it. Yea, some Old Britains took it up, and *Polydore* mentions particularly the Flaming, the Blazing Obsequies of *Belinus* King of the Britains. This Pagan Usage was first left off among the Romans in the Reigns of the *Antonines*. And when Christianity got a firmer Footing in the World, it was quite laid aside and extinct, and they return'd to the old Primitive Institution of burying the dead Bodies in the *Earth*, from whence they had their Original.

Of other things relating to *Funeral Rites* we have the antientest Account in these Inspired Writings: as namely, that they used to mourn for the Dead in a solemn manner, *rending their Garments*, and *putting on Sackcloth*, as may be gathered from what *Jacob* did, thinking his Son *Joseph* was dead, *Gen.* 37. 34. and as may be made appear from more positive Texts, which make mention of exchanging their usual Habit for *Hair-cloth*, or some such coarse sort of Covering (known by the Name of *Sac*, not only among the *Hebrews*, but all other Nations) whereby they used to testify their Grief. This altering, the Habit and Wearing of *Mourning Apparel* at Funerals was afterwards practised among the *Jews*, *2 Sam.* 14. 2. So was the Ceremony of *covering the Face and Head*, *2 Sam.* 19. 4. for in that manner *David* express'd his Mourning for the Death of his dear *Absalom*. Whence we may understand the Meaning of *Lev.* 10. 6. *Uncover not your Heads*, i. e. put not off your usual Head-Attire to put on the Covering of *Mourners*: it is not God's Will that you should lament the Death of those wicked Men, *Nadab* and *Abihu*. And from this you may know how to interpret *Ezek.* 24. 17. *Bind the Tire of thy Head upon thee*, i. e. keep on thy

276 *The Excellency and Perfection*

ordinary Head-Apparel, and do not change it for a *Mourning* one, such as is used at Funerals. The Prophet is here forbid upon the Death of his Wife to use any such Funeral Ceremony. There was antiently a peculiar Space of Time allotted for lamenting the Deceased, which they call'd *the Days of Mourning*, Gen. 27. 41. & 50. 4. Thus the Egyptians, who revered the Patriarch *Jacob* as a Prince and a Great Man, lamented his Death *threescore and ten Days*, Gen. 50. 3. which is confirmed by what *Diodorus* the Sicilian saith, that the Egyptians mourned for their Kings, when they died, seventy two Days: wherein he is either guilty of a small Mistake of the Number, or those People afterwards added two Days more to the Time of Mourning. But it must needs be an Oversight in *Josephus*, when he saith, the Time of Public Mourning among the Egyptians was forty Days. Which Mistake perhaps was grounded on what is said in the preceding Words of the fore-cited Place, *forty Days were fulfilled for the embalming*: so that it is likely he mistook the time of *Embalming* or making Preparations in order to the Funeral, for the time of *Mourning*, which was distinct from that, and was seventy Days. The *Hebrews* Term of Condoleance was far short of this, for *Joseph* mourned for his Father but *seven Days*, Gen. 50. 10. And generally afterwards the Funeral Mourning was confined within a Week both among the *Jews*, 1 Sam. 31. 13. and the *Arabians*, Job 2. 13. Thus the Time of *Mourning* was proportionable to that of *Feasting*, which (as I have observed) lasted seven Days. Yet at some Times, and for extraordinary Reasons, it was lengthened out

out to a much longer Season: thus they mourned for the Death of *Aaron thirty days*, Numb. 20. 29. and so long a Time they lamented the Death of *Moses*, Deut. 34. 8. And this particular Period of Funeral Lamentation is mention'd in Deut. 21. 13.

Mourning at Funerals was heretofore help'd and advanced by *Musick*, and that both of Voice and Instrument. Thence 'tis said that King *Josias's* Death was lamented by *all the singing Men and the singing Women*, 2 Chron. 35. 25. And thence you read of the *Mourning Women*, Jer. 9. 17. the same with those that were afterwards call'd *בְּכָיִים* *Be-wailers, Lamenters*, of whom *Buxtorf* speaks. The same with the *Præfica* among the *Romans*, and the *Αγοιδῆ* among the *Greeks*, who were hired at Funerals to soften and melt the Relations of the Deceased into Fits of dolorous Passion by their mournful Notes. Of this sort are the *Mourners* that go about the Streets, Eccl. 12. 5. that attend the Corps to the Grave, the *long Home*, (as 'tis stiled in that Verse) for the Chaldee Paraphrast expounds *Beit Gnomam* by the *House of the Sepulture*. The Forms used at these Funeral Lamentations and Outcries are mention'd in Jer. 22. 18. *Ab my Brother, ab my Sister*, &c. and in Ch. 34. v. 5. To the mournful Musick on such Occasions refer the Prophet's Words, Jer. 48. 36. *my Heart shall sound like Pipes*, i. e. with a Mourning-sound such as Minstrels made at Funerals, as a *Modern Critick* rightly guesses, tho' *Dr. Hammond* is positive that there is no mention of Instruments of Musick at Funerals in the Old Testament. In the New Testament we read of the

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¹ Lexic. Talmud. ² *Sr. N. Knatchbull*, in Mat. 9. 23. ³ *Annotat. in Mat. 9. 23.*

278 *The Excellency and Perfection*

the αὐλῆται, the *Players on the Pipe or Flute* at the Houses of those who were deceased, *Mat.* 9. 23. For this Musick was used before the Dead were carried forth to Burial, but chiefly at the time of Interment. That this Custom was received among the *Gentiles* is clear from that of *Ovid*,

' Cantabis mœstis tibia funeribus.

And again,

' Tibia funeribus convenit ista meis.

And these hired *Pipers* served indifferently at *Funerals*, and at *Weddings*, or the like Occasions of rejoicing, as is deducible from *Mat.* 11. 17. Further, it is observable that after the Burial of the Dead, a *Supper* was wont to be made: a Feast of rejoicing succeeded the mournful Exequies. Thus after *Abner's* Funerals were over, *all the People follow'd*, or *came to David* (who was the Chief Mourner that Day, and it is probable had invited them to the Funeral Banquet) *to eat Meat with him*, 2 Sam. 3. 35. Of this Feasting and Rejoicing after the Burial of the dead, *Jeremiah* speaks *Ch.* 16. v. 7. calling it *Cos Tanchumim*, the *Cup of Consolation*, which they drank for their Father or for their Mother, i. e. which they took to comfort and refresh them when their Relations were departed: and accordingly the Place where this Funeral Supper was made is called the *House of Feasting* in the next Verse. And no Man can be backward to think that this is intended by *eating the Bread of Men*, *Ezek.* 24. 17. if he seriously peruse the foregoing part of the Verse, which speaks wholly of the Funeral Customs. This is the *Bread of Mourners*, *Hos.* 9. 4.

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Thus in compliance with the Jewish Custom (as ¹ Josephus saith) *Archelaus* mourned seven Days for his Father, and entertained the People with a costly *Funeral Banquet*, which he calls ἐπιτάφιον ἐξίανον. And from the Hebrews these *Sepulchral Feasts* were derived to the Greeks and Romans, especially the latter, among whom ² *Dio* and ³ *Tully* and others take notice of this Usual Entertainment.

Lastly, as for *Funeral Monuments*, we learn their great Antiquity from 1 *Sam.* 6. 18. where mention is made of the *Great Stone of Abel*, perhaps the Tomb-stone of that Holy Man and First Martyr, (for it may be that Proper Name was written sometimes with an *Aleph*, as well as with a *He*, in the beginning) who deservedly had this Sepulchral Monument erected for him in *Palestine* near *Bethshe-mesh*. This *Eben Gedolah* (for *Eben* is of the feminine as well as the masculine Gender, and so is λίθος) this *Great-stone* was mention'd before in *v.* 15. and here in this it is call'd *Abel Hagedolah*, the word *Stone* being here understood; or else the *Stone* is call'd *Abel* because it was his Memorial, as we call Statues and Pictures by the Names of those who are represented by them. If then I should assert that this is the *Tomb-stone* which *Adam* erected in Memory of his murder'd Son *Abel*, and so was the first Funeral Monument in the World, I am sure there is none can disprove it. But because there is no certainty of this, and it may be *Abel* in this Place is no more than *Ebel*, *luctus*, (as that Hebrew Word signifies) and so relates to the remarkable Occasion of *Mourning* which we read of *v.* 19. therefore I shall dismiss it, and propound that which is plain, certain and undeniable. Such is *Jacob's setting a*

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Pillar

¹ Αλλ' σ. β. ² Lib. 40. ³ Orat. pro Murenâ.

280 *The Excellency and Perfection*

Pillar on Rachel's Grave, Gen. 35. 20. He that had set up a Stone for a Pillar as a Memorial of the Covenant made between *Laban* and him, Gen. 31. 45, &c. and had at other times done the same upon Religious and Devout Occasions, Gen. 28. 18, 22. & 31. 45. erects here another Pillar as a Monument for his beloved *Rachel*, a visible Remembrance of that Vertuous Woman, and also a Testimony of his own Kindness and Love to her. This was known by the Name of *Rachel's Sepulcher*, and continued till the latter End (and 'tis likely a long Time after) of *Samuel's* Days, 1 Sam. 10. 2. that is, almost seven hundred Years from the first erection of it. Among the first and Antient Tombs, or Monumental Sepulchers, we must reckon those that are said in Scripture to be composed of great Heaps of Stones. Such is that in *Josh. 7. 26.* They raised over him (i. e. *Achan*) a great heap of Stones, which remains unto this Day. And the like Monument had the King of *Ai*, *Josh. 8. 29.* They took his Carcase down from the Tree, and cast it at the entering of the Gate of the City, (there interring it, a little without the City) and raised thereon a great heap of Stones, that remaineth unto this Day. And a Sepulchral Structure of the very same Sort was set over the Body of *Absalom*, They took him and cast him into a great Pit in the Wood, and laid a very great heap of Stones upon him, 1 Sam. 18. 17.

From which three Instances I observe, 1. That this sort of Monument was made for those whose Deaths were untimely and violent. Whence we might be apt to infer that these were Monuments of Infamy: and accordingly the Heap of Stones laid over *Achan* and his Sons, is call'd by *Josephus*, ταφὴ ἀτιμῶν. But we are not certain that this particular kind of Monuments was appropriated to this

this Rank of Persons. It might have been erected for the Good and Vertuous as well as others, tho the Scripture affords us no Examples of the former.

2. I observe here the Nature of these *Old Monuments*, and that as to these two things; first, this great *Mass* of Stones was not meerly to cover the dead Bodies, (for from the foregoing Instances we find that they were buried in the Earth before) but there was an Edifice erected over them, which was built of these Stones, to be a lasting Remembrance to Posterity. This *great heap of Stones* was not confusedly cast upon them, but laid in some kind of Order by and upon one another: so that this was a *Fabrick*, such as it was. This I gather from the Hebrew Words *הקים* and *הציב*, which we find used in the forenamed Texts, and which signify to *raise, set up, erect*: wherefore these Stones were not cast or thrown upon, or laid over the dead Bodies disorderly, but were a real Building. But secondly, we may gather from their being call'd a *great heap of Stones*, that they were not disposed with any Curiosity or Skill, they were set up without hewing, shaping, polishing. This sort of Inartificial Building was sometimes without any *Cement* at ali, at other times with a Careless Use of it, but such as render'd the Pile firm, solid and durable; otherwise it could not have lasted so long a Time as we have heard it did. This is the Notion that I form of these *first Rude Sepulchers*: and you see that the Terms in which they are express'd are a Confirmation of it. These let us know that they were an Edifice, but very Incondite and Artless: which could not be more fitly express'd to us than by *raising a great heap of Stones*. And indeed this was the old Way of Entombing Great Men and Heroes among the *Gentiles*:
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282 *The Excellency and Perfection*

they heap'd up great and massy Stones upon one another, and seem'd as it were to frame a Mountain rather than a Monument, according to that of the Poet,

' Et regum cineres extructo monte quiescunt.

Such a Monstrous Pile I take *Stone-beng* on *Salisbury Plains* to be, which without doubt is a very Antient Piece. I look upon it as a *Sepulchral Monument* of the primitive Order and Fashion, such as those I have been speaking of, *viz.* an Indigested, Artless, Formless Tomb. This Apprehension I prefer before any of the others which Writers have publish'd concerning this Antique Structure. Some think they give a true Account of it when they tell us that it was made of Heaps of Sand and some Unctuous Matter that lay in that Part of the Plains, and by means of these two incorporating together this Pile of Stones was made. Mr. *Cambden* mentions this, and seems partly to approve of it, but the Examples which he produces to confirm it are not of the like Nature, but far different. And truly though we should suppose some such unwonted (though natural) Coagmentation of Sand and Gravel, yet what sober Man can imagine such High Heaps or Mountains of them in that Spot of Ground, and no where else? This therefore looks a little too Romantick. Others would perswade us that it is a *Sea-Concretion*, and to this Purpose they suppose that these Plains were once part of the Sea; but this is as Chimerical a Notion as the other, because of the great distance of this Place from the Sea, and because the
shape

shape of these Stones seems not to be natural but factitious. Others think it was no Work of Nature, but of Art: these affirm it to be a *Temple* either, 1. of the *Tuscan Order* (as 'One not unskill'd in Architecture suggests) and dedicated to *Cælus*, and therefore is without a Roof. He thinks it was built by the *Romans* when they were Masters of this Countrey. But supposing this was a *Roman Temple* without a *Roof*, yet who can believe that it was without *Walls* and *Foundation*? But such we must fancy this to be, for neither of these can be found here: wherefore there is no reason to believe that it was a Building of that kind. Or 2. it was (as 'others think) a *Temple of Herthus* or *Hertba*, a God or Goddess of the Old Germans, and consequently of the Saxons our Ancestors here in *Britain*, who call'd this Deity *Earth*, the same with *Vesta* and *Terra* among the Romans. But what I said before will serve to confute this groundless Conjecture. Only here observe how far distant the Opinions of Writers are about it: some will have it to be a Place dedicated to *Heaven*, and others to the *Earth*. Or 3. (as 'another surmises) this Structure was in imitation of those Temples of old among the *Pagans* which were wont to be built of unpolish'd Stone, and without Art, because these were thought to be most acceptable to the Gods. Of which he saith there were many Instances, but produceth none; for instead of *Temples* he mentions *Altars* and *Statues* made after this Fashion, as those sacred to *Diana* and the *Sun* spoken of by *Herodian*, and the Statue of *Mars* in *Arnobius*. But 'tis enough here to recur to my former Answer, which 'tis impossible

¹ Inigo Jones in his *Stone-heng Restored*.

² See *Spelman*.

³ *Dr. Spencer de Leg. Hebr. l. 2. c. 6.*

284 *The Excellency and Perfection*

impossible to evade, *viz.* that here are no Marks or Footsteps of such a Building as a *Temple*. Or, if you should say that there were of old, but are now missing, it is spoken without Proof, and therefore we need not attend to it: and besides, you must tell us why all is not missing as well as some. These are the Absurdities wherewith those Authors are press'd who hold *Stone-heng* to have been a *Temple*.

But those in my Judgment are in the right, and are clogg'd with no such Inconveniences, who hold this Great Amassment of Stones to be a *Funerall Monument* in remembrance of some eminent Persons laid there. The particuliar Occasion is not well known, though the Common Opinion is that this Pile was erected in Memory of the British Lords perfidiously murder'd by the Saxons here, upon an Interview in King *Vortimer's* Reign: for they tell us that *Aurelius Ambrosius*, a Roman by Birth, but a great Lover of the Britains, came over soon after this inhumane Slaughter to rescue them from the Insolency of the Saxons, and then he erected this Monument in the Place where those treacherous Villains slew the British Nobility, and interr'd them. Others say it was erected in Memory of *Ambrosius* himself, who expired in this Plain, where he so valiantly fought against the tyrannizing Saxons. But neither of these Opinions have any sure Foundation. The latter is rendred very improbable by the Reasons which *Jones* hath offer'd. Nor is the former (which prevails most) attested by Authors of very good Credit, unless we reckon *Geoffery Monmouth* and *Polydore Virgil* (the chiefest Writers that speak of this Structure) to be such. Whereupon our 'Judicious Antiquary deploures

' *Camden, in Britannia.*

deplores this Unhappiness, that the Founders and Authors of this Wonderful Structure are utterly forgotten. Perhaps it was set up in Honour of *Boudicia* a famous British Queen, who was kill'd with fourscore thousand in a Battel against the Romans and Britains Romaniz'd, in *Nero's* Reign. This is the Conjecture of the Author of the *History* call'd *New Caesar*. But neither is this founded on any sure Basis: though 'tis true he quotes *Dio* and *Xiphilin* who say she was buried very Magnificently by the Britains. Dr. *Charlton* (who hath writ against *Jones*) saith this Fabrick was erected in the Reign of King *Alfred* by the Danes, who at that time domineer'd in the West of *England*: But I do not find that this Learned Man offers any convincing Proof of this. I rather think that this Ragged Pile was of much antienter Date: and that is the Reason why we have no certain notice of the particular Occasion of it.

But notwithstanding this Obscurity, we have good reason to assert that it is an *Old Funeral Monument* made after the first and antient Fashion, i. e. Rude, Unpolish'd, Artless. Nay indeed, it seems to be a *Triple Monument*, for it is compos'd of three divisions of Stones at some distance from one another, and the *Ditch* or *Pit* in which they are situated, is the particular Place where the dead Bodies (for whose Sake this Memorial was erected) were laid. Not but that in other adjacent Places there were other Bodies deposited, and hence it is that Mens Bones have been dug up here, as Mr. *Cambden* informs us: which is a farther Proof that this part of the Plains was a Place of *Burial*, and that this Great *Stone-Pile* hath relation to that, i. e. that it is a *Sepulcher*, and not a *Temple*. Nay, I could add that it is probable a great part of this spacious Plain was
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on occasion of some famous Slaughter turn'd into a *Burying-Place*, and not only Tombs of *Stone* were set up for the most Eminent Persons that lost their Lives, but others of *Clods* were rais'd for those of an inferiour Degree: for there are many of these *Turf-Monuments* on *Salisbury-Plain*, which the neighbouring Inhabitants call *Berries*, *Barrows*, or *Burrows*, (whence perhaps the Towns fenced heretofore with Walls of Turf or Clods of Earth were call'd *Burrows* or *Boroughs*) which have their Denomination from the Saxon *Byring* or *Buriging* or *Boroging*, which we now call *Burying*, because the way of Interring dead Bodies among many of the Antients (and among the *Saxons* themselves, with whom *Beorg*, the Original of the foregoing Words, signified an *heap of Earth*) was not in deep Graves, but under Clods or Turfs of Earth made into Hillocks.

As to the fastning and joining together these Stones which we are speaking of, though this hath perplexed some Mens Minds heretofore it seems, and occasion'd them to report that they were transported whole from *Ireland* by *Merlin's* Inchantment, (as 'tis not unusual with the Vulgar, when they cannot give an Account of a Thing, to ascribe it to the Devil, or some Magick Art) I am not very solicitous to solve the manner of it; but this sufficeth me, that 1. It was usual among the Old Romans (as all skilful and knowing Men in Architecture confess) to lay great and vast Stones together by *Tenons* and *Mortises* without Morter. And so it may be here, (which may induce us to think it was a *Roman* Structure) and therefore in vain do we endeavour to find where they are joined and fastned together. 2. I am satisfied that they had of old ways of *Cementing* Stones which
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are not known or practis'd at this Day: and they had an Art of making the Cement after that manner that it could not be distinguish'd from the Stones themselves which it joined together. *Pliny* speaks of *Cisterns* at *Rome* made of a sort of dug Sand and strong Lime, which could not be distinguish'd from Stone. It is not unlikely then that there was here used a kind of Morter that hardned into Stone, and became of the same Consistency with it. Nor is it improbable that this petrified Coagmentation turn'd into the same Colour with the Stones which it joined together; and then how can we expect to discern the Difference between them? and then why should it be thought strange that they seem to be all of a Piece? Which puts me in mind of the *Name* which this Stony Fabrick is commonly known by, an Account of which I will give somewhat different from what is usually received. If I should propound this Etymology, *viz.* that *Stone-beng* is so call'd from the *Stones* which *Ambrosius* is thought to have erected here, and from *Hengist* the Leader of the Saxons, at whose giving the Word they pull'd out their Seaxes and kill'd the British Nobles, so that *Stone-beng* is as much as *Hengist-stone*, (as this Countrey of *Britain* was by the Saxons call'd *Hengist-land*, as some Writers tell us) this Derivation cannot be look'd upon as improper: Or if I should offer Mr. *Cambden's* Origination of the Word, *viz.* from the *Stones* of this Fabrick hanging as 'twere in the Air, whence he calls it *Penfile opus*, this might be thought a fair Account of the Name. But in my opinion, and according to what I have already hinted, the plainest, simplest and most genuine Derivation of the Word is from the *Stones hanging* (not in the Air, but) together, each heap of them seeming to be
all

288 *The Excellency and Perfection*

all of a Piece. For this is the great wonder of this Structure, as is confess'd by all; this is that which renders it a Fabrick of a peculiar and unparallel'd Nature. The Stones are closely join'd together by an invisible Cement, they hang together as if they were but *one Stone*. For this reason therefore I quit the other Derivations of the Word, and offer this as the most obvious and proper.

But it is not the Name but the Thing that I am most concern'd for, and I hope I have given a satisfactory Account of that, in asserting it to be an *Old Sepulchral Pile*, erected after the manner of those *Funeral Monuments* spoken of in *Joshua* and *Samuel*, where we find that the Antient Entombing was raising a great heap of Stones over the dead Bodies. This is the best Solution I can give of our Western Wonder. It is, as the First Monuments were, without any Shape or Symmetry, it is like the *Jewish Stone-henges* (before mention'd) rough and unwrought, and may (as they) be call'd a *heap of Stones* for that reason. Whence by the way it may be worth the Observation of Critical Men that the Hebrew Word *קבר* is both *Acerous* and *Sepulchrum*, a *Heap* and a *Tomb*, Job 21. 32. & 30. 24. Also *קבר* is the known Hebrew Word for a *Grave*; but in *Isa.* 14. 19. the *Seventy* render it *qos* a *Mountain*, because Places of burial were elevated. The Word *קבר* hath the same double Sense, from *Talal*, *instar tumuli aut cumuli elevare, erigere*. So *Tumulus* among the Latins is both an *heap of Earth*, and a *Sepulcher*: whence it is plain that the Old Hebrews and Antient Romans used to erect heaps of Earth or Stone in memory of the Dead. To conclude, whosoever they were that were buried in the foresaid Place in *Wiltshire* were entombed as *Achan*, as the *Kings of Ai*, and as *Abalom* were.

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Here was the first Draught of the *Stony Tombs*; these were the first Patterns of those Sepulchral Monuments which were inartificial, shapeless and without Ornament. Afterwards they took more care in erecting their Houses of Sepulture. Stately and lofty Tombs were made by Great Men with much Art and Cost, which is call'd *beewing out* to themselves Sepulchers on high, *Ila. 22. 16.* Yea, their *monuments* were not only better built, but garnish'd and adorned, *Mat. 23. 29.*

But I will add no more of this Subject, nor insist any longer on this Second General Head of my Discourse, wherein I have been evincing this Proposition, that the Scripture gives us the True Original of things, and consequently the Antientest Learning is stored up in this Sacred Volume. I have largely shew'd that here is the first commenting of *Arts* and all *Ingenious Discoveries*: here is the first Rise of *Trades, Mysteries, Occupations, Professions, Customs, Usages, Manners.* Yea, the Holy Scripture disdains not to record the First Inventions of things though they be but mean and contemptible; to shew that no sort of Learning and Knowledge is useless. Thus it is said, *This is that Anah that found the Mules in the Wilderness, as he fed the Asses of his Father, Gen. 36. 24.* This is the Man (and let him be known to Posterity) that not by chance, but purposely and designedly, found this new way of Procreation, and thereby produced a new Species of Animals. Some Jewish Writers have thought this *Femim* was a Plant, but there is not the least ground for it. The Learned Bochart makes *Femim* to be the same with *Emim*, some Giantly People; but this is a perverting of the Original Text, and therefore must not be allow'd of: and the finding of them is, according to him, the Acci-

296 *The Excellency and Perfection*

dental meeting of them, but this is very flat. I hold therefore to the plain Interpretation of the pure Hebrew Text, which tells us that *Anah found the Mules*, &c. *i. e.* he caused the first Engendering of Horses and She-Ases together. Whence arose that unnatural breed of Creatures call'd *Mules*. And if you will believe the *Rabbins*, he was of a spurious and incestuous Stock himself. Here by the way the Learned may enquire whether there be not some probability that *Homer's Enchi*, from whom came the Race of *wild Mules*,

' (Εἴ' ΕΥΕΤΑΝ, ὅθεν ἠμύνοντο ἵπῳ ἀγροκότῳ)

be not corruptly named from this *Anah* or *Enchi*, for so the *Seventy* Interpreters express his Name. But this is the thing that I observe at present, that the Sacred History takes notice even of small Occurrences, and thereby lets us see that it is very full and particular in giving an Account of the first Inventions of things. It is true, other Authors have attempted to discover this, and to present us with the History of the Rise of Sciences, and the Founders of them. *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Plutarch*, *Porphyrus*, *Tully*, *Varro*, *Pliny*, give us some light into these things, but it is dark in respect of the clear Discoveries in the Old Testament. Out of these foresaid Writers *Polydore Virgil* hath given us a pitiful short Account of the Inventers of Arts, and other useful things among Men. *Saturn*, *Ceres*, *Pallas*, and other Gods and Goddesses among the Pagans are assigned the first Founders of them. All this is feigned Antiquity, unless so far as it hath some reference to the Holy

Scriptures, and under those disguised Names points at the Persons who are mention'd in this Inspired Book. Hence, and from no other Writings, the first Original of things is to be had: and it must needs be so, because all the best and antientest Authors have borrow'd from the Old Testament. It is granted that Arts and Professions received their Improvement and Perfection afterwards, and therefore we cannot expect that these should be found in Scripture; but the first Rise of them was among the early Posterity of Adam and Noah, and therefore the first mention of them is found here, and no where else. Some of these are but little and mean things, I know, but yet 'tis certain they are as great as the Greatest Criticks take notice of sometimes, and spend much time about in Other Authors. This moreover is to be said, that here we are Certain of what we read, we are Sure the thing is so, which we are not in Other Writers.

But before I speak of that, let me insist a little upon This, that it is a singular Commendation of the Authors and Penmen of the Old Testament, but especially of Moses, that, being the First Writers, they borrow from none, but Other Writers are beholden to them. It may be observ'd, that Writers in all Faculties have shewed themselves not backward in imitating others that writ before them, or, in plainer terms, of Filching from them. This we may see in the Poets, all the Greek ones take many things out of Homer, and he himself was a Filcher no less than they, for you may descry Poetick Theft in the very Entrance of his *Iliads*: when *Æneas*, *God*, was stolen from an Antienter Poet, *Orpheus*; besides that he borrowed the main things in that Poem from *Dares the Phrygian*, and *Dicys the Cretian*, who wrote before him of the

Trojan War. Nay, *Suidas* tells us, that he took a great part of his Poem from *Corinnus* a Trojan Poet, Scholar of *Palamedes*. And as for *Aristophanes*, he borrows much from *Euripides*, as an observant Eye cannot but take notice. As for the *Latin* Poets, they have particular Authors in whose Steps they tread. *Virgil* in his *Eclogues* and *Bucolicks* strives to resemble *Theocritus*, in his *Georgicks* *Hesiod* and *Aratus*, and in his *Aeneids* *Homer*. *Horace* writes in imitation of the *Greek* Lyrics, and tho he calls these Imitators *servum pecus*, yet he is pleas'd to follow *Anacreon*, and especially *Pindar*: *Plautus* and *Terence* are Emulators of *Epicharmus* and *Menander*. In brief, *Alian* and others look upon all Poets after *Homer* to be but his Apes. Amongst Orators the chiefest of them think fit to borrow or steal from one another, as *Tully* from *Demosthenes*, and he from *Pericles*, and this last from *Pisistratus*. In *Philosophy* it were easy to observe the same, and *Seneca* frankly confesseth it; 'If any of the Moralists, saith he, hath an Excellent Saying, I make it mine. Thus he speaks in excuse of himself for using several of *Epicurus's* Sentences, and that very frequently. Before him *Plato* stole from *Heraclius*, *Pythagoras* and *Socrates*, saith *Hesychius*. And if we may believe *Athenæus*, the greatest part of *Plato's* Dialogues was taken from *Aristippus* and *Antisthenes*. Among the *Historians* there is the same Trade carried on: *Justin* is a downright Plagiary, taking all from *Trogus Pompeius*. *Apion* transcribes many entire Sentences and other considerable Passages out of *Polybius*, *Plutarch*, and others, and takes no notice of their belonging to those Persons, but

* Quicquid hanc dictum est ab ullo, meum est. *Epist.* 16.
 Deipnosoph. lib. 11.

but sets them down as his own: for which Reason he is stiled by *Scaliger*, *alienorum laborum fucus*, a Drone that lived upon others Labours. *Solinus* almost transcribes *Pliny*, his *Polyhistor* is but a Variation of the other's *Natural History*: and *Pliny* himself acknowledgeth that he gather'd his Book out of a great Number of Authors Greek and Latin. So in Ecclesiastical History, *Eusebius* took all or most of *Julius Africanus* (an Excellent Writer, and the first Christian Chronologer) his Book *de Temporibus* into his *Chronicon*. In Canon Law *Balsamon* all along transcribes *Zonaras* on the Councils. In *Medicks* *Avicenna* borrows from *Galen*, and *Galen* from *Hippocrates*. So in Divinity, St. *Hilary's* Commentaries are for the most part taken out of *Origen*. *Theophylact* is a constant Imitator, or Transcriber rather, of *Chrysostom*; and *Oecumenius* takes from him very largely. If we should descend to Modern Writers (and those very excellent ones too) we may espy the same thing practised by them. *Tasso* is beholden to *Virgil* for much of his Model and Characters. *Galatinus* stole all from *Porchetus*, a Franciscan from a Carthusian Monk. *Isidore Clarissus* transcribes whole Pages out of *Sebastian Munster*; and we know of a Learned *English Paraphrast* and *Annotator* who hath often conferr'd Notes with a *Belgick* one: You will find Monsieur *Le Jay* complaining that Bishop *Walton* stole from him his *Polyglotts*. Thus the best Authors are beholden to one another: and indeed there is very good Reason for it sometimes, and you cannot expect it should be otherwise; for they find it requisite to borrow of those who have treated of the same Argument, both because they have said those things which cannot be omitted on the Subject, and also sometimes because they are naturally inclined to

294 *The Excellency and Perfection*

embrace the very same Notions and Sentiments. This then is an Epidemick Fault, and who is there that is not in part guilty?

But we are speaking now of a Book and of Authors where nothing of this nature can happen, for the *Old Testament* (which is the Writings we speak of) was, as to a great part of it, extant before there were any Writers in the World, and so it was utterly impossible to borrow from Others. This is the Peculiar Excellency of this Book, this is the Particular Commendation of these Writings that they were the First of all, and could not be taken from any else. These Holy Scriptures borrow from none, unless you will say they do so from Themselves; as the 18th Psalm is taken out of 2 Sam. 22. or this out of that. The Evangelists borrow from one another. The Virgin Mary's *Magnificat* refers in several Places of it to Hannah's Song, 1 Sam. 2. and St. Paul takes some things out of his Epistle to the *Ephesians*, and puts them into that which he wrote to the *Colossians*; and so St. Jude may be said to borrow from St. Peter; but this is not the Plagiarism which Other Writers are guilty of, and which is an Argument of their Wants and Defects, whereas the Holy Spirit supplied the Penmen of the Bible both with Matter and Words. In the *Old Testament* especially, and more particularly in the *Books of Moses*, there is nothing at second hand: all is fresh and new; the things there spoken of were never delivered by any Writer before. But most of the Profane Historians began when the Holy History was just ending. And *Herodotus* himself, the Father of History, writ not till *Ezra* and *Nehemiah's* time. The *Greek* Historians go no further back than the *Persian Empire*; and most of the *Roman History* takes not

its Rise so high. Indeed the Egyptians boasted that they had been ruled by Kings above ten thousand Years, (as *Herodotus* relates) and thence perhaps it was that one of their *Pharaoh's* (which was the common Name of all their Kings) bragg'd that *he was the Son of antient Kings*, Isa. 19. 11. The Chinoises pretend to give an Account of Passages almost three thousand Years before Christ: and we are told by *Martinius* (in his *Atlas*) that they preserve a continued History, compiled from their Annual Exploits, of four thousand and five hundred Years: yea they have (if we may credit the younger *Vossius*) Writers antienter than *Moses*. But these high Flights are exploded by all Considerate Men, and upon a View of whatever Pretences are made by Others, they conclude that *Moses* was the Antientest Writer, and that the earliest Discovery of Transactions and Occurrences in the World is to be learnt from him alone. Some of the Wisest Pagans had a hint of this, and travell'd into the Eastern Countries to acquaint themselves with these Records. And it was observ'd long since by *Plato*, (as I took notice before) that the Oldest and most Barbarous Tongues (meaning the Hebrew and Chaldee) were very requisite for the finding out the first Beginnings of things: for the first Names of them, which are now grown obsolete by length of time, are preserved in those Languages, they being the antientest of all. In the Hebrew especially are to be found the Primitive Origines of things: and most of the Pagan *Historians* have borrowed from these. And so have their *Poets*, *Orators* and *Philosophers*, as a great Number of the Christian Fathers (whom I have particular-

298 *The Excellency and Perfection*

ly quoted in another Place, to evince the *Authority of the Scriptures*) have largely proved. In a word, all other Antient Writings refer to these, or suppose them, this Inspired Volume alone being the Fountain from whence either they or we can derive any Truth and Certainty.

And as there is the *Antientest Learning*, so there is *All Learning* (I speak now of that which is *Humane*, and is reckon'd the Accomplishment of Rational Persons) and *all the kinds* of it in this Book of Books. Here is not only *Prose* but *Verse*: here are not only *Poems* but *Histories*, *Annals*, *Chronicles*. Here are things *Profound* and *Mystical*, and here are others that at the first sight are *Intelligible* and *Clear*: here are *Prophecies*, *Visions*, *Revelations* (for even in the Narratives which are given of These there are some things serviceable to promote the Study of Humanity): here are *Proverbs*, *Adagies*, *Emblems*, *Parables*, *Apologues*, *Paradoxes*, *Riddles*: and here are also *Plain Questions* and *Answers*, *Propositions*, *Discourses*, *Sermons*, *Orations*, *Letters*, *Epistles*, *Colloquies*, *Debates*, *Disputations*. Here are *Maxims* of Law and Reason, *Rules* of Justice and Equity, *Examples* of Keen Wit and Deep Politicks, *Matters* of Church and State, *Publick* and *Private Affairs*, and all manner of *Subjects* either treated of or referr'd unto. Thus the Bible is excellently fitted to entertain any Persons as they are Students and Scholars: for here is a Treasury of all Good Letters, here are laid up all things that conduce to Humane Knowledg. *Porphyrius* is said to have writ a Book of *Homer's Philosophy*, wherein he attempts to prove that he was as much a Philosopher as a Poet: and no less a Person than *Maximus Tyrius* affirms

affirms him to be the Prince of Philosophers: and another Grave Author undertakes to shew that the Seeds of all Arts are to be found in *Homer's* Works. This is said by his Admirers to enhance his Credit and Repute; but far greater things, and more justly, may be pronounced concerning these Famous Records of Learning and Antiquity. With more Reason may we maintain that the chiefest Arts and Inventions are originally in the *Sacred Volume*, and that the Foundations of all Humane Learning and Science are laid here; for though these are not the chief things designed in this Book, (it being writ to higher Purposes) yet they are occasionally interspersed every where, and a Studious Enquirer cannot miss of them. It is rationally and undeniably to be inferr'd from the Particulars above-mention'd, (though many more might have been added) that the Bible is the most Compleat Book, and hath All Learning in it. This truly deserves the * Name which *Diodore the Sicilian* gives his History, that is, it is indeed a *Library*, an Universal one, and contains All Books in it. As the Writers of it were Persons of Several Conditions, *Kings, Noblemen, Priests, Prophets, &c.* so the Matters of it are Various and Different, and by reading and studying these Writings we may Commence in all Arts and Sciences, we may be accomplish'd Grammarians, Criticks, Chronologers, Historians, Poets, Orators, Disputants, Lawyers, Statesmen, Preachers, Prophets. Many valuable Monuments of Learning have been lost. The famous Library of *Alexandria*, which contain'd six or seven hundred thousand Volumes, and that of *Constantinople*, which consisted of an hundred and twenty thousand, perished by

Plutarch. de Homero, lib. 2. * Βιβλιοθήκη.

298 *The Excellency and Perfection*

by Fire. And the Works of *Karro*, the Learned Man of all the Romans, are extinct. And many others might be reckon'd up, besides those that Historians say nothing of. But having the *Scripture*, *Hacatub*, (as the Jews rightly call'd it by way of Eminence) the most Excellent Writings in the World, fraught with all manner of useful Literature, we may afford to be without the other: for this is a certain Verity, that if we have the *Bible* we want no Book.

And more particularly I have made it appear, that the Choicest *Antiquities* are to be found here. A prying Antiquary may find more Work, and much more to his Advantage, in the Writings of the *Old Testament*, especially of the Five Books of *Moses*, than in all the Mouldy Manuscripts and Records in the whole World besides. Therefore you will find Mr. *Selden* (as Great an Antiquary as this last Age afforded) continually conversing with these Sacred Records, and presenting the World with the Noblest and most Useful Pieces of Antiquity from thence. Here we learn what they did in the Primitive Age of the World, how things went before and immediately after the Flood. The Scriptures give the Oldest Account and Discovery of things. All Curious Observations of the First Times, all Antient Notions and Inventions are to be met with here. So that if you look upon the Bible but as an Antient Book of Learning, we are invited to study it. We are furnish'd here with some of the most desirable Antiquities of the Babylonians, Persians, Egyptians, Arabians, Syrians, Canaanites, Phoenicians, Jews, Greeks, Romans, and several other Nations. On which very Account alone the Bible is the best Book that a true Lover of Learning can take into his hand.

Briefly,

Briefly, from the whole I make this Conclusion, that no Man can be a Consummate Scholar without reading the Scriptures, which are the Source even of all Humane Learning.

But as the *Antiquity* and the *Universal Learning* contain'd in this Book, so the *Certainty* of it gives it the preference to all others. What we meet with here, we are sure is true: whatever is related as said or done in so many Ages past, we have reason to yield a full Assent to, because the Penmen of this Book were divinely inspired, and therefore could not err in what they deliver'd. This we cannot say of any other Writers, for we find them to be uncertain and lubricous, and they too often take up Stories on trust, or invent them as they please. As for the Writings of the *Poets*, the best of them are mere Fictions. Yea, One that knew the Nature of an *Heroick Poem* very well, tells us that *Fable* is the chief thing in it, it is the *very Soul and Life of it*. Thus it is in *Homer* and *Virgil's* Poems: and generally the other *Poetick Writers* (as *Orpheus*, *Hesiod*, &c.) are fabulous *Rhapsodists*. Even the Father of Latin Poetry, whom I just now mention'd, brings *Eneas* and *Dido* together, though he lived several Ages before her. And many such *Historical Incongruities* and fabulous *Inconsistencies* the *Poets* put us off with instead of true Relations. Yea, professed *Historians* are full of *Uncertainties* and *Contradictions* every where. *Xenophon* avers that *Cyrus* the first Persian Monarch died peaceably in his Bed: but *Herodotus* and *Justin* say he was vanquish'd in Battel by *Tomyris* Queen of *Scythia*, who caused his Head to be cut off and thrown into a Vessel full of Blood.

Some

300 *The Excellency and Perfection*

Some tell us that *Alexander* the Great died of Drunkenness, others that he was poisoned. *Hannibal* poison'd himself, saith *Justin*: he was kill'd by his Servants, saith *Plutarch*: but this Author also acknowledges that he drank Bulls Blood, and thereby procured his Dissolution. The same Writer sets down the several Opinions concerning the Deaths of *Romulus* and *Scipio Africanus*, and makes this Observation, that the Deaths of Great Men are uncertainly reported. *Athenæus* saith of *Plato*, that he was eaten up of Lice by his frequent eating of Figs, which he so exceedingly loved, that he was call'd *φιλόσυκος*, but this is contradicted by others. Some say *Aristotle* drowned himself in *Euripus*, because he could not find out the Cause of its ebbing and flowing: others would perswade us, that he poisoned himself: but some affirm he died a natural Death. There is scarce any Philosopher but dies twice or thrice in *Laertius*. Nor is there almost any Life in *Plutarch* without two or three Deaths, as a Learned Man hath observed.

To pass to other Historians, from whom we might think to have better and certainer Information, *Antiochus* in the Book of *Maccabees* died three several Deaths; 1st. In his Bed at *Babylon*, 1 Mac. 6, 8, 16. 2^{dly}. He was stoned in the Temple of *Nanea*, 2 Mac. 1. 15, 16. 3^{dly}. He died on the Mountains by a Fall out of his Chariot, 2 Mac. 9. 28. There were different Reports concerning *Julian's* Death, but the respective Historians are confident in them all: He was killed by one of his own Souldiers, saith *Socrates*; by a Demon, saith *Callistus*, who wrote in Verse of the War at that time with the Persians. It is probable that he died
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by a Stroke which a Christian Souldier gave him, according to *Sozomen*: but none knows whence that Stroke came, according to *Theodoret*. *Eusebius* and *Zosimus* speak diversly concerning the Life and Death of *Constantine* the Great. *Procopius* gives an Account of *Justinian* contrary to what all other Historians do. And before this we find the *Fathers* differing about the Character of *Nicolas*, the *Deacon*: *Clemens* of *Alexandria* and *Theodoret* say he lived a chaste Life, but that being reprimanded by the Apostles for his Jealousy towards his Wife, he thereupon brought her out, and exposed her to any one. But *Tertullian* and *Epiphanius* affirm, that he allowed of and practised all Obscenity and Lewdness, and the promiscuous Use of Women. The Person who goes under the Name of *St. George*, was a *Cappadocian Tribune*, a great Hero, and at last a *Martyr*, say some: he was an *Heretick*, an *Arian Bishop* of *Alexandria*, say others: there was no such Man, say a third sort. If we should look into our own *British* Concerns, there we shall find History very dark and uncertain, nothing is tolerably related of this Country till *Julius Caesar's* time: and then and afterwards we are involv'd in great Uncertainties, and we can look no where but things are diversly reported. Great Men die several Deaths, and the Lives and Actions of Persons are variously represented. King *Edward*, surnamed *Ironsides*, his Death is four or five ways related in our *Chronicles*, and so is King *John's*. Some Writers tell us that King *Richard* the Second died of Famine by Force; others, that he voluntarily famish'd himself. Some say he was kill'd with the Blow of a Poll-Ax on his Head; others, that he escaped out of Prison, and led a solitary Life in *Scotland*, and there expired. Concerning King
Henry

361 *The Excellency and Perfection*

Henry the 3th, it is said by some, that he was poisoned; by others, that he died of a Pleurisy; by others, that a Palsey and Cramp took away his Life; and there are others that confidently report his Death was by *St. Anthony's Fire*. Yea, our Writers are often grossly mistaken about Matters of very late Occurrence, as *Baker*, *Heylin*, *Fuller*, (professed Historians) tell us, that *Richard Sutton*, a single Man, founded the Hospital at the *Charterhouse*, whereas his Christian Name was *Thomas*, and he was a married Man. So *Mr. Hooker* died in holy *Cy Abbey*, say *Gauden* and *Fuller*, but the contrary is known to be too true. But I should be infinite if I should undertake to set before you the palpable Mistakes and Misreports in History both domestick and foreign. All that are conversant in this way of Study complain, and that justly, of the erroneous Misrepresentations of Passages of all sorts among Historians, and of our Darkness and Ignorance by reason of these.

But no such thing is to be feared, or so much suspected in the Sacred History, because God himself speaks there: and therefore we have the surest ground for our Faith that we can desire. There is no Authority so firm as that which is Divine: there is no Testimony so strong and valid as that which is from the Holy Spirit. And such is that of the Holy Scriptures; and consequently it most justly challengeth, yea commandeth our Faith and Assent. This is the singular Pre-eminence and Advantage which this Book hath above all others, that the Penmen of it were directed by the unerring Spirit of God. This alone is sufficient to determine and fix us, it being the most stable as well as the most proper Basis of our Belief, even where things that are very Improbable are propounded to

us to be assented to. Besides, as to the seeming *Improbability* of some things that are related in the *Historical Part* of the Bible, this ought not to hinder us from giving Credit to them. Many Persons are wont to look upon these Passages and Stories as Strange and almost Incredible, which they observe are not sutable to the Manners, Customs, Arts, and Conversation of the World, as it is at present, and thence they are enclined to think that there were no such things heretofore. But these Men do not well consider, nor distinguish between those times and these, which are exceedingly Different. And moreover, if they suspend their Belief of some things which they read in the Old Testament, because they see other things now, things of a Different Nature, they may as well disbelieve all the Other Histories of the Antients that are extant, which yet we see they are very backward to do. And they have good Reason on their Side, because the World is not now as it was then, and therefore we must not expect that the things which we read of in those times, should be fully conformable and agreeable to what occurs in these latter Days. For this Reason a very Solid and Judicious Writer hath defended the Antient History of the Greeks and Latins, (whereof whatever is strange is in *Herodotus* and *Pliny*) shewing, that (though some fabulous Narrations, and many gross Mistakes and Errors are intermingled) the *Strangeness* of some Passages which we meet with in them, proceeds from the *Diversity of Times*, the Posture of the World having much changed since those things happened. Let us make use of the same Reasoning
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304 The Excellency and Perfection

in the present case, and when we find several Strange, Unusual and Surprizing Matters in the Writings of the *Old Testament*, impute this to the *Ancientness* of them, and the great Discrepancy between those Days and these we now live in. If we do so, there will be no Impediment to our steady Belief of the Truth of them. Nay, if we weigh things well, we shall see it is ridiculous to expect that the *Guises* and *Manners* of the World should be the same now that they were 4 or 5000 Years ago: for there must needs be *new things* when the Numbers of Persons are so vastly increased; when the Difference of Climes produces such Diversity of Dispositions; when Casualty, Necessity, Industry, Wit, &c. are the Occasions of so many new Occurrences. Let this be remembered and seriously thought of, and it will dispel our vain Scruples and Disbelief. Or, if there be any remaining, the former Consideration will thoroughly extirpate them, i. e. if we call to mind the Undoubted *Certainty* and *Infallibility* of the Scripture, which is its peculiar Prerogative and Excellency,

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A particular Distribution of the several Books of the Old Testament. Genesis (the first of them, together with the four following ones) being written by Moses, his ample Character or Panegyrick is attempted, wherein there is a full Account of his Birth, Education, Flight from Court, retired Life, his Return to Egypt, his conducting of the Israelites thence, his immediate Converse with God in the Mount, his delivering the Law, his Divine Eloquence, his Humility and Meekness, his Sufferings, his Miracles, and his particular Fitness to write these Books. A Summary of the several Heads contain'd in Genesis: to which is added a brief but distinct View of the Six Days Works, wherein is explained the Mosaick Draught of the Origine of all things, and at the same time the bold Hypotheses of a late Writer (designed to confront the First Chapter of the Bible) are exposed and refuted. The Contents of the Book of Exodus: to which is adjoined a short Comment on the Ten Plagues of Egypt. A Rehearsal of the remarkable Particulars treated of in Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy. That Moses was the Penman and Author of the Pentateuch, notwithstanding what some have lately objected against it.

TO demonstrate yet further the Excellency of these Holy Writings I will enter upon the *Third way of Proof* which I proposed; that is, I will give you a Particular Account of the several Books contained in the Old and New Testament, and I will shew all along the particular Usefulness and Excellency of them. I begin

306 *The Excellency and Perfection*

first with the *Old Testament*, which is divided by the Jews into three general Parts; first *Torah* the *Law*, which contains the five Books of *Moses*; then *Nebiim* the *Prophets*, which comprehends the Books of *Joshua*, *Judges*, first and second Book of *Samuel*, the first and second of the *Kings*, *Isaiab*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, the twelve Small *Prophets*; all which make the second Volume: then the *Cbetu-bim* the *Holy Writers*, in which are included the *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, *Job*, *Canticles*, *Ruth*, *Lamentations*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Esther*, *Daniel*, *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, *Chronicles*; and these made the third Volume. The Books of this last Rank were written, say the Jewish Doctors, by the Inspiration of the Spirit, but the Writers were not admitted into the Degree of *Prophets*, because they had no Vision, but their Senses remained perfect and entire all the while: only the Holy Spirit stirr'd them up, and dictated such and such things to them, which they writ down. For you must know that the Old Jews thought nothing to be right *Prophecy* but what was conveyed in *Dreams* or *Visions*. But though this be a Rabbinical Conceit, and hereby they strike *David* and some others out of the Number of the *Prophets*, who were the Chief of them; yet the *Partition of the Old Testament*, as it may be rightly understood, is not altogether to be rejected, nay it seems to be allowed of by our Saviour himself, *Luke 24. 44.* where he tells his Apostles, that all things must be fulfilled which were written concerning him (in the whole *Old Testament*, viz.) in the *Law of Moses*, and in the *Prophets*, and in the *Psalms*, under these last comprising all the other Parts of the *Hagiographa*: Or you may divide the Books, as they stand in their order in the *Septuagint* and *Latin Version*, (and according to them in our *English Bibles*)

bles) into these three sorts, Historical, Doctrinal, and Prophetical. The *Historical* Books are Narratives of things done, and these are fifteen, whereof *Genesis* is the first, and *Job* the last. Or if you reckon the two Parts of the History of *Samuel*, and the *Kings*, and those likewise of the *Chronicles* as distinct Books, then there are eighteen in all. The *Doctrinal* Books are such as purposely and wholly instruct us in our Devotion and a Holy Life: these are four, the *Psalms*, the *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, and *Solomon's Song*. The *Prophetick* Books are those which consist chiefly in Predictions concerning the Deliverance of the Church, the Punishment of its Enemies, and the Coming of Christ in the Flesh. These were written either by the *Greater Prophets*, as *Isaiab*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, to which also appertain the *Lamentations* of *Jeremiah*; or by the *Lesser*, whereof the first is *Hosea*, and *Malachi* the last. Having thus given you a Distribution of the Several Books, I come now to a Particular Survey of them, the first whereof is

Genesis, which together with the other Parts of the *Pentateuch* was written by *Moses*, who being the First Writer that we know of extant in the World, and being every ways so Remarkable and Admirable a Person, I think my self obliged (before I proceed any further) to present you with the Character of this Excellent Man, that in what we shall deliver concerning this One Penman of Scripture, you may guess how large we might be in commendation of the rest. But because we cannot have leisure to do so in all the others that follow, I will offer here a Specimen of it in this First Inspired Writer, whom we have occasion to mention. He was born (about the Year of the World 2370) in *Egypt*, of Hebrew Parents, who presently read

398 *The Excellency and Perfection*

in his Face ' extraordinary Marks of Divinity, and therefore were unwilling to discover his Birth to the Egyptians, that he might not, according to Pharaoh's Order, be hurried into Nile, and there drowned. However, in this River they resolve to expose him in an Ark of Bull-rushes, and to commit both Him and the Care of this Little Vessel in which he was embarked to the Great Pilot of the World: And behold, it arrived at a safe Harbour, and no meaner a Person than the King's Daughter received the little Passenger into her Embraces, and caused him to be brought to Court, and bred up as her own Son. Here he became ' *Learned in all the Wisdom of the Egyptians*, in all those Arts and Sciences wherein they used to instruct their Youth, which they chiefly designed for the Service of their Country, viz. in Arithmetick, Geometry, Music, Astronomy; for these were Sciences that they thought were Natural to Mens Minds, and were the first things taught not only by the Egyptians, but the rest of the *Antients* in their Schools. Hence it was written in great Letters over the Entry of Plato's School, *μὴδεὶς ἀγνοῦμεντ' ἐστὶν*, None must be admitted into this Place but such as have been initiated into Geometry, such as have had a taste of it at least. Therefore this and the forenamed Arts were termed *Mathematicks*, i. e. *Learning* or *Discipline*, by way of Eminency. In all these was this young Courtier brought up, and skilled in all Philosophical Accomplishments and the Knowledge of Nature. Besides, he was more especially instructed in that Abstruse and Recondite Knowledge which the *Egyptians* were peculiarly Masters

Masters of, namely their *Hieroglyphick* Cyphers, their Myſtical Symbols and Figures, whereby they represented the choiceſt Truths to Mens Minds. This way of Symbolical Learning furniſh'd them with all kinds of Notions that were ſerviceable in the Life of Man, they were taught hence the beſt Rules of Morality, the profoundeſt Maxims in Politicks, and the moſt uſeful Sentiments in Theology. This was the Celebrated *Wiſdom of the Egyptians*, in which *Mofes* was educated, being ſent by *Pharaoh's* Daughter to the beſt Academies and Schools of Learning, and committed to the beſt Tutors, and having moreover the Advantage of his own Excellent Parts and Quick Ingeny; for he who was ſo Eminent as to his Bodily Features and Proportions, had without doubt as Fair a Soul.

But 'tis time now for *Mofes* to leave the Court, and to add to all his other Accompliſhments, that of *Travelling*. And truly he was neceſſitated to this, for the Court could not bear him any longer, becauſe He could not bear it: he every Day more and more diſliked their Manners, contemned their Gay Follies, laugh'd at their empty Titles, and *refuſed to be call'd the Son of Pharaoh's Daughter*. He was now reſolv'd to help and aſſiſt his oppreſſed Brethren, though by that Attempt he ſhould loſe the Favour of the King, and his Royal Patroness, and with that all Poſſibility of being Great, yea though he ſhould incur the Danger of being Miſerable above the degree of his former Happineſs: ² *He choſe rather to ſuffer Affliction with the People of God* (his Hebrew Brethren) *than to enjoy the Pleaſures of Sin for a Season* (in *Pharaoh's* Court): *eſteeming the Reproach of* (or, for) *Chriſt greater Riches than the*

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¹ Heb. 11. 24. ² Ver. 25, 26.

310 The Excellency and Perfection

Treasures in Egypt. In pursuance of this ¹ he visited his Brethren the Children of Israel, who now groaned under their extreme Bondage and Slavery in that Country, he boldly ² defended them when he saw them suffering wrong, and avenged the Cause of the Oppressed, and smote the Egyptians. This made him taken notice of by the Egyptian Lords and Taskmasters, who presently went and represented his Carriage to the Court, and thereupon he was banished thence for his daring to take the part of any of those Hebrew Bondslaves. ³ Then fled Moses into the Land of Midian, and was a Shepherd there ⁴ forty Years, just as many as he had been a Courtier. This was the sudden Change of his Condition, and he made it serviceable to the best Ends. He went out of the World, as it were, to come into it with the greater Vigour; for his Retired Life fitted him for Publick Atchievements afterwards, his Contemplative and Solitary way of living prepared him for Action, his Low and Mean Estate was the Forerunner of his being call'd to an High one. God bestows not on a Man Magnificence unless he first makes Trial of him in some Small thing, say the Rabbies; and they instance in Moses and David, who kept Sheep. Kings were antiently stiled *Shepherds*, and sometimes were really such. God calls Cyrus his *Shepherd*, Isa. 44. 28. ποιμήν λαῶν is the Epithet of a Prince in Homer: which ⁵ Plato explains by νομέυς ἢ τροφὸς ἀγέλης ἀνθρώπων, a Feeder and Nourisher of the Flock of Mankind. The three Hebrew Verbs *nahag*, *nabal*, *ragnab*, signify to lead or feed Sheep, and to govern. So do the Greek Words νομεῖν and ποιμαίνειν. ⁶ Αὐλῶ

¹ Acts 7. 23. ² Ver. 24: ³ Ver. 29: ⁴ Ver. 23, & 30.
⁵ In Politic.

is both a *Palace*, Luke 11. 21. John 18. 15. and a *Sheepfold*, John 10. 1. The Word *Shebet* is both a *Scepter* and a *Pastoral Rod*. The Shepherd's Employment, saith *Philo*, (speaking of this very Matter) is a Prelude to Empire and Government. Yea he runs this too far, adding, that he is clearly of the Opinion (though he may be laugh'd at for it) that *he* only can be a Perfect Compleat King who is well skill'd in the Shepherd's Art, and by taking Care of lesser Animals hath learnt how to preside over greater ones. But though this be extravagant, and not becoming that Learned Man, yet it is a Sober Truth that a Retired Contemplative Life (such as the *Pastoral* was in those Days) is a good Preparative to Publick Action and Business.

Accordingly *Moses*, when he had been forty Years a Shepherd, was appointed by God to feed *Israel*, and to spend the remaining forty Years in that Employment. To which purpose he was sent back by God into *Egypt* to be a Deliverer to that oppressed People, and to conduct them into the Promised Land. Being arrived there he delivered his Message to *Pharaoh*, and earnestly solicited him to attend to it, and to obey the Command of the King of Kings. Which when he (after several Offers of Compliance) at last refused, *Moses* with the *Israelites* *forsook Egypt, not fearing the Wrath of the King*, who they knew would soon pursue them: and this their Valiant and Undaunted Captain by a Miraculous Hand led them safe over the

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⁶ Gen. 49. 10. Psal. 23. 4. ⁷ Ποιμενική γὰρ μελέτη προφυμασίωμα βασιλείας. De vita Mosis. ⁸ Μόνον δ' αν γένεσθαι βασιλεὺς τίλει. ὁ τὴν ποιμενικὴν θητιμίαν ἀγαθός, ἐν ἐλάττω ζωῶν περιλυθὶς τὰ ᾧ κρείττονα. ⁹ Heb. 11. 27.

312 *The Excellency and Perfection*

Red Sea, and placed them out of all Danger of the Egyptians, whom presently after they saw lying dead upon the Shore. And this was the Man who was their Constant Leader in the *Wilderness*; here he is their only Guide, their Counsellor, their Oracle in all their Difficulties. By his Ardent Prayers he was wont to avert the Divine Vengeance when it was lighting on them, and by the same Fervent Breathings and Cryings he procured them the Greatest Blessings they desired and stood in need of. This was the Person that was taken up by God into the Mount, and had the peculiar Favour and Honour of conversing most Familiarly and Intimately with him; and in that had the Pre-eminence of all the Prophets that ever arose in *Israel*, for none of them were admitted to that singular Dignity vouchsafed to him, namely, *to know God Face to Face*. He was the Man employed by God to receive the *Law* for the Jews, which he delivered to them with great Care and Faithfulness, often Repeating and Explaining it, shewing them the Reasonableness, Usefulness and Excellency of those Constitutions and Statutes which were given them by God, continually teaching them to understand these Laws aright, and encouraging them to practise them; insomuch that he hath gain'd among all Nations the Name of a *Law-giver*, far surpassing that of *Lycurgus* among the Lacedemonians, or of *Solon* among the Athenians, or of *Numa* among the Romans.

Of this Admirable Person this short but comprehensive Character is given by *St. Stephen*, that *he was Mighty in Words and in Deeds*. He that was *not eloquent, not a Man of Words*, (as 'tis in the Hebrew)

brew) he that was *slow of Speech, and of a slow Tongue* (for which Reason *Aaron* was his *Mouth*, i. e. his *Spokesman to the People*) was *Mighty in Words*. How can this be? Very well. A Man may want *Eloquence*, and yet be a Great Orator. *Demosthenes* had a natural Impediment in his Speech, and so had *Tully*, and neither of them could quite conquer it by their Art and Industry. Their Oratory lay more in the Matter, and their wise framing of it, than in the Words they spoke. So was it with this Great Man, (if I may compare him with them) he was mighty in Words, yet was no Graceful Speaker; he was powerful in Speech, yet a Stammerer. This shews that there is a Rhetorick, and that very Potent, which consists not in Readiness of Language and Volubility of Words, but in speaking Great Reason and Excellent Sense, and in saying that which is to the Purpose. Especially the *Words* are *Mighty* when they proceed from an Excellent *Mind*, and when *Deeds* follow. So that *Diodorus Siculus* may be thought to be a good Commentator on *St. Stephen*, for he gives this as part of *Moses's* Character, that *he was of a Great Soul, and very able and powerful in his Life*. He did what he said, he acted according to what he spoke. The *Israelites* were directed to their Duty more by his Practice, than his Words. He effectually taught them to live well, chiefly by doing so Himself. He set them a Pattern of all Vertues imaginable, and then commended them all by his Exemplary Condescension and Humility. Though he was one of the most transcendent Excellencies, (the Beauties of Body and Mind shining in him, as you have heard)

¹ V. 16. ² Ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν μῆκος καὶ τὸ βλάφτερον.
Lib. 2, c. 5.

314 *The Excellency and Perfection*

heard) yet he was the Humblest and ' *Meekest Man on the Face of the Earth*. He gave an undeniable Proof of this when ' he refused to contend with *Miriam* and *Aaron* about his Authority and Eminency, which God himself had enstated him in, but which they denied to own. He discover'd this mild Spirit when he patiently bore all the unworthy Carriage of the People towards him. They knew well enough that he left the Egyptian Court and Honours for their Sake, that he might be their Leader and Deliverer: yet they forgot this his singular Affection to them, and often murmured against him, and slandered and reviled him, and would have none of his Conduct, yea and ' *were ready to stone him* after all his Pains and Care for them. But notwithstanding all these Affronts, and Injuries, and offers of Violence, (which were almost perpetual) he went on contentedly in the Discharge of his Office, and forgot their ill Demeanour towards him, and studied nothing more than to oblige them. Or, his *being Mighty in Deeds*, may refer to the Astonishing *Miracles* which he wrought. He outdid all the Prophets in these, say the Jewish Doctors; for (if you'll believe their ' *Computation*) there were but seventy four Miracles done by all of them from the Beginning of the World, till the Destruction of the first Temple, but *Moses* himself wrought seventy six Miracles: so that he did more than all the Prophets together. But this we are certain of from the infallible Records of Scripture, that he was Mighty in working of Miracles. The Sacred History, which he penn'd by the Inspiration of the Holy Spirit, gives us a Particular of
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' Num. 12. 3. ' Ibid. ' Exod. 17. 4. ' Manasse ben Israel Quæst. in Deuteron.

some of those Wonderful Things which he effected in *Egypt*, and at the *Red Sea*, and in the *Wilderness*; and many others are not mention'd, (as is usual in these brief Narratives of things) but all of them were the Operations of a Divine and Supernatural Power.

Lastly, he was *Mighty in Deeds* relating to Government, and the Management of Publick Affairs which respect either Peace or War. It was *Plato's* Judgment of old, and after him some Great Persons liked it so well that they made it theirs too, that it would never be well with the World till Philosophers had the Reins of Government put into their Hands, or till the Governours and Guides of People were become True Philosophers. There were notable Examples of this in *Athens*, where *Aristides*, *Themistocles*, *Miltiades*, *Pericles*, *Phocion*, *Alcibiades*, and several others were as celebrated Philosophers as Commanders and Captains. They were renowned for their Great Wit and Judgment, and for as Great Valour and Conduct. As wise Men they knew how to regulate themselves and their own Manners; as skilful Rulers and Governours, they knew how to rectify the Behaviour of others. We are sure that *Moses* wanted not this double Advantage, being versed both in the Principles of the Best Philosophy, and the Wisest Government, and being able to act according to both. His Learning and Contemplation were reduced into Exercise: he by them not only understood but practis'd the Arts of War and well Governing. He knew how to give Laws to the People, and knew how to lead them into the Field: like *Cæsar* afterwards, who was both Scholar and Souldier, the Master of Eloquence and of Arms. The great Variety of Life which he had gone through made
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316 *The Excellency and Perfection*

him univerſally Knowing, and fitted him for all ſorts of Actions. *David* is a like Inſtance in Scripture, and I know not another. He was, like *Moses*, a Shepherd, a Courtier, a King's Favourite, and afterwards out of Favour, a Fugitive, a Warriour, a Ruler, a Prophet, a Writer. This Difference of Scenes rendered both of them Compleat Actors: this Diversity of States furniſh'd them with Political Wiſdom, which being added to that which was Divine, enabled them to act ſo laudably in thoſe Publick Stations to which they were advanced. And for this reaſon our *Moses* is the more Acceptable *Historian*, becauſe he was one of ſuch vaſt Knowledge and Wiſdom, and had paſſ'd through ſo many and various Stages of Life, and eſpecially becauſe he was perſonally engaged in moſt of the things he writes.

We count it a good Qualification in thoſe that pen *Hitories*, that they write things done in their own time, and that they bore a Part in what they deſcribe. Thus *Ditrys Cretenſis* (if we may begin with him) writ the Trojan War, wherein he himſelf had ſerved: *Thucydides* (as he tells us in the beginning of his *History*) was preſent at the things he wrote concerning the Peloponneſian War, and ſaw and knew much of it. *Xenophon* was both *Historian* and Captain, and knew many of the Things he tranſmits to Poſterity. *Diodorus Siculus* (as he acquaints us in the Entrance of his *History*) travell'd a great Part of *Aſia* and *Europe*, to inform himſelf of the Things he relateth, and that he might be an Eye-witneſs of moſt of them: and it appears from what he ſaith elſewhere, that he went into *Africa*. *Julius Cæſar's Commentaries* (which Name he was pleas'd out of Modeſty to apply to the beſt *History* in the World of that ſort) are an Account of
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the Military Acts of his own Army. He fought and writ: his Battels were transcribed into his Book: his Blood and his Ink were equally free, his Sword and his Pen were alike famous. *Josepbus* accompanied *Titus* to the Siege of *Jerusalem*, and knew himself the Acts done in the War he writes. *Polybius* travell'd to most of the Parts which he describes, and saw those very things which he writes of. *Procopius* sets down what he knew, for he was present with *Belisarius* at the Wars which he treats of, and was Eye-witness of what he relates. *Herodian* writ the History of the Emperors of his own Time, and so had the exacter Knowledg of their Actions. *Suetonius* was Contemporary with the three last Emperors, whose Lives he writes. Among the Modern Historians, *Comines*, *Guicciardine*, *Sleidan*, *Thuanus*, are commendable on this account, they lived at the same time when most of the Things which they record were done, and they were themselves actually concern'd in many of them. Now, if these who were interest'd in the Matters they deliver'd are thought to be well qualified on that Account for *Historians*, then we ought to have the greater Regard to our *Divine Writer*, who was engaged in so great a Part of the Things which he commits to Writing. He describes those Battels at which he was present, and records those Passages in which he had a Share, and that a very considerable one: so that having the Relation of these things from his Mouth, we do not only read them, but as 'twere see them. And here by the way we may see the unreasonableness of those Mens Cavils, who think it a diminishing of the Authority of *Moses's* Writings that he so often records his Own Actions and Deportment, as if they did not sound well, nay could not be true from his own Mouth. But
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318 *The Excellency and Perfection*

it. is certain that this very Thing commends his Writings, and strengthens the Authority of them, especially when we know that he was a Person of Integrity, and would not tell a Lie. We think not the worse of *Josephus's Life*, because 'twas writ with his own Hand ; nor of the Emperor *Antoninus's* ¹ *Books concerning Himself*, nor of *St. Austin's Confessions* wherein he gives an Account of his own Actions, nor of *Cardan*, or *Junius*, or *Bp. Hall*, who writ their Own Lives, nor of *Montaign* who in one Book more especially makes *Himself* the Subject, and relates his own Temper, Studies, Fortunes, &c. And shall we think the worse of *Moses* because he sets down the Passages of his own Life in the Books which he hath written ? No : this rather advanceth their Credit among wise and understanding Men, who are satisfied that none was so fit to give an account of his own Actions as this Author himself, both because he knew them better than any Man, and because he was of that entire Faithfulness that he would relate nothing but what was exactly true. And that he was thus faithful and impartial, is evident from those Passages which relate to Himself, which are frequent in these Writings, where his own Infirmities, Imperfections and Follies are registred, where his unseemly Wrath and Passion, where his gross Unbelief and Distrusting of God (as at the Waters of *Meribah* especially) and several other Miscarriages of his Life are set down. This shews that he spared not Himself, and that he was not guilty of Partiality : this shews that he was devoted to Truth, and not led by Applause and Vain Glory. Whereas he might have composed his own Panegyrick, and trans-

¹ Ταῦτ' εἰς ἑαυτὸν βιβλία.

transmitted it to future Ages, you see he chose the contrary, and recorded his own Faults and Misdemeanours: whence it is rational to conclude that he would not falsify in the least in any other Part of his Writings. And as for that Aphorism of *Machiavel*, *He that writes an History must be of no Religion*, it is here disproved and confuted: *Moses* was the most Absolute *Historian*, and yet the most *Religious*; and his being the latter, capacitated him to be the former. For no Man can so impartially deliver the Truth as he that speaks it from his own Breast, and especially (as in the present Case) hath a practical Sense of those Divine Things which he delivers. This is that Person who was the Author of the *Pentateuch*, that Excellent *Philosopher*, *Lawgiver*, *Historian*, that Captain, that Prince, that Prophet, that *Man of God*, who was the Inspired Writer of the five first Books of the Bible.

The first of which (as I said before) is *Genesis*, which begins with the History of the Creation. And I call it a *History*, in opposition to the fond Conceit of those Men who read the Beginning of this Book with *Cabalistical* Spectacles only, and think there are nothing but Allegories and Mysteries in the whole Text. But the contrary is very evident to unprejudiced Minds: and to such as are not so, I have propounded Arguments in another Place (*viz.* when I treated of the *Literal* and *Mystical* Sense of Scripture) to take off their Prejudices and Mistakes. This I did, because it is necessary to be firmly perswaded of the Truth and Certainty of what we meet with here in our Entrance into the Bible. It is indispensably requisite that we believe *Moses* to have delivered these things as an *Historian*; and that he speaks real Matter of Fact, when he gives us a Narrative of the Beginning of all things, and particu-

320 *The Excellency and Perfection*

particularly of the Original of Man, his Innocency and Happiness, and after that his Fall, which was the Source of all Sin, of the Devil's Tyranny, of Death, of Hell, and of all Evils whatsoever. The Knowledge and Belief of This are the Basis of all Religion, and that perhaps was the Meaning of *Luther's* Saying, that the First Chapter of *Genesis* comprehends the whole Scripture. Wherefore this is with great Wisdom premised in the Entrance of this Sacred Volume. To which afterwards are adjoined the Propagation of Mankind, the Rise of Religion and of the Church of God, the Invention of Arts, the General Defection and Corruption of the World, the Universal Deluge which drown'd all Mankind but *Noah* and his Family, the Restoration of the World, the Certain Distinction of Times before the Flood and partly after it, the Confusion of Tongues, and thereupon the Division of the Earth among the Sons of Men, the Plantation of Families, the Original of Nations and Kingdoms, as the *Assyrian Monarchy* (began in *Ninrod* or *Belus*) and the *Egyptian Dynasty*; the History of the first Patriarchs not only before but after the General Deluge, as of *Noah* the Preacher of Righteousness, of *Abraham* the Father of the Faithful, of *Isaac* the Seed in which all Nations were to be blessed; of *Jacob* the Father of the twelve Tribes, of *Joseph* whose Memorable Actions are here fully recorded, and with which this First Book of *Moses* ends; unless the Book of *Genesis* may be said to reach as far as *Ezekiel's* *Parables*, because of that Promise contain'd in it concerning the Seed of the Woman that was to break the Serpent's Head, viz. Christ the Redeemer made of a Woman,

man, and sent to subdue the Devil, and to destroy Sin and Death.

But because this First Book begins with the *Creation of the World*, and is therefore by the Rabbins call'd the *Book of the Creation*, I will here annex a brief View of the several Distinct Steps of this Great Work, as they are represented to us by this Inspired Writer and Divine Philosopher, who acquaints us that there were six Days spent in erecting this glorious Fabrick of the World. And this will be a farther Proof of what I said before, *viz.* that in Scripture is the *Truest Philosophy*. When *Moses* saith, *In the Beginning God created the Heaven and the Earth*, ver. 1. he doth in these Words give us a summary Account of all that he intended to say afterwards in this Chapter: for *Heaven* and *Earth* comprehend the Whole Creation. This first Verse then is to be look'd upon as a *General Draught* of the Production of all things: and the *Particulars* of it follow in the next Verses, where the several Days Works are distinctly set down. The Product of the first Day was two-fold, *viz.* the *Terraqueous Mass* (call'd here the *Earth*) and *Light*. There was first of all created a Rude Confused Heap, (by Profane Writers call'd the *Chaos*) an Indigested Mass of Earth and Water mix'd together, out of which God afterwards made all Corporeal things which belong to this lower World. For we must not (as some) imagine that the *Celestial Bodies* were composed out of the *Earthly Chaos*, that all the vast Spaces of the *Heavenly Mansions* owe their Rise to this Mass below, and that the very Stars were the Offspring of the *Earth*. No; *Moses* gives us to understand that this Confused Lump was the Original only of the *Lower World*: for the *Earth* in this first Verse is men-

322 *The Excellency and Perfection*

tion'd as one Part of the new-created World, as distinct from *Light* the other Part of the Creation. As *Light* then (of which I shall speak next) was the primordial Matter of the *Ethereal*, *Celestial* and *Shining* Bodies; so this Gross and Lumpish Heap was that of which all *Dark* and *Heavy* Bodies were compounded. This Unshapen Mass *without Form, and void*, is here, by a general Name, call'd the *Earth*, though it was not in a strict Sense such; for the *Earth*, as a distinct Body from all others, was the Work of the third Day. In this Place therefore by *Earth* is meant Earth and Water blended together, which made one Great Bog or Universal Quagmire. This is the plainest and truest Conception we can have of the Primitive State of the World. And hence without doubt was derived the Opinion of *Thales* and some other Antient Philosophers, that *Water*, or *Slime*, or *Mud*, (for they express it variously) was the Source of all Beings whatsoever. And certain it is that this Teraqueous Matter was the first Origine of all those material Beings before-mention'd. Accordingly Sir *W. Raleigh*, in the Beginning of his *History of the World*, determines, that the *Substance of the Waters, as mix'd in the Body of the Earth, is by Moses understood in the word Earth*. Hitherto, according to the *Mosaic History*, Nature is in her Night-clothes, the World is overspread with *Darkness*, which is especially said to be *on the face of the Deep*, by which is meant either the whole Disorder'd Mass, which was an Abyss, or else (as is most probable) the *Watry* Part of it; for though this and the *Earthy* Parts were mix'd together, yet these latter being lightest were generally uppermost, and float'd above all, and appear'd on the Surface of the Earth. Therefore that Learned Knight before
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mention'd observes that the *Earth* was not only mix'd but cover'd with the *Waters*. But the *Spirit of God* (as *Moses* proceeds to tell us) mov'd or hover'd over this Dark *Abyss*, this *Mix'd Chaos*, especially the *Waters*; (as 'tis particularly said; because these were uppermost) and hereby the *Rude Matter* was prepared to receive its several *Forms*; and then the *World* began to throw off its Dark and Sable *Mantle*, and to appear in a *Bright Dress*.

For the other *Product* of this first *Day* (and which indeed made it *Day*) was *Light*, i. e. some *Lucid Body* or *Bodies*: which yet cast but a *Glimmering Splendor*, a *Faint Radiancy* in comparison of what was afterwards on the fourth *Day*, when we are told in what certain *Subjects* the *Light* resided, and was as it were fix'd. But now it was feeble and vagrant, and was the first *Result* of some *fiery* and *luminous Matter* which the *Divine Spirit* by his powerful *Moving* and *Incubation* had engender'd. This *Bright* and *Glorious Matter* was the *Second General Source* of all *Beings*, that is, out of it were made the pure *Aether*, the *Sun* and *Stars*, and whatever belongs to the *superiour Part* of the *World*; but these appertain to the fourth *Day's Work*. Now we are only to take notice of this *Light* as it is here the *Catholick Term* for the *First Rudiment* of the whole *Celestial Creation* (as *Earth* was the word to express the *First Matter* of the *Inferiour Part* of the *World*). And what is this *Light* but *Fire* or *Flame*; that *subtile Matter* which heats and enlightens the *World*? For אור is both *lux* and *ignis*, as also the *Greek Word* φῶς imports. So *Heat* is put for *Light*, *Psal.* 19. 6. And I could observe that φῶς is used

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324 *The Excellency and Perfection*

not only in *Isa.* 18. 4. but in other Places to express the Hebrew Word for *Heat*. Which shews the Affinity, if not the Identity of these two. This Original *Light* then, which was the Second Principle in the Creation, is no other than those fine and brisk Particles of Matter whose Nature is to be in a Continual Agitation, and which by their restless Motion and Pressure communicate Warmth and Light, Vigour and Lustre where-ever there is need of them in the Universe. Some refer the Creation of *Angels* to this first Day's Work, by reducing them to the word *Heaven* in the first Verse; but I have suggested already that that Verse is a General Account of the Whole Creation, and not of any Particular Day's Production, (or else by *Heaven* and *Earth* there is meant the First Matter or Rude Draught of both) therefore no such thing can be inferr'd thence. Nor are we to think that the *Angelick Order* is comprehended under *Light*, (as I find some imagine, because they read of an *Angel of Light*, 2 Cor. 11. 14.) for it is Material Light only that is the Product of the first Day's Work. I rather think that *Moses* designed not to include *Angels* in any Part of that Account which he gives of the Creation, for he makes it his Business to speak of those Works of God which were visible and sensible, and therefore 'tis no wonder that the *Angelick Spirits* are not mention'd, for they come not within the Compass of his Undertaking.

Hitherto we have had a View of the Two Primitive Materials of all visible Beings in the World, viz. 1. The *Formless Mass* or *Chaos* (whence 'tis likely *Aristotle* derived his *First Matter*, which is according to him neither this nor that, but mere passive Potentiality, yet susceptible of any Form). 2. The *Active Light*, which was made to invigorate the

the dull and inert Matter of the Chaos, and afterwards to be the Original of the Vast Luminaries of the Celestial Part of the World. These are the General Elements of the Mundane System; one gross and unactive, the other subtil and penetrating; the one the Matter of this inferior Part of the Universe, the other of those more spacious and extended Orbs above. This I take to be the true Account of the *Origine of the World*, though I have but few (if any) that concur with me in laying it down thus; for the *Chaos* is generally made the Universal Source of the World. But to me it seems to be but One Part of it, and that of this Lower Division only, which is very small in respect of the other. I have only this to add here, that it is this First Day's Work alone that in the most proper and strict Sense ought to be call'd the *Creation*, because now was made the First and Universal Substance out of which the Works of the other Days were produced; though it is true in a latitude of speaking, the Formation of the distinct Species of Beings was a *Creation* also. And of these I proceed now to speak according to the *Mosaick Method*, the same with that of the Creator.

On the second Day was the *Lower Heaven* or *Firmament* made, call'd by this Divine Philosopher *Rakiang*, i. e. the *Expansion*, or according to the *Seventy Interpreters* *ἐπέωρα*, whom the *Vulgar Latin* follows, and renders it *Firmamentum*. This was produced in the midst of the Waters, and the Design of it was to divide the Waters from the Waters, (v. 6.) i. e. (as it follows) the Waters under this Firmament from the Waters above it. The Meaning of which is, (after all the wild Comments on these Words) that whereas the Waters at first were heap'd together very high above the Earth in

326 *The Excellency and Perfection*

some Places, the All-wise Disposer began this Day to make a Separation of them, and to frame an *Expansion* (for that is the simple and downright Import of the Hebrew Word) between the lower and the higher Parts of the Waters: so that now there was a *Distance* between them, which was caused by the Interposition of *Air* between these lower and higher Parts of the Waters. The Almighty Creator, by attenuating and rarifying these, transmuted them into an *Aerial Body*, which shall always continue so, *i. e.* shall remain really distinct from the crasser Subsistence of *Water*. Therefore in plain Terms this *Expansum* is the *Whole Region of Air*: and we cannot imagine any other *Expansum* or *Out-spread Firmament* which divides the superiour from the inferiour Waters, *i. e.* the *Clouds* from that vast Body and Mass of Waters which at first cover'd the Earth, and soon after (as you shall hear) were disposed of into particular Receptacles, and were denominated *the Seas*. But yet in a large way of speaking this *Firmament* here spoken of is all that *Extended Space* (for that, I say, is the proper Denotation of the Word) which reacheth from the Earth to the Place of the Stars, which was made afterwards. If it be asked why this Second Day's Work hath not the same *Approbation* that the rest have: I answer, the Reason is not because *it was not good*, but because it was but an Essay or Specimen of the two next Days Works; for the Waters were but now begun to be separated, which afterwards we find finish'd on the third Day: and this *Firmament* was but a Beginning or Preparative to the Production of a higher and nobler *Expansum* on the fourth Day. This we may conceive to be the Reason why the *Epiphonema* which is added to every Day's Work

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[*God saw that it was good*] is not adjoined here.

On the third Day there was this fourfold Work ;

1. A *Compleat Separating* or dividing of the Waters. 2. A *Gathering* of them into one Place, which was then, and is since call'd *the Sea*. And it is most reasonable to believe that on the same Day that the *Seas* were made by depressing some Parts of the Earth for the Waters to run in, the Channels also of the *Rivers* were fix'd, and the Currents of Water let into them. For if (as some imagine) Rivers were made afterwards by Men, the Banks of them (or one Side of them at least) would be higher than the rest of the Ground, by reason of the Earth dug out and cast up. 3. A *Drying of the Land*, which was a necessary Consequence of that collecting the Waters into certain Cavities and Channels in the Earth ; for they being drain'd and sunk down into these, the Land became dry, and had the Denomination of *Earth* (properly so call'd) given to it. *Virgil* expresses it thus, (for he as well as other Poets, as I have shew'd in another Place, borrowed several things from the Sacred Records)

*Et durare solum, & discludere Nerea Ponto
Cæpit. —*

And this was not only in order to render it a suitable Habitation for Men and Beasts afterwards, but to fit it immediately for *Plants* and *Herbs*, for *Trees* and *Fruits*, (and more especially for the Plantation of Paradise) which were the fourth and last Production of this Day.

The next Day was employ'd in creating of an *Ethereal Heaven* or *Firmament*, and furnishing it with Glorious Lights. As the former Firmament

328 *The Excellency and Perfection*

or Expanse was the Space between the Earth and *Aether*, so *this* is that vast Extension which comprehends the *Aether*, and all the Luminaries placed in it, and whatever is above it, even the Place of the Blessed, call'd *the Heaven of Heavens*. The Generality of Expositors, I grant, make the other Firmament and this the same, and think that the *Firmament* here spoken of is not mention'd as the Product of this Day's Creation, but that here is only a new mentioning of the preceding one. But this Mistake hath run them into great Absurdities, and hath made them unable to give any tolerable Account of the *Waters under the Firmament*, and those *above it*. But if you quit the usual Road of Interpreters, and take *the Firmament* in the 14th Verse to be different from that in *ver. 6, & 7*. you solve all Difficulties whatsoever, and the Texts are clear and evident. Wherefore I distinguish between *the Firmament of Air* and that of *Aether*, i. e. that wherein the *Clouds* and *Meteors* are, and the other which contains the *Luminaries of Heaven*. And you may observe that this, in contradistinction to the former, is signally stiled thrice *the Firmament of Heaven*, *ver. 14, 15, 17*. This *Celestial Expansion* being fix'd, the next Work was to garnish and adorn it. To which purpose the *Light* made the first Day is now abundantly and almost infinitely augmented and refined, and disposed of into certain particular *Orbs* or *Spheres*, or *Vortices*, which are form'd in this upper Part of the World. As all the formerly dispersed Light which was scatter'd over the whole Face of the Earth and Deep, was (as we expressly read, *ver. 4.*) *divided from the Darknes*, whereby one half of the Globe was enlightned, and the other was in the dark; (it was Day with one Hemisphere whilest it was Night with the other)

other) so now on the third Day this Wandring Light is gather'd into the Bodies of the Sun and Stars.

This is the *Mosaick Philosophy* concerning the Earth and Heavens; and (if it were my Business here) I could shew that upon true Principles of Reason it is more consistent than any Philosophical Hypotheses of another Strain, and especially more congruous to the Laws of Motion and the Operations of Nature than that of Monsieur *Des Cartes*, who tells us, that there were nothing but Suns and Stars at first, there were no Earths nor Planets, but in process of Time some of these Suns were overspread with Spots and Scum, and became opaque, and being suck'd in by their Neighbour-Vortices, turn'd into Planets or Earth. But truly, to give this worthy Person his due, he propounded this only as a Handsome *Hypothesis*, a neat Philosophick Fiction, which he thought might serve as a good Expedient to solve some Celestial Phænomena. But he intended not that any Man should look upon it as a Reality, and thereby exclude the *Mosaick Doctrine*: For his own Words are these, "It is not to be doubted that the World was at the very first created with all its Perfection, so that there were then existent the Sun, Earth and Moon. This the Christian Faith teacheth us, and even natural Reason perswades us to think so: for when we attend to the Immense Power of God, we can't imagine that he ever made a thing which was not every ways entire and perfect. Thus he establisheth the *Mosaick System*, according

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¹ Non dubium est quin Mundus ab initio fuerit creatus cum omni sua perfectione, ita ut in eo & Sol, &c. *Cartes. Princip. Philos. Par. 3. Sect. 45.*

ing to which the *Earth* was before, not after the Heavens; yea, as gross as it was, it was the First-born of the Creation, and consequently the Hypothesis about its being made by Absorption is a Fiction. So according to *Moses* the *Earth* was the Basis and Foundation of the World, and the *Sun* and other *Luminaries* were placed in the *Firmament*, which is said to be *above the Earth*; wherefore the System that makes the *Earth* the Center, and not the *Sun*, is founded on this.

Before I dismiss this Head, I might take notice how mightily concern'd the *Archæologist* is about the *Inequality of the Days Works*, and especially that of this *Fourth Day*, which 'he tells us exceeds all the other five, and therefore he cannot give Credit to *Moses's Hexæmeron*. This is the wild Reasoning of this Philosophick Adventurer. Indeed both here and in other Places where he descants on the *Mosaick History*, he uses a most extravagant, and (to speak plainly) a most irreligious Liberty, confronting the Text with an unsufferable Boldness, and playing upon it with a most unbecoming Raillery. Is he to set the Almighty Creator his Tasks, and proportion them as he think fit? Must every Day's Work be *equal*, or else must it not be believed? Yea, is he able to tell what is *equal* or *unequal* with the Omnipotent Deity and most Wise Architect of the World? Surely this is not the Language of a *Christian Man*: Yea, (which perhaps will affect him more) 'tis as sure that he doth not talk like a *Philosopher*, for it is certain (and all Intelligent Men will acknowledg it) that Dull, Gross, heavy Matter, about which the foregoing Days Works were conversant, is not (if we speak of

of the Nature of the thing) so soon moved, shaped and order'd as that which is Tenuous, Fluid, subtil and active. The Make of the *Heavens* and all the spacious Bodies of the *Stars* was quickly dispatch'd, because the Matter of them was Ethereal, light, tractable; and by reason of their fiery and agile Nature they presently ran into that Shape which they now appear in. This should have been consider'd by this Cavilling Gentleman, and he ought to have made a Distinction between what in it self is Dull and what is Active, *i. e.* the *Two Different Principles* of the Creation which I have before asserted. If he had done so, he would have seen that there is no Reason to complain of *Inequality* in the Six Days Works. But he mistook the System of the World which *Moses* describes, and thence was his Error. I wish it was not wilful and presumptuous, for from several bold Strokes in this Ingenious Man's Writings, one would be apt to think he enclined to *Alphonfus's* Humour, who declared that if he had been at the Creation of the World, he could have taught God to have formed the System of it better. But I will retain a more charitable Opinion concerning this Author. And I expect that he should shew his Charity (as I have mine) in not censuring this my free Descant upon what he hath publish'd to the World: for I have as great a Regard as any Man to True and Sober *Philosophy*, and I own the Great Worth and Excellency of it; but I must needs protest that I abhor the Practice of those who exclude the Sacred Writings whilest they adhere to their own Hypothesis, who set up such Philosophical Principles and Conclusions as directly oppose and contradict the Revealed Truths of the Bible. And this is the Case now before us, or else I should not have troubled the
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332 *The Excellency and Perfection*

Reader with any Reflections on what this Learned Author hath written. Let us have as much *New Philosophy* as he pleases, but none that subverts our *Old Religion*.

To proceed ; on the *fifth Day* the Inhabitants of the *Seas*, and of the *Lower Heaven* were form'd. For though the chearing and warming *Light*, before it was embodied and gather'd together into certain Receptacles, was instrumental by the Divine Power to produce *Vegetables*, yet it was not vigorous enough to beget the *Animal Life*. But now this Noble and Cherishing Virtue being mightily increas'd by immense Accessions of Light and Heat made to it, and being more advantageously placed and fix'd, we find the Effect of it in the Production of *Fish* and *Feather'd Animals* : Now a *Living* or *Sensitive Soul* is first made, *ver. 21.*

On the *sixth* and *last Day* the Earth brought forth all kinds of *Beasts* and *Cattle*, i. e. all *Terrestrial Animals* (as on the foregoing Day all Animals belonging to the Sea and Rivers, and to the Air, were created). And lastly *Man*, the Top and Glory of the Creatures, the most Elaborate Piece of the whole Creation, was framed out of the Dust ; and, in respect of his Diviner Part especially, made according to the Image of God himself. He is too Great and Noble a Being to be spoken of by the by, and therefore I shall not discourse of him here. Only I will observe the Unreasonableness of the *Archæologist*, who positively avers that this last Day's Performance was not *proportionable* to the rest, and thence condemns the *Mosaick History* of the Creation. But this Disproportion is either in respect of *more* or of *less* done on this Day than on the others. If he complains that *more* was done, he shews himself inconsiderate,

rate, for hereby it appears that he takes no notice of the Creation's rising higher and higher towards the latter end ; besides that he confines the Creator himself. But if he complains (as I suppose he doth) that *less* was done, he shews what low and unworthy Thoughts he hath of *Man* : as if *Mud, Water, Earth, Clouds, Seas, Plants, Fish and Fowl*, (the Productions of the former Days) were much better than Him whom God purposely reserv'd to be the Complement and Perfection of all, Him to whom every Creature pays a Tribute, Him for whose Use and Benefit the whole World was made.

These are the *ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι*, the Primitive Works of God, and the Several Days in which they were made. For we are not to imagine (as some do) that this Division of the Creation into so many Parts is only set down for Order sake, but that really all was done at once and in a Moment : for then the Reason given in the Fourth Commandment of sanctifying the *Sabbath Day*, viz. because in six Days the Lord made Heaven and Earth, the Sea, and all that in them is, and rested on the seventh Day, is to no purpose, yea it is absolute Nonsense. Therefore we must necessarily own the Gradual Progress of the Creation. And let us not only do so, but observe the Wisdom and Providence of the Infinite Architect in the Order and Method which he used. He in creating began with the lowest and meanest Rank of Beings, and so ascended to higher and nobler. Simple Elements, as Earth, Water, Fire, (or Light) Air, were produced before the more mixt and concrete Bodies. Yea, these Elements were placed according to the Order and Degree of Gra-

¹ Philo de Allegor. Leg. l. 1. Hilar. de Trin. l. 12. S. Augustin. in Gen. sec. literam.

334 *The Excellency and Perfection*

Gravity, first the *Earth*, subsiding in the lowest Place of all, (for the Great and Renowned *Tycho* disdains not this Hypothesis) then the *Waters* or *Abyss* placed immediately about the *Earth*: next the *Air* or *Expansion*, whose Position was above the *Waters*: lastly the *Fire*, call'd *Light*, which comprehends all the Ethereal and Heavenly Bodies, which are surmounted above all the rest. As for the *Planets* (which are so many *Earths*, i. e. if by *Earth* we mean an opaque Body) they are to be accounted for at another time, and in another Place, where it will be most proper to speak of them. It is also observable, that things that were Inanimate were first brought into Existence, and afterwards such as had a *Vegetative Life*: then things that had *Sense* and *Spontaneous Motion*, and lastly *Reasonable Creatures*. *Man* was the concluding Work of the Creation, and his *Soul* was the last of all; to let us know that this sort of Beings is much more valuable than *Bodies*, to assure us from the Method of God's creating that *Minds* or *Spirits* surpass *Matter*. Finally, when I say that the Creation ceased in *Man*, as in the most Perfect Work of the Divine Artificer, as in the End to which all the rest were designed, I do not exclude *Angels*, who are a Perfecter Class of Creatures, and are not united to *Bodies* as the *Souls* of Men are, and for that very Reason are not taken notice of by *Moses* in this Account of the *Visible Creation*. I am inclin'd to believe that these Glorious Spirits were made presently after *Man*, they being an Order of Creatures superiour to him. The Order of the Creation (so far as we certainly know any thing of it) invites me to embrace this Perswasion, for according to this those Excellent Beings should have the last Place. According to the *Steps* and *De-*

grees

gress of the Creation, I say, it was thus.

Exodus is the next Book ; which relates the Tyranny of Pharaoh, the Bondage of the Israelites under him in Egypt, and their Wonderful Deliverance from it. More particularly here are recorded the Prodigious Increase and multiplying of these oppressed Hebrews which were the Posterity of Jacob, the Plagues inflicted on the Egyptian King and his People, because he refused to dismiss them ; their Departure thence without his leave, though not without the Peoples ; their Miraculous Passing through the Red Sea, or Arabian Gulf ; the Overthrow of Pharaoh and his numerous Host ; the Marvelous Securing and Protecting of the Israelites in the Arabian Deserts ; the strange Miracles wrought for the sustaining and preserving of them : the Promulging of the Law to them on Mount Sinai, which consisted of Moral Precepts, Civil or Judicial Constitutions, and Ceremonial Rites : for the celebrating and performing of which latter, a Tabernacle was erected (as Rich and Stately as their present Condition would permit) by the particular Appointment and Direction of God. Briefly, this Book represents the Church of God, afflicted and preserved : it shews that he is pleas'd to suffer it to be reduced to the greatest Straits and Calamities, and that even then he guards it by his Providence, and in good time delivers it.

But as before, when I mention'd the General Contents of the Book of *Genesis*, I particularly insisted on the Creation; so now having given a brief Scheme of this second Book, I will stay to enlarge upon a particular Subject of it, which is very Considerable and Remarkable, viz. the δικάσιμος ὅδε (as One calls it) the Tenfold Plague wherewith God testified

336 *The Excellency and Perfection*

testified his Wrath and Anger against the *Egyptians*. Ten times the Israelites were detained by *Pharaoh*, and so many times God inflicted Remarkable Judgments on him and his People. The first was a severe Infliction on their *Waters*, that Element which is so useful and necessary to Man. The Divine Displeasure began to exert it self here by turning all their *Rivers, Ponds, Pools* and *Streams* into Blood. The dreadful Consequences of which were these, (as you find them enumerated, *Exod.* 7. 21.) first, they had no Water to drink, and quench their Thirst with: Secondly, their Fish (their great and almost only Food) died; and Thirdly, the Rivers stank, by reason of the putrified Waters and dead Fish. So direful was this Plague on their Waters, which they honour'd above all other Elements as the first Cause and Principle of all things in World, and especially their River *Nile* was gloried in, and worship'd as a God. This the Learned and Religious *Philo* gives as the Reason of inflicting this Punishment. God sent a Curse on that which they most prized and valued. That which they excessively admired, proved a Plague to them. God punish'd them in that which was most regarded by them, and was indeed most serviceable to them. Again, this is to be observed that the Blood of the murder'd Infants, who had been drown'd by one of the *Pharaoh's* Command, is here represented by these *Bloody Waters*. Here the merciless Tyrant may see the just Retaliation of that Crime. The Rivers being chang'd into this Colour, accuse the Egyptians of the inhumane Slaughter of the innocent Babes, and let them know that their *Plagues* deservedly begun with these first

of

of all. Yea, here we may take notice of an Hor-
 rible Omen: these *Red Rivers* were an unhappy but
 just Presage of the Fate which they should after-
 wards undergo in the *Sea* of that Denomination. If
 any *Object* here, How could the *Magicians* turn the
 Waters into Blood (*v. 22.*) after *Moses* and *Aaron*
 had done so before them? I Answer, the Univer-
 sal Terms used in this Relation are to be restrained,
 and understood with some Exception, (than which
 nothing is more common in Scripture) *i. e.* when
 'tis said *all the Rivers* and other Waters were stain-
 ed with Blood, the meaning is that very few Places
 were free from this Infection. The *Magicians* then
 might repeat this Plague in *Goshen*, and some cer-
 tain Parts of *Egypt* where it had not taken effect
 before.

When this First Plague was removed, God sent
 a Second, *viz. Frogs*. Which in part tormented
 the Egyptians after the same manner that the for-
 mer did, for they were of an extraordinary Na-
 ture, (and so we must suppose all the other *Crea-*
tures hereafter named to be) and infected the *Wa-*
ters which were lately healed and recovered, so
 that there was no drinking of them, or making
 use of them to any other Purpose. But whereas
 the former Plague was only on this Element, this
 present one was every where. No Place was ex-
 empted from this Croaking Vermin. They over-
 spread their *Fields*, they crept into their *Houses*, they
 lodg'd themselves in their *Beds*. All Places were
 filled with them, all Meats and Drinks bred them.
 Certainly this must needs be a very Affrighting as
 well as a Noisom Punishment whilst these Animals
 were moving and living: and they were no less so
 afterwards, when they lay dead and putrifying all
 over the Land.

338 *The Excellency and Perfection*

When this Plague was taken away, a Third succeeded in its room, an Innumerable Company of *Lice*, which miserably infested both Men and Beasts. What these *Kinnim* were we do not certainly know: we have no such Creature perhaps in these Countries. But this we know that these Loathsome Insects were such a peculiar Sort of Creatures that the Egyptian Sorcerers had not power to produce the like, and therefore they signally call'd them *the Finger of God*, Exod. 8. 19. This also we know that this Crawling Vermin was excessively troublesome, painful and tormenting: and lastly, from this kind of Punishment we know this is to be inferred, that God, whensoever he pleases, can give Commission even to the Least, the Vilest and most Despicable Animals to execute his Wrath on Offenders.

As appears also by the *Fourth Plague*, viz. *Swarm of Flies*, with which he further vex'd the Egyptians. *Beelzebub* was let loose among them, and his *Buzzing Crew* would not suffer them to be at ease. The Hebrew Word *Gnarob* is rendered by *Greek Interpreters* κυνόμυια *the Dog-fly*: but 'tis probable that the true genuine Word in the First Translation was κοινόμυια, whence the *Vulgar Latin* renders it *omne genus Muscarum*, a Swarm of all manner of Flies. So according to *Aquila's Version* it is πάμυια. But ³ *Josephus* stretches the Word further, and interprets it θηρία παντοία καὶ πολύτροπα, *wild Beasts of all Sorts and Shapes*; such as no Man ever saw before, as he adds. Yea *R. Solomon* and some other Jewish Expositors think that all kinds of wild Beasts, especially Serpents and Scorpions, and such venomous Creatures, are meant. The Author of the *Book of Wisdom* understood the Word thus, as appears

³ Antiqu. l. 2. c. 5.

pears from what he saith, Ch. 11. v. 15, 16. For the foolish Devices of their Wickedness, wherewith being deceived they worshipp'd Serpents and vile Beasts; God sent a Multitude of Beasts upon them for Vengeance: that they might know that wherewithal a Man sinneth; by the same also shall he be punish'd. But the exactest Enquirers into the Original Word conclude, that it signifies a gather'd Mixture of several Sorts of Insects or little flying Animals, such as Beetles, Hornets, Bees, Wasps, Gnats, and more especially Flies. Perhaps Grotius is in the right, that *Ghath* is not of Hebrew Extraction, but is an Egyptian Word, (as was that whereby the Frogs were named) and signifies peculiarly with them a Heap or Swarm of Flies. The vast Number of these was sufficiently troublesome: but that was not all, these Multitudes of Insects were Infections and Mortal by reason of their intolerable Stench and Filth, with which they filled the Air: whence 'tis said, the Land was corrupted with them, Exod. 8. 24. And this Corruption proved fatal to many, who without doubt would have taken up Domitian's Employment; and managed it better than he did, but they were not able, for instead of stabbing these Creatures they were dispatch'd themselves by a more poignant Stroke.

The former Judgments having not produced any good Effect in this People, God sends a Fifth among them, viz. a Pestilence or Murrain, that destroy'd their Cattel, their Flocks and Herds of all Kinds: for when 'tis said *All Cattel died*, it is not simply and absolutely to be understood (for some remained, as is clear in the Plague of Hail afterwards) but of Cattel of all Kinds. These, it seems, they kept and brought up for their Wool, and for Service, and to make a Gain of them by selling them to other

Nations, although they made no use of them themselves for Food. Though the Egyptians themselves escape the fury of this Pestilential Distemper, yet God punisheth them in their Beasts. These are destroy'd, to intimate to them what themselves deserv'd, who live and acted like Brute Beasts.

And now in the next Place it is worth our observing, that this Plague is follow'd with the breaking out of *Boils* and *Blains*, *Botches* and *Swelling Sores* both in Man and Beast; that is, the fifth Plague was cured by the coming of the Sixth: for the Venomous and Pestilential Humour which had seized on the Men, (as I gather from *Psal.* 78. 30. where this particular Punishment on the Egyptians is recounted) and which had struck the Cattel dead, was call'd forth into the extream Parts of their Bodies, and so was thereby evacuated and exhausted. Whence I infer these two Things, 1. That God may think fit to send or take away an Extraordinary Calamity in an ordinary and natural Way: and 2. That one Calamity or Plague may come in the Place of another, and even wholly remove that former Plague, and yet prove a very Great one it self. Thus it was with the *Boils* and *Impostumes*, they were a Remedy in a natural Way against the Pestilence, but they were likewise a Grievous and Painful Disease, and made them unfit for all Work and Business. I will only further remark under this Particular, that it is probable *Trogus Pompeius* (and from him *Justin* the Historian) refers to these *Botches* and *Boils*, when he reports that the *Egyptians* (by whom he means the *Jews*, for he and other Pagans thought they were originally *Egyptians*) were driven out of *Egypt* because they were infected with the Itch, and were overrun with Scabs and Sores.

So *Tacitus* relates, that an Epidemick Leprosy or Scabby Disease plagued the Egyptians Bodies, whereupon the King consulting the Oracle, gave order to purge the Country of the Jews, and to send them into some other Place. It seems to be grounded on this, though he (as all other Profane Historians when they speak of the Jews) is guilty of mistaking and blundering in the way of delivering it.

The Seventh Plague that these People felt was *Hail*, which was a very Prodigious thing in it self; for though it sometimes, but very seldom, rain'd in *Egypt*, yet *Hail* was never seen before in that Country. But moreover this was Extraordinary, being attended with Fire and Storms, Lightning and Thunder, which slew all the Men and Beasts that were abroad and remain'd, and destroy'd all Trees, Plants and Herbs.

And because their Wheat and Rye were not at that time come forth out of the Ground, and other Fruits of the Earth were not grown up, and so received no harm by this Plague, therefore upon *Pharaoh's* continued Obstinacy another was soon after inflicted on them, that is, Troops of *Locusts*, and *Caterpillars*, (for these latter are mention'd *Psal.* 78. 46. & 105. 34.) such as never were before in the World, nor afterwards ever shall be, (as 'tis expressly recorded) invaded them, and unsufferably molested them in their Houses and closest Retirements, and quickly devoured all the Fruits of the Ground which the Hail had not touched.

When neither this nor the foregoing Judgment had any considerable Effect upon the Hardned Tyrant, a New one, viz. that of *Darkness* (which is the

the Ninth in Number) is sent among them. This was such a *Darkness* as put out all Fires and Lights, else they might have help'd themselves by these: but 'tis plain they did not, for they kept within, neither rose any one from his Place for three Days, *Exod. 10. 23.* as much as to say, that their Attempts were frustrated when they undertook to kindle or light any Fire, and they were forced to desist from any such Undertaking, and to sit down again in their Places. This is said to be such a *Thick Darkness* that it might be felt: it was accompanied with such Gross Fogs and Mists, and those so pressing upon them, that they might be perceived by the Sense of Feeling. So *this Sense* was in an unusual manner exercised whilst that of *Seeing* was wholly taken from them. It is impossible fully to express this Horrid and Frightful Darkness of the Egyptians. He that consults the 17th and 18th Chapters of the Book of *Wisdom* will find an Admirable and most Elegant Description of it. I do not know any Profane Writer, any Classick Author, whether Orator or Poet, that hath parallell'd that Excellent Piece. There the Worthy Penman acquaints us with the probable Reasons of their suffering in that kind, and he suggests how they were haunted with strange Apparitions in that Long and Dismal Night, that the Terrors of their Minds and Consciences were equal with the Affrightments of that Black Season, that these Dreadful Shades were but the Representation of that Eternal Blackness and Darkness into which they were to enter.

The last Plague was the *Death of the First-born* both of Men and Beasts throughout the whole Land. There was not a House where there was not one dead; and therefore the Universality of the Slaughter made it the more deplorable and unsupportable.

Accordingly *Philo* determines that ' the Tenth and Last Plague which befel the Egyptians, far surpass'd all the others that went before. This *fluxus decumanus* was greater, and on some Account more terrible than all the former Waves and Billows that beat upon them: and indeed it was but an Introduction to their being swallow'd up by those of the *Red Sea*, which was the Concluding Act of the whole Tragedy. Thus I have briefly set before you the Various and Gradual Judgments wherewith the Egyptians were exercis'd. And from the whole we cannot but infer that God hath *Divers Ways* of animadverting on obstinate Criminals. Their Sins shall find them out both at home and abroad, in their Houses and in the Fields, in their Bodies, in their Possessions, in their Relations. Yea, for their sakes the Brutes, the Vegetables, and even the Creatures void of all Life shall bear the Marks of God's Anger. I proceed now to the other Books of *Moses*, in which I shall be briefer.

Leviticus hath its Name because it treats chiefly of the Offices of the *Levites*, and the whole *Levitical Order*. It gives us an Account of the *Jewish Service* and *Worship*, of the particular Employments and Charges of the Ministers of the Jewish Church, of their several kinds of *Sacrifices* and *Oblations*, (*viz.* Burnt-Offerings, Meat-Offerings, Peace-Offerings, Sin-Offerings, Trespass-Offerings) of the *Consecration* of *Aaron* and his Sons to the *Priesthood*, of Laws about *Clean* and *Unclean* things, and of *Difference of Meats*. Here they are forbid to eat Blood; here they are taught how to discern the *Leprosy*, and how to cleanse it. Here are Laws

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' Η δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς τελευταίας δὲ πέντε ἐπεβόλλουσα τὰς περὶ τὰς ἐπιγέμετο. De vitâ Mos.

344 *The Excellency and Perfection*

concerning *Vows*, and Things and Persons devoted. There are also other Ordinances and Injunctions concerning their *Solemn Feasts*, viz. the Sabbath of the seventh Year, the Passover, the Feasts of First-Fruits, of Pentecost, of Trumpets, of Expiation, of Tabernacles, and many the like Usages and Rites which were strictly commanded this People, on purpose to keep them from the Idolatrous and Superstitious Ceremonies of the Gentiles that were round about them, and would be enticing them to imitate their Practice. Besides, these Rites were design'd by God to be Types and Representatives of things of a far higher Nature, even of *Christ* himself, and the great things which appertain to the Gospel. There is likewise a great Number of *Judicial Laws*, as concerning the Year of Jubilee, about the Redemption of Lands and Houses, against taking of Usury of the Poor: as also concerning Servants and Bondmen. Here are Laws touching the *Degrees of Affinity and Consanguinity*, and consequently what Marriages are lawful, and what unlawful, may thence be inferr'd: and several other things belonging to the *Jews Civil Law*. Furthermore, here are inserted several *Moral Instructions*, and Excellent Precepts of Natural Religion, respecting both God and Men. Lastly, towards the Close of all there are *Blessings and Curses* pronounced, the former to such as carefully observe these Laws, the latter on those that wilfully break them. These are the Admirable Things contain'd in this Book, and which have been the acceptable Entertainment of the Inquisitive and Religious, of the Wise and Good in all Ages since they have been extant.

The Book of *Numbers* hath its Denomination from the Numbring of the Families of *Israel*, as

we may collect from *ch. 1. v. 3, 4.* where we read that *Moses* and *Aaron* had a special Command from God to Muster the Tribes, and to take the Number of all that were fit for War, and to Order and Marshal the Army when it was once formed. For now in their Passage through the Wilderness they were like to meet with many Enemies, and therefore 'twas convenient to take an Account of their Forces, and to put themselves into a Posture ready to engage. A great Part of this Book is *Historical*, relating several Remarkable Passages in the Israelites March through the Wilderness, as the *Sedition* of *Aaron* and *Miriam*, the *Rebellion* of *Corah* and his Companions, the *Murmurings* of the whole Body of the People, their being *plagued with fiery Serpents*, *Baalams Prophefying* of the Happiness of *Israel* instead of Cursing them, the Miraculous *Budding* of *Aaron's Rod*. Here also are distinctly related their Several *Removings* from Place to Place, their two and forty *Stages* or *Journeys* through the Wilderness, and sundry other things which beset them, whereby we are instructed and confirmed in some of the weightiest Truths that have immediate Reference to God and his Providence in the World. But the greatest Part of the Book is spent in enumerating those *Laws* and *Ordinances* (whether Ceremonial or Civil) which were given by God, and were not mention'd before in the preceding Books, as some Particulars of the *Levites Office*, and the *Number* of them, the *Trial of Jealousy*, the Rites to be observ'd by the *Nazarites*, the *Renewing of the Passover*, the making of *Fringes* on the Borders of their Garments, the *Water of Separation* to be used in purifying the Unclean, the *Law of Inheritance*, of *Vows*, of the *Cities of Refuge*, of the *Cities for the Levites*, and some other

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346 *The Excellency and Perfection*

Constitutions either not inserted into the other Books of *Moses*, or not so distinctly and plainly set down. Thus this Book both in respect of the Historical Part of it, and of the Addition of Laws, (not spoken of in the foregoing Books) hath its peculiar Use and Excellency.

Deuteronomy (which signifies a *Second Law*) is a *Repetition* of the Laws before delivered. It is the *Canonick Mishnah*, or *New Rehearsal* of the Divine Law: Which was necessary, because they that heard it before died in the Wilderness, and there being now sprung up another Generation of Men, the Law was to be promulged to them. The major Part of the People that were living at that time had not heard the *Decalogue*, or any other of the *Laws* openly proclaimed; or being young, they had neglected or forgot them. That is the Reason why *Moses* in this Book rehearseth them to this new People, and withal adds an *Explication* of them in many Places, yea and adjoins some *New Laws*, viz. the taking down of *Malefactors* from the Tree in the Evening, making of *Battlements* on the Roofs of their Houses, the Expiation of an *unknown Murder*, the Punishment to be inflicted on a *Rebellious Son*, the Distinction of the Sexes by *Apparel*, *Marrying the Brother's Wife* after his Decease: also Orders and Injunctions concerning *Divorce*, concerning *Man-stealers*, concerning *Unjust Weights and Measures*, concerning the *Marrying of a captive Woman*, concerning the *Servant* that deserts his Master's Service, and several other Laws not only *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil*, but *Military*. There are likewise inserted some *New Actions* and *Passages* which happened in the last Year of their Travels in the Wilderness. Moreover, *Moses* in this Part of the *Pentateuch* shews himself a True Fa-
ther,

ther, Pastor and Guide to that People, a Hearty Lover of them and their Welfare in such manifest Instances as these, his often Inculcating upon them the many Obligations which they lay under from God, the Innumerable Favours they had received from him: his frequent and pathetick Exhortations to Obedience, and living answerably to the singular Mercies which were conferr'd upon them: his constant Reminding them of their former Miscarriages, their Murmurings and Rebellions against Heaven, and all their Unworthy Deportment towards their Matchless Benefactor: his compassionate Forewarning them of the Judgments of God, of the Various Plagues and Punishments which would certainly be the Consequence of their persisting in their Sins: Lastly, his Affectionate Encouraging them to Obedience from the Consideration of the endearing Promises which God had made to them, and which he would assuredly make good, if they did not frustrate his Designs of Mercy towards them by their own wilful Obstinacy. These are the Excellent Subjects of this Divine Book, and which render it so unvaluable a Treasury.

Hitherto of the *Pentateuch*, or Five Books of *Moses*. And that he was the Penman of them I think need not be question'd, though I find it is, yea flatly denied by *Aben Ezra* and *Pererius*, and lately by *Hobbs* and *Spinosa*. A very little Portion of them was writ by him, saith Monsieur *Simon*, who hath a new Notion of certain *Publick Scribes* or *Registers* that penn'd this and other Parts of the Old Testament, (which sort of *Abbreviating Notes* he borrows from the Egyptians, (as he confesses himself) because there were such Officers in the Egyptian Court who had a Privilege to add to

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or take away from, to amplify or abridg the Publick Records, he thence groundlessly infers there were such among the *Jews* who made what Alterations they pleased in the Sacred Writings): which Paradox of his I have consider'd, and made some Reflections upon in a former Treatise. This I may truly say, that it is not necessary that we should know who was the *Particular Penman* of this or any other Book of the Holy Scripture, because the Authority of them depends not on the Writers of them, but on the Holy Ghost who endited them. They are the Books of God, that is their peculiar Character and Dignity, and that alone makes them Authentick after they have been delivered to us by the unanimous Consent of the Church, so that there is no absolute Necessity of our certain knowing who penn'd them. Yet this must be said, that it cannot with Reason be denied that the *Authors* of some of these Sacred Books are well known, and particularly there are very convincing Proofs that *Moses* wrote the Books which I have been giving an Account of. This may be evinc'd from our Saviour's Words, *Luke* 16. 31. & 24. 27. where by *Moses* (as is most evident) he means the *Books of the Pentateuch*, and consequently thereby lets us know that *Moses* was the Writer of them. And more expresly the *Book of Exodus* is call'd the *Book of Moses* by our same Infallible Master, *Mark* 12. 26. And St. *Paul* tells us, that when these Books are read, *Moses is read*, 2 *Cor.* 3. 19. And both our Saviour and this Apostle distinguish between *Moses* and the *Prophets*, *Luke* 16. 29. *Acts* 26. 22. plainly signifying that as those *Books* which pass under the *Prophets* Names are theirs, so these that are said to be *Moses's* were written by him. I think this is very plain, and needs not to be further insisted on.

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As to the *Objections* of those Men before named against this, I forbear to produce them, and to return particular *Answers* to them, because this is so lately done by 'Monsieur Clerk, and because another 'Learned Frenchman hath laudably performed this Task. Especially he hath with great Vigour, and as great Success, attack'd *Spinoza*, a Jew (as they tell us) by Birth, but neither Jew nor Christian by Profession, but a Derider of both. We may also find his Arguments (which are generally borrow'd from *Aben Ezra*) refuted with great Clearness by the 'Learned Professor of Divinity at *Paris*, who at the same time betakes himself to the Positive Part, and renders it unquestionable that *Moses* himself was the Author of the Five Books that go under his Name. Wherefore the particular Fancies of those few *Objectors*, and those no Friends to the Sacred Text, are not to be heeded by us. As to that common Scruple which is so much insisted upon, that in the last Book of the *Pentateuch* there is mention of *Moses's Death*, and some things that happen'd after it, whence they conclude that *Moses* wrote not those Books, or at least not the last of them; I take this to be a sufficient Answer, that *Moses* being a Prophet, might foresee, and have revealed to him a particular Account of his own Death, and so he committed it to writing by a Prophetick Spirit: wherefore none can from thence prove that he was not the Penman of all this Book. However, we will not contend here, for perhaps the Conclusion of this Book was affixed by *Joshua*, or afterwards by *Ezra*,

¹ Prolegom. de Scriptore Pentateuchi. ² Mr. Abbadie, in his Vindication of the Truth of the Christian Religion. ³ Dr. Du Pin, in his Preliminary Discourse to the Authors of the Books of the Bible.

350 *The Excellency and Perfection*

Ezra, who was an Inspired Person likewise, and who revised the Books of the Old Testament, and inserted some things into them by the same Spirit that endited the rest. Notwithstanding then the foresaid Objection, which refers only to a few Passages in the End of the Book of *Deuteronomy*, we have Reason to assert that the whole Five Books (excepting that little Addition in the Close) were written by *Moses*; these are his Authentick Records, consisting chiefly of *History* (which compriseth in it the Occurrences of about 2400 Years) and *Laws* which were given by God Himself to his own People, and will be of use to the End of the World. Here is the Cabinet of the greatest Antiquity under Heaven, here are the First and Oldest Monuments of the World.

C H A P. VIII.

A Short Survey of the Books of Joshua, Judges, Ruth, (which is a Supplement to the History of the Judges) Samuel, the Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, (which is a Continuation of the Chronicles) Nehemiah, Esther. The Author, Stile, Composure, Matter of the Book of Job discuss'd. An Enquiry into the Penmen, Subjects, Kinds, Titles, Poetick Meter and Rhythm of the Psalms.

NExt unto this is that Excellent History written by *Joshua* the Captain General of the Israelites, and *Moses's* famous Successor, whose very Name without doubt was as terrible to the Canaanites as those of *Hunniades* and *Scanderbeg* were afterwards to the Turks. Here he admirably describes the *Holy War*, the *Martial Achievements* and

and *Stratagems* of the People of God against those Nations whose Lands they were to possess, and at length their *Victory* over them. Here are very particularly set down their Conquests over those Kings and Countries. This Book is the Fulfilling of the Promises which were made to them concerning the entering into *Canaan*, and enjoying that Land, which is a Type of the Heavenly *Canaan*, the everlasting *Rest* which remaineth to the People of God, Heb. 4. 9. Here is the *Actual Possession* of that Promised Inheritance, and the *Division* of it among the several Tribes by *Lot*. The short is, in the whole Book (which I must not now give you by retail) there are abundant Demonstrations of the *Divine Providence*, repeated Instances of the Infinite Kindness of God to his Servants, remarkable Examples of the *Divine Vengeance* on his Enemies, yea and visible Proofs of his Severe Dealings with his own People when they refuse to obey his Will, and when they act contrary to it. Here is, in the large Account which is given of *Joshua* and his Actions, an Exact Character of a Worthy Prince, a Ruler, a General: who ought to signalize himself by his Exemplary Piety and Zeal for Religion; by his constant Sobriety, Justice and Charity; by his undaunted Courage, Valour and Prowess; by his deep Wisdom, Policy and Conduct. And his Great and Wonderful *Success* (which is so much required in a General) crowned all. The Whole contains the History of the Jews from *Moses's* Death till the Death of their Great Commander *Joshua*,
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* Ego existimo in summo Imperatore quatuor has res esse oportere, scilicet scientiam rei militaris, virtutem, auctoritatem & felicitatem. Cic. Orat. de laude M. Pompeii. Imperatori res adversæ minuunt auctoritatem. Cæsar de bell. Gall. l. 6.

352 *The Excellency and Perfection*

in all about eighteen Years. And 'tis not to be wondered at, that the *Age, Death and Burial* of this latter are recorded in the last Chapter of this Book; for either (as we said before concerning *Moses*) they were written by him through a Prophetick Spirit that foresaw these things, or else they were added by some other Inspired Writer. So perhaps were those Words [*unto this Day*] ch. 4. v. 9. & ch. 5. v. 9. though it is not necessary at all to believe so; for *Joshua* relating some Passages that happen'd a good while before he wrote this Book (which was a little before his Death) might speak after this manner very well. And some few other Words may seem to have been inserted after *Joshua's* Death: but that the Main was written by Himself there is no ground of questioning.

The History of the *Judges* followeth, which relates the State of the *Jewish* People in the Land of *Canaan*, in the time of the *Judges*, from *Joshua's* Death until *Eli*, that is, about three hundred Years. These *Judges* were Men of Heroick Spirits, raised up by God out of the several Tribes to govern the People, and to deliver them from their present Dangers. They were Supream Rulers, but Temporary; and some of them were *Types* of our *Blessed Saviour* and *Deliverer*. In the time of this peculiar Polity of the Israelites, there were very Notable Occurrences, which are faithfully recorded in this Book. Here we are acquainted with the gross Impiety and Wickedness of that new Generation which came up after *Joshua's* Death; here are recorded, to their perpetual Infamy, their Intimate Converse with those Idolatrous People that were left remaining in that Land, their Approving of their Superstitious and Irreligious Customs, and their Serving their Gods.

Here

Here is a particular Account of the Corruption of their Manners, of their Prophane and Scandalous Practices: which occasion'd the very *Heathens* to open their Mouths against them, yea to blaspheme God, whose Name they were call'd by. Here also we have a brief View of the Different Dispensations of Heaven towards this People, sometimes Relieving and Delivering them, at other times most severely Chastising them, and causing them to groan under Tyrants and Oppressors: Here are contain'd in this History most admirable Examples of God's Displeasure against Apostates and such as revolt from the True Religion; and here are on the contrary as memorable Instances of his Rewarding those that adhere to Him and his Cause, and hold fast their Integrity in the worst and most perillous Times. Here are most amply displayed his Love and Care of his Church, in stirring up so many Eminent Worthies and Champions to fight for her, and to push them on by no less than an Extraordinary Impulse of Spirit to enterprize and effect such Mighty Things for the welfare of his Chosen Servants. To conclude, here and in the Book of *Joshua* occurs such a plenty of Antient Rites, Customs and Practices relating both to Peace and War, to Civil and Religious Matters, as is able to stock an *Antiquary* of the first Size. We are not certain who was the *Penman* of this Book. It was written by *Samuel*, say the Talmudists: and it may be after one of the Books of *Samuel*, and then 'tis no wonder if some things are here mention'd or referr'd to, that are spoken of there. Others say it was not composed till *Ezra's* Time, by *Ezra*.

The Book of *Ruth* is an Appendix to that of the *Judges*, in whose time the Things were done that

354 *The Excellency and Perfection*

are here related. Particularly a little before Eliza's Time they happen'd : then it was, that there being a Famine in *Canaan*, *Eliamelech* and his Wife *Naomi*, and their Sons went into the Land of *Moab* ; and there these latter were married, one to *Ruth* and the other to *Orpah*. After ten Years were expired *Eliamelech* and his Sons died : whereupon *Naomi* and her Daughter-in-Law *Ruth* (for the other Daughter stay'd behind) returned to their own Country, and coming to *Bethlehem* were kindly received by *Boaz* their Kinsman. The Particulars of this kind Reception and Entertainment are set down here, and the Close was, that he married *Ruth*, who bare to him *Obed*, who was the Grandfather of *David*. It is true, this is but a Private History : yet, as it is such, it contains in it many things worthy of our observation, viz. the Difference of Children in their Affection and Regards to their Parents ; *Orpah* with great Ease and Willingness left *Naomi*, but *Ruth* clave unto her : the Prudent Instructions and Wise Demeanour of that Excellent Matron towards her Daughter the young Widow : (Though I must needs add with reference to *Ruth's* Behaviour, that her Boldness and almost endangering of her Chastity, are not to be Examples to others : for *Modesty* and *Shamefacedness* are the proper Qualities of that Sex. Wedlock is not to be sought after by them with such peril. And therefore this daring Fact of this Venturous Widow is to be look'd upon as an extraordinary Instance, and not to be imitated by other Females.) Here is remarkable the Merciful Providence of God towards the Afflicted, the Widows, and Fatherless : the Reward of Constancy and Obedience ; the Blessing of God upon those that fear him and trust in him. Besides, here are observable the

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Antient Right of Kinsmen, and of Redemption; and the Manner of buying the Inheritance of the Deceased, with other Things of great Antiquity. Nay, this is more than Private History; as will appear if we consider that this Pious Woman *Ruth* was the Mother of *Obed* the Father of *Jesse*, the Father of *David*, of whom our *Lord Christ* came, and therefore you find her inserted into his Genealogy by *St. Matthew*. Again, *Ruth*, a *Moabitish* Woman, of the Posterity of the Daughters of *Lot*, was a Type, or rather indeed an Eminent Instance of the Calling of the Gentiles into the Church, which is a Thing of no private Concern, but of the largest Extent imaginable.

The Two Books of *Samuel* are Publick Histories, the former whereof contains Things done under the two last Judges, *Eli* and *Samuel*, and under the first King, who was *Saul*, as also the Acts of *David* whilst he lived under *Saul*. Here is a Narrative of the Change of the Judges into Kings, of the Republick or Aristocracy of the Jews into a Monarchy, and of the Great and Many Evils which they suffer'd as consequent upon it, all worthy of our serious Perusal and Consideration. Here is an Account of their New King's being deposed by God, viz. for his rash and prophane Sacrificing, and his wilful disobeying the express Command of God concerning the total Destruction of the Amalekites, and whatever belonged to them. The latter Book is wholly spent in the History of King *David's* Reign, that is, his Acts after *Saul's* Death. These are either his Military Acts, his Troublesom and Dangerous, and sometimes Successful Enterprizes in War, or his Political Acts, shew'd in the wise Administration of Civil Government; or his Ecclesiastical and Religious Undertakings, which respect the Church of God in those Days. With these

356 *The Excellency and Perfection*

are mixed the great Failings and Miscarriages of that King, (which are as particularly recorded as his other Acts) and as a Consequent of them, the many Disappointments and Crolles he met with, the various Judgments and Plagues which were inflicted on him and his People by God.

The *Books of the Kings* are the History of the Kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah* under the Reigns of their several Kings. The first contains the latter Part of the Life of *David*, and his Death; the Glory and Prosperity of that Nation under *Solomon* who succeeded him; his erecting and consecrating of the Temple at *Jerusalem*: his scandalous Defection from the true Religion: the sudden Decay of the Jewish Nation after his Death, when it was divided into two Kingdoms under *Rehoboam*, who reign'd over the two Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, and under *Jeroboam*, who was King over the other ten Tribes that revolted from the House of *David*. The rest of it is spent in relating the Acts of four Kings of *Judah* and eight of *Israel*. The second Book, which is a Continuation of the History of the Kings, is a Relation of the Memorable Acts of sixteen Kings of *Judah* and twelve of *Israel*, and the End of both Kingdoms by the carrying of the Ten Tribes Captive into *Assyria* by *Salmanasser*, and the other two into *Babylon* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, the just Rewards of that People's Idolatry and Impenitency after so many Favours shew'd to them. This and the former Book together comprehend the History of about four hundred Years.

The *Chronicles* or *Journals* according to the Hebrew, are the filling up of those Parts of the History which are omitted in the Books of the Kings. And though we know not which of these Histories,

viz. of the *Kings* or the *Chronicles*, (I speak as to the main Body of the Books, not one particular Passage, as that in the Close of the *Second Book* of *Chronicles*, where mention is made of the *Deliverance of the Jews* by *Cyrus*, which might be added afterwards) were written first; for the *Book of Kings* refers to the *Book of Chronicles*, and this again sends the Reader to that, yet this we see that this of the *Chronicles* is more full and ample sometimes than that of the *Kings*: what was left out or not so fully set down in the one, is supplied in the other. And thence these Books are call'd *Παραλειπόμενα*, i. e. *Remains, Supplements, Additions* by the *Greek Interpreters*. The first *Book of Chronicles* relates the Rise and Propagation of the People of *Israel* from *Adam*, (which is the entire Subject of the first Nine Chapters, which consist wholly of *Genealogies*) and then afterwards most punctually and accurately gives an Account of the Reign of *David*. The second *Book* as faithfully sets down the Progress and End of the Kingdom of *Judah*, even to the Year of their return from the Captivity in *Babylon*.

These Books of *Chronicles*, together with those of the *Kings* and *Samuel*, make up the Best and Choicest History in the World. Here we are abundantly furnish'd with such Useful Notices, Truths and Maxims as these (all confirmed by Noted and Illustrious Examples and such Instances as are Certain and Unquestionable.) Crowned Heads are encircled with Cares, and seldom find rest and repose: though their Lives are more Splendid, yet they are not less Calamitous than those of the Common People. Good Kings are rare, and the Number of them is inconsiderable in comparison of those that are Bad. The best Kings have their

358 *The Excellency and Perfection*

Faults, and some of them of a very scandalous Nature. There is little Piety in Princes Courts, and as little Integrity and Honesty. The People are easily induced to follow the Examples of their Governours: and Religion and Manners too often vary according to the Wills of Superiours. Good Kings are the greatest Blessing, and Wicked Ones are the greatest Curse to a Nation. Princes mistake their Measures when they either disobey God, or oppress their People. Tyrannical Princes procure their own Ruine. The Sins and Vices of Rulers prove fatal to their Subjects. Publick Enormities are punish'd with Publick and National Calamities. Kings may be known by the Ministers they choose and make use of. Those Counsellors that are founded in Religion are most successful. Evil Counsellours contrive their own Destruction. Wars are the Effect and Consequence of fighting against God. The Success of Arms depends upon the Divine Blessing. The Church is never more mock'd than under Bad Princes. Religion and Reformation are never effectually promoted unless the Great Ones have a Hand in them. Divisions and Contentions about Religion have immediate influence on Secular Affairs: and when the Church is divided, the State is so too. The Revolutions in both are by the particular Disposal of the Wise Over-ruler of the World. True Religion and Godliness are attended with Earthly Rewards and Blessings: and the contrary bring down the greatest Plagues even in this World. The worst Times afford some of the Best and most Holy, Religious and Zealous Men. Whatever Changes and Revolutions happen in the Kingdoms of the Earth, the Church of God remains secure. Though there are great and frequent Defections, yet there never is a total Extinction

inction of it. In a Word, the Church is impregnable, this Rock is immoveable. And many other Propositions and Maxims of the like Nature, which are of great Service in the Life of Man, are to be deduced from these Excellent Histories.

Ezra is a Continuation of the aforesaid Book of *Chronicles*, and compriseth the History of the Jews from the time that *Cyrus* made the Edict for their Return until the twentieth Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, which was about a hundred Years. For the Jews return from *Babylon* was at two several Times, viz. first in the Days of *Cyrus* the first Persian Monarch, under the Conduct of *Zerubbabel* their Captain, and *Jeshua* their High Priest. Here are recorded the Number of those that returned, *Cyrus's* Proclamation for the rebuilding of the Temple, the Laying of the Foundations of it, the Resuming of the Work under the Reign of two of the Kings of *Persia*, at last the Finishing of the Temple in *Darius's* Reign. The second Return of the Jews was in the Reign of *Artaxerxes* under the Conduct of *Ezra* a Priest, who had been a Courtier in the Persian Court, and was sent into *Judea* by *Artaxerxes* in the seventh Year of his Reign (which was above eighty Years after the first Return in *Cyrus's* Time) to expedite the Building of *Jerusalem*. This Pious Reformer observing the Peoples Affinity with Strangers and Infidels, and their joining themselves to them in Marriage, proclaim'd a solemn Fast, and Pray'd, and Mourn'd, and Lamented their gross Miscarriages, and with great Earnestness and Zeal exhorted them to Reformation and Amendment of their Ways, that they might thereby avert God's Wrath, and conciliate his Favour and Pardon. This is that *Ezra* who was the Penman of this Book, and who was also a Re-

stor of the Sacred Books of the Old Testament, and collected and methodized them into certain Order, and reviewed the Copies, and amended all *Errata's* that were contracted in the time of the Captivity.

Nehemiah, who wrote the Book which bears his Name, was a Jew, Cup-bearer to the King of *Persia*, and return'd into *Judea* thirteen Years after *Ezra*. There is another *Nehemiah* who came with those that returned at first from *Babylon*, *Ezra* 2. 2. but he whom we now speak of came afterwards by *Artaxerxes's* Leave, in the twentieth Year of his Reign, and went back to *Persia* again twelve Years after, *Neb.* 5. 14. This Writer begins where *Ezra* left off, and continues the History of the Building of *Jerusalem*, and of the Deportment of the Jews in those times, from the twentieth Year of *Artaxerxes* to the Reign of *Darius*, about fifty Years in all. As *Ezra* chiefly related the Restoring of Religion and Erecting the Temple, so this Author gives us an Account of the Building of the City, and the Reformation of the Religion which had been restored. In several Particulars he shews what were the *Abuses* and *Corruptions* of the People, and how they were redressed, even by his own Hand. He tells us what Methods he took of regulating both their Ecclesiastical and Civil Affairs; in short, of *Reforming* both Church and State, which were even then so early corrupted. From the whole, both here and in the Book of *Ezra*, we are taught many useful Lessons, but This above all, that the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against the Church, that they shall never have Power to extinguish this Little Flock. *Israel* is not always a *Captive* in a strange Land. *Babylon* sends back her Prisoners and Bondmen. Her very Enemies,

mies, by an extraordinary Direction of Heaven, promote her Peace and Prosperity. For we are informed from this Part of Sacred History, that God stirr'd up even the *Persian Monarchs* to restore his People to *Jerusalem*; and, when they were there, to help and assist them, and to baffle all their Opposers.

The Book of *Esther* is a Particular History of what happen'd to the Jews in their Captivity in the Reign of *Abasuerus*, one of the Kings of *Persia*, whether he was *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, as some think, or *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, as most Authors both Antient and Modern say, or *Artaxerxes Ocbus*, as *Serarius* holds, or *Xerxes* the fourth Persian Monarch, according to *Scaliger*, or *Darius* the Son of *Hystaspes*, or *Cambyfes*, (for so various are the Opinions of Authors) I will not here dispute. Only we know that the Sacred Writings and the Profane intend the same Person sometimes, though they give different Names. The Story is this, *Haman* a great Favourite and Minion of the King, and advanced to great Honour by him, was highly incens'd against *Mordecai*, one of the Captive Jews, because he refused to do him Reverence, and to Bow to him. Whereupon he resolv'd, for his sake, to compass the Destruction of all the Jews in those Territories, and to that end gain'd a Decree from the King to put them all to the Sword. But this wicked Design was happily frustrated by means of *Esther* a Jewish Captive Virgin, who for her transcendent Beauty had a little time before been advanced to the Throne, and now prevail'd with her Royal Husband to spare the Life of her dear

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¹ Nicephorus, Zonaras, Suidas, Ludovicus Vives, Bellarmine, Cajetan, Sir W. Raleigh.

362 *The Excellency and Perfection*

Countrymen. In this manner *Haman's* cursed Conspiracy was defeated, he himself advanced to a Gibbet, and that of his own preparing, the Jews delivered from their Fears and Dangers, *Mordecai* who discover'd this Bloody Design to Queen *Esther*, and who had before that discover'd another Conspiracy, viz. against the King, which was recorded in the Chronicles, and about this time read to him, and was in a great measure serviceable by the Divine Providence to bring about this happy Frustration of *Haman's* Plot; this *Mordecai* (I say) was preferr'd unto the greatest Honours in the Kingdom, (and by the by let me suggest, that perhaps from his riding the King's Horse, and thereby being preferr'd to Kingly Dignity, the Story of *Darius's* being made King of *Persia* by the Neighing of his Horse had its Rise; for, as I have often had occasion in another Place to prove, the Gentile Historians mistook one Person for another) the Hearts and Mouths of all the Jews in the King's Provinces were filled with Joy, and an Annual Festival was appointed to be kept in all succeeding Generations in remembrance of this singular and unexpected Deliverance vouchsafed to them. This is the Sum of this Short History, in which there are many Admirable and Surprizing Circumstances which (though they could not be particularly related here) commend it to the Reader. It is certainly a most Remarkable Instance of God's Singular Providence and Goodness to his Church, in discovering and defeating the Contrivances of her malicious and cruel Enemies, in delivering her in her greatest Extremities, and in bringing Vengeance and Ruine on the Heads of those who plot her Downfal. As to the *Author* of this Book, there is no Agreement among Writers; though one

one would be enclined to think that it was *Mordecai's* by reading *ch. 9. v. 20.* and *ch. 12. of Apocryphal Esther, v. 4.*

The next *Pentman* of the Old Testament is *Job*, whose Book might have been placed next to the *Pentateuch*, if it be true (as is generally believ'd) that he lived about *Moses's* time: Though some are of opinion that he lived a considerable time before the Israelites came out of *Egypt*, and that he was before *Moses*. It was writ by himself, say *Origen* and *Suidas*: but the *Rabbins* generally pronounce *Moses* the Author. Others make *Solomon* the Author of this Book, discovering, as they think, his manner of speaking in it. The most probable Account is, that the Materials of this Book were drawn up first by *Job* himself, or one or all of his Pious Friends that were concern'd in the things spoken of here, and that they coming to *Moses's* Hands, (as some of the Jewish Masters tell us) or afterwards to *Solomon's*, were made up into *Hebrew Verse*, as we now find it. For the greatest Part of the Book is of this Composure, and indeed is the first *Poetical* Book we meet with in the Bible. Whence we may infer something concerning the Nature of it, viz. that (as *M. Luther* well observ'd) *Job* and his Friends spake not all the very Words which are set down in this Book; for Men do not use to speak in Verse in their Discourse one with another, and especially in such a Lofty Stile of Poetry as we read here sometimes. But this is true, that both their Thoughts and Words were exactly agreeable to what is here written, and Things actually and really happen'd as they are here represented: only the Whole Argument

Origen, Jerom, Eusebius, Selden. * *Colloq. Mech.*

gument being clothed in Verse, the individual and express Words, which they all the time used, are not always written down, neither indeed could be. But we must by no means attend to the Talmudick Doctors, who tell us, that this Book is not a Relation of Matter of Fact, but writ in a Parabolical way to exhibit to the World an Eminent Example of Patience. Nor are the Words of the *Parisian*³ Professor to be tolerated, who saith, *the History is true, but the Circumstances of it are feigned*. There is no Fiction in it, because it is as to the whole Matter of it Real, and relates what actually happen'd: only as to the Words and Stile, it is Poetically composed. I might observe that this Historical Poem is in way of *Dialogue*, or rather is made up of *several Dialogues* and *Colloquies*. It is a *Dramatick* Piece, wherein Six Persons have their Parts; Job, Eliphaz, Bildad, Zophar, Elihu, and GOD, who speaks in the Close of all. Nor is this unusual in some other Books of the Holy Scripture, where we find that some of *David's Psalms* are *Dialogue-wise*: and nothing is more evident, than that *Solomon's Song* is after that manner: besides that (as a⁴ worthy Person hath observ'd) in some of the Other Writings of this *Wise Man*, and in many Places of *St. Paul's Epistles* a Tacit Dialogue is contain'd, whence it happens that that sometimes is taken by unskilful Readers for an Assertion or an Argument which is indeed a Question or an Objection. Indeed this *Dialogizing* way is of great Advantage, and carries a peculiar Excellency with it, and therefore was (as we may take notice) made use of by the Antients. Drawing forth and pressing out the Truth by way of Dialogue was the

³ Du Pin. Bibl. Patr. ⁴ Mr. Boyle of the *Stile of Scripture*.

the Socratick Mode; which *Plato* also used, laying down his own Opinion in the Person of *Socrates*, *Timæus*, &c. and other Mens Opinions and Sentiments in the Person of *Gorgias*, &c. And *Cicero* dealt in this way in some of his Writings. The same likewise we find practised of old by some of the most Eminent Writers of the Christian Church, as *Justin Martyr*, who sets forth the manner of his becoming a Christian in the Platonick way, i. e. of a Colloquy: and the whole Discourse with *Trypho* is no more perhaps than the Personating of a Christian and a Jew by way of Dialogue. *Minutius Felix's* Debate between *Octavius* and *Cæcilius*, a Christian and a Gentile, is of the same Nature. It is probable that this Antient Practice of delivering Truth in this manner was derived from the *Book of Job*, the Oldest Dialogue in the World; and which moreover is in way of a *Disputation*, where *Job* is *Respondent*, his three Friends the *Opponents*; and *Elibu*, yea and at last *God* himself the *Moderator*. And one thing by the by I would here observe, that it is said, *ch. 31. v. 40. The Words of Job are ended*: which we must understand with reference to this Contrast between him and his Friends; for otherwise *Job* had not made an end of Speaking, as we find in some of the following Chapters. Therefore the Meaning is, that his Words in way of Contention and Controversy with those Men were ended: and thus the first Verse in the ensuing Chapter explains it [*So these three Men ceased to answer Job.*]

The whole affords us many Excellent Observations, viz. that the greatest Wealth and Riches are uncertain, that suddenly and unexpectedly they make themselves Wings, and fly away from the Possessors, and leave them in Want, Distress and Mis-

366 *The Excellency and Perfection*

Misery: that Integrity and Holiness of Life exempt no Man from this Changeableness of his Condition, are no Protection against the worst of outward Evils whatsoever, whether procured by Satan or by Evil Men: This is taught us in the Example of this Great Man, yea *'the Greatest of all the Men in the East*, i. e. in *Arabia*; and who was as Good as he was Great, for *'he was a Perfect and Upright Man*, nay *'there was none like him in the Earth*. This was the true *Arabian Phoenix*, there was none but he at that time. But this Person who was so famed for his Greatness and Goodness, came at last to be as noted for his Low and Mean Condition, his Troubles and Distresses of all kinds, and those too of the highest Degree; for he was bereft of all his Dear Children by the Fall of the House where they were, he was despoiled of all his Goods and Estate by the Chaldean and Sabeen Free-booters; he was deprived of his Bodily Health, and smitten with Painful and Loathsom Diseases by the immediate Hand of the Malicious Demons; he was despised, scorn'd, derided by the vilest Race of People. Hence we are instructed that the worst of Temporal Evils do sometimes befall the most Upright Persons. And we are taught from *Job's* Example also, that the Holiest Men have their Fits of Impatience: they are heard sometimes to complain and cry out under their Burden, they expostulate with God, and question the Reasonableness and Justice of his Dealings with them, they magnify their own Innocence at too high a rate, they are weary of their Lives, and passionately wish for a Period of them. This was *Job's* Case, and may be of other Righteous Men: they may through hu-
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mane Frailty be for a time subject to the same Disorder, and shew themselves as uneasy under their Afflictions, especially when with this Holy Man they are wounded in Spirit, and buffeted by Satan, and lie under the Sense of God's Wrath, and have no Apprehension of his Grace and Favour. But (as the Hebrew Doctors say) *' a Man is not to be taken in the Hour of his Grief and Perplexity.* It is not imputed to him if he utters things that are unfitting when he is in the Extremity of Pain and Anguish.

But yet we are to observe likewise that this Good Man, even in the midst of his most pressing Calamities, was never quite run down by them, but at one time or other shew'd by his Words and Behaviour that he had got the Conquest of them. *You have heard of the Patience of Job, saith St. ¹ James;* and this Patience was as eminent as his Disasters: for we hear him ² *blessing the Name of the Lord* not only for what *he gave*, but for what *he took away* from him: we hear him protesting, that ³ *though God should slay him, yet he would trust in him:* we hear him expressing his Foresight, Perswasion and Assurance, that ⁴ *his Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter Day upon the Earth;* and *tho* after his Skin Worms destroy his Body, yet in his Flesh *he shall see God.* All which are most evident Arguments of his Patience under his Crosses, of his Thankfulness to God for them, of his Strong Faith and Confidence in him that he should be delivered from them, and of his hearty Perswasion that nothing doth or can happen to Mankind without God's Good Pleasure, nothing can betide us with-
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¹ Homo non capitur in hora doloris sui. Talm. ² Chap. 5. v. 11. ³ Job 1. 21. ⁴ Ch. 13. v. 15, ⁵ Ch. 19. v. 25.

368 *The Excellency and Perfection*

out his Leave and Consent : which is the greatest Comfort and Refreshment, the highest Repose and Satisfaction to our Minds imaginable. This indeed is one grand Design of this Book to bring the Spirits of good Men to an even and placid Frame on this Consideration, that God hath the Government of the World, and doth what he thinks fit with his Creatures as to the outward Condition they are liable to in this Life ; that the Providence of God orders all the Actions and Enterprizes either of Men or Devils, so that nothing can come to pass without the Divine Permission, Grant and Superintendence. This is that which is more especially aimed at in this Book : we are taught here not to quarrel with our Maker, not to find fault with Heaven. This doth not become us in the least ; it is rather the Deportment of a *Chinoise Priest*, who hath so much Power over his *Gods*, that he is suffer'd to beat and whip them when they don't act (as he thinks) as he would have them.

We have likewise the Wretched State of Wicked Men and Hypocrites most graphically set forth in these Dialogues. We have God's Infinite Justice and Unsearchable Wisdom fully asserted and vindicated. We have the Mighty Power of God in some of his Creatures described by Himself in a Stile befitting his Majesty. In the Close of all we have the happy Period of Innocence and Integrity : *The End of them is Peace.* God oftentimes rewards good and upright Men in this Life with a great Plenty of outward Blessings and Favours : he is pleased to recompense them abundantly for all their past Calamities, by doubling upon them all those Mercies which he before deprived them of. *God blessed*

bleſſed the latter End of Job more than his Beginning: He gave him twice as much as he had before. All Bleſſings flow in now upon him in abundance: firſt God accepts him, and then he is caſſed by his Kindred and Friends, by his Brethren and Siſters, and Acquaintance; he is preſented with Gifts, his Stock of Cattle (wherein the chief Wealth of thoſe Countries conſiſted) is increas'd, and he is bleſſed with a deſirable Number of Children, the Sons wiſe, and the Daughters fair. Finally, after all the Storms were blown over, he lived an hundred and forty Years in Peace and Plenty in his Country, now Arabia the Happy: he enjoy'd the Confluence of all kinds of Good Things relating both to himſelf and his Relations, and at length died in a good old Age, full of Days, and full of the Bleſſings of the Almighty. To conclude, this Antient Book is infinitely worthy of the Studies of the Curious and Philoſophical, of the Lovers of Learning and Antiquity, of thoſe that value the Primitive Tongues, Arts and Customs: for here is an Excellent Mixture of all theſe, which cannot but be a grateful Entertainment to Inquiſitive Spirits. Wherefore a Learned Gentleman of great and ſubtle Obſervation hath left us this Censure on the Book of Job, 'Whoever conſiders the Subject and Style of it, will hardly think it was written in an Age or Country that wanted either Books or Learning.

The *Pſalms* are the next Poetick Book, and they bear the Name of David, the Chief Author of them. Some indeed of the Antients held that he was the ſole Author, but they can ſcarcely be

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Ver. 9. Ver. 11. Ver. 12. Ver. 13, 15. Ver. 16.
Ver. 17. Sir W. Temple's *Miscell.* 2d Part. Origen, Chryſoſtom, Auguſtin, Ambroſe, Euthymius.

370 *The Excellency and Perfection*

credited in that, because the Title of the 90th Psalm and others tells us, that they were composed by *Moses*. Some of them, it is thought, were made by *Asaph*, *Heman*, *Ethan*, *Jeduthun*, who were in *David's* time: but others think these were not Sacred Poets, but only skilful *Musicians* or Masters of the Quire, and did not endite these Psalms which bear their Names, but only set them to Tunes, and sung them. Though a Modern Writer is of the Opinion that *Heman* and *Ethan* liv'd in the time of the Egyptian Bondage, and penn'd the 88th and 89th Psalms on that occasion, in the former condoling their present Distress, in the latter prophesying of Deliverance. The 92d Psalm was made by *Adam*, saith the *Targum*, and the Hebrew Doctors generally agree to it. It is evident, and scarcely denied by any, that the 137th Psalm was writ in the time of the Jews Captivity in *Babylon*, and therefore could not be made by *David*: and other Psalms seem to be made after their Return, the Authors of which are not known. And some, it is likely, were endited by *Solomon*, as the 45th, which is a *Song of Loves*, (as the Title acquaints us) and is of the same Strain with his other *Nuptial Song*, inserted by it self into the Holy Scriptures. It may be concluded then that the Book of Psalms is not the Issue of One Inspired Brain only; but yet that the Greatest Part of it was endited and written by *David*, who had an excellent Gift of Poetry and Psalmody, of composing, making, and singing of Pious Songs. Such are these *Psalms*, which, excepting a few of them, were the Work of this Holy Man, and therefore they are deservedly called *David's Psalms*, the

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Denomination being taken from the greater Part.

They are divided into five Lesser Books, which you may know thus; where you find a Psalm ending with *Amen*, (as the 41st, 72^d, 89th, 106th, and the last Psalm) there is the Period of the Book, and another begins. By this you may understand that Passage in *Psal. 72. v. ult. The Prayers of David the Son of Jesse are ended; i. e.* here is an End of the Second Book of *David's Psalms*: the rest that follow are other Collections of them. Of these some are *Alphabetical*, i. e. composed according to the Order of the Hebrew Letters: such is the 119th Psalm, and is stiled by the *Masora* the *Great Alphabet*, the eight first Verses beginning with the first Hebrew Letter, the succeeding eight with the second, and so throughout the whole Number of the Hebrew Letters: and such are the 25th, 34th, 37th, 111th, 112th, 145th, all written in Alphabetical Order, the Holy Ghost even inspiring the Psalmist's Fancy in this Particular. It is likely the *Acrosticks*, an antient way of Wit, used by one of the *Sibylls*, and others of old, the Initial Letters of which Verses made up certain Words, were partly in imitation of this. Some are stiled *Psalms of Degrees* or *Ascents*, as those fifteen which immediately follow the 119th Psalm, either because the Voice was lifted up more than ordinarily when they were sung, or because of the Advantage of the Ground or Place where they were sung, viz. the Steps in *Solomon's Temple*, which were fifteen, and which those who were appointed to sing these Psalms were wont to ascend. Other Psalms are known by their Peculiar Titles, as *Maschil*, i. e. *Psalms of Instruction*; *Michtam*, i. e. *Golden Psalms*, call'd so (it is probable) because of the Precious Matter couched in them. And several other Distinctive Titles

372 The Excellency and Perfection

there are, which are not so well understood, as that of *Psal. 22. Afieletb ba shachar*: which in the Margin is rendred *the Hind of the Morning*; perhaps referring to our Saviour, of whom this Psalm speaks, who is call'd a *Hind* or *young Hart*, Cant. 2. 9, 17. Others interpret it *the Strength of the Morning*, but they know not how to apply it. Others *the Morning-Star*: some the *Instrument of Musick* on which this Psalm and others were plaid. And the like Obscure Words (as *Shiggaion, Gittith, Jeduthun, Alashith, Shushan eduth*) are prefix'd to many of these Sacred Hymns.

There is the Word *Selah* often used (seventy times at least) in these Divine Poems: but 'tis not easy to assign the true and proper import of it. I cannot find the certain meaning of it, saith *Avonarius*, though I have consulted all the Comments of the Rabbies. The *Chaldee Paraphrast* renders it *perpetuo, semper*, and so several Rabbins expound it, but can assign no sufficient reason for it. Some take it for a *Musical Note*, of no significancy in it self, but a meer made Word to direct the Masters of Musick in singing or playing. But then there is some difference among those of this Opinion: For some of the Hebrew Writers think it denotes the *Elevation of the Voice*, and that wherever this Word is in the Psalms, the Choristers were put in mind to lift up their Voices. Others of them believe it is a Note to signify a *Pause*, a *Resting* or *Breathing* for a time. And accordingly some of the Jewish Doctors say that they were admonish'd by this Word to begin another Sentence or Period. But another Classis of Interpreters look upon this Word not as a *Note of Musick*, but of

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Observation or Remark, and are perswaded that it is affix'd to some Sentences that are very Notable, and more especially worthy of our consideration. In my mind R. Kimchi is in the right, who joins this and the former Expositions of the Word together, telling us that *Selah* is both a Musical Note, and a Note of Emphasis in the Sense, whereby we are bid to observe something more than usually remarkable. It is derived from *sal* or *salal*, *exaltavit*, and denotes the elevating of the Voice in singing, and at the same time the lifting up of the Heart, the serious considering and meditating upon the thing that is spoken. It is an Argument to me that this was of use in *Musick* and *Singing*, because it is rendered *διά ψαλμῶν* by the Greek Interpreters, and (which is more considerable) because we meet with it in the *Psalms* only, and in *Halakkuk*, chap. 3. v. 3, 9, 13. which Chapter is a kind of *Psalms* or *Canticle*, as you'll see in the Title of it. And that it is also a Mark of *Observation* and *Meditation*, may be gather'd from its being join'd in *Psal.* 9. 16. with *Higgaion*, which signifies *Meditation*; for the Word is from *Hagab*, *meditatus fuit*. And though in some Places *Selah* seems to be used where there is no Emphatick Word or Sense, yet we ought to consider that this must be referr'd and applied not only to the immediately preceding Word or Verse, but to the whole Set of Verses or Periods, about which it is placed. If we thus apply it we shall see that it is used to good purpose, viz. to point out to us something very Observable and Notable: It calls upon us to revolve in our Minds with great Seriousness the Matter that is before us, and to give Glory to God: and to this purpose it may be observ'd, that *Selah*, in *Psal.* 46. 11. is rendered by the *Seventy Interpreters* *δέξα*.

374 *The Excellency and Perfection*

But it is the Excellent and Noble *Matter* which most of all commends these Divine Poems. Some of them are *Historical*, giving an Account of God's wonderful Dispensations in the foregoing Ages of the World, especially towards the *Jewish People*, in their first Election out of the rest of the World, their Condition in *Egypt*, in the *Wilderness*, in *Canaan*, with a Rehearsal of the particular Mercies and Judgments shew'd towards them. Other Psalms are *Didactic*, fraught with most wholesome and useful Doctrine, with most solid and necessary Instruction. "What is there, saith *Basil* the Great, that we are not taught here? Are we not instructed here concerning all Moral Vertues, the Magnificence of Fortitude, the Exactness of Justice, the Gravity of Temperance, the Perfection of Prudence? Are we not inform'd hence concerning the manner of Repentance, the measure of Patience, and whatever other good and vertuous things we can name? Here is the Treasure of compleat Theology, here is the common Store-house of all good Doctrines. Other Psalms are *Prophetical*, fore-shewing the great and astonishing things which have happen'd since in the World, as the Coming of the *Messias* in the Flesh, his Sufferings, Death, Resurrection, Ascension, and most of the considerable Circumstances appertaining to these, the Rejection of the Jewish Nation, the Conversion of the Gentiles, the Wonderful Propagation of the Gospel, and the Success of Christ's Kingdom upon Earth. Again, some of these Psalms are *Petitory*, begging with the highest Zeal and Devotion those things which are the proper Object of our Prayers,

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¹ Homil. 1. in Psalm. ² Κοινὸν ταμειεῖον ἀγαθῶν διδασκαλῶν
ἔστιν. Ibid.

and thereby teaching us what we ought to implore of Heaven, and in what manner we should put up our Addresses. Others are *Eucharistical*, wherein the Psalmist discovers the Grateful Resentments of his Mind by an open Recognition of the Divine Bounty to him, and by sending up continual Praises unto the Author of all those Favours and Blessings daily heaped upon him : at the same time teaching us to pay the like Tribute of Devotion to the same Bountiful Hand, and to take all Occasions (as he doth) of testifying our Thankful Sense of the Divine Goodness. Of this sort more especially is the 113th Psalm with the five following ones, which are call'd by the Jews *the Great Hallelujah*, or rather (as *Buxtorf* saith) *the Great Hymn*, which they used at their three Chief Feasts, especially at the *Passover*. This, it is probable, is meant by *the Hymn*, (*Mat.* 26. 30.) which Christ with his Apostles sung after their eating of the Paschal Lamb. Some are *Hortatory*, with singular Earnestness inviting the World to acknowledg and obey the Lord of Heaven and Earth, pathetically calling upon wicked Men to abandon their sinful Ways, and to repent, and turn unto God ; with a more special Love and Tenderneſs, beseeching the Servants of the most High to fear and reverence his Name, to trust at all times in him, and to be obedient unto his holy Laws and Statutes. Others are *Consolatory*, administring Peace and Joy to all that are upright in Heart and Life, breathing nothing but Heavenly Solace and Satisfaction to distressed Minds, such as never came from any Mouth but what was Inspired. Some of them are *Penitential*, (besides those *Seven* which are usually stiled so)

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where

¹ The 6th, 31st, 37th, 51st, 101st, 129th, 141st.

376 *The Excellency and Perfection*

wherein the Holy Man with infinite Sorrow and Remorse of Soul declares his Abhorrence of his former Sins, and his firm Resolves and Purposes of relinquishing them for the future. Lastly, some of the Psalms are of a *Mixt Nature*, comprehending several of the foremention'd Heads in them; so that there is no Book of Devotion extant in the World that is made up of such Variety of Matter as this is, and therefore is not only the more delightful and entertaining, but is also the more useful and advantageous, the more suitable to the various Conditions and Occasions of Mankind, the more fitted for the several Purposes of the Devout, the more serviceable to all the great Ends of Religion and Godliness. For this and many other Reasons I may conclude, that there is not such another Excellent Collection of Devotions under Heaven as This of the Pious King and Prophet. Here are all things that are proper to beget Religion and Piety in us, here is every thing that is serviceable to nourish and sustain all our Vertues and Graces, and that in the utmost height of them.

Before I pass to the next Book, I will add a few Words concerning the Nature of the Poetry here used. This is to be said with great Truth, that these *Poetical Measures* are far different from those which we have been acquainted with in Other Writers, But then it is not to be question'd, that tho we are ignorant of the true Quality of these Poetick Numbers, yet they are very Melodious and Lofty, and not unworthy of the best Poets. It is not to be doubted that there is a certain *Artificial Meter* observ'd in this Book, which renders the several Odes and *Hymns* very delightful. The ' Younger Scali-

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ger denies (and that with some Earnestness and Sharpness, otherwise he would not shew himself his Father's own Son) that there is any thing like this in this Book; though at the same time he grants that the *Proverbs*, and almost all *Job*, are *Metrical*. But *Josephus* and *Philo*, two Learned Jews, and who may reasonably be thought to be Competent Judges in this Matter, attest the *Meter* of these *Psalms* (as well as of the Books of *Job*, &c.) So do *Origen*, *Eusebius*, *Jerom*, and some of the most Judicious Criticks among the Moderns. But then they confess that the *Meter* is not so regular as that of succeeding Poets. And who sees not that even these exceedingly vary in their Measures? It is not denied that *Sophocles* and *Euripides*, *Plautus* and *Terence*, write in Verse: but they can scarcely be said to do so in comparison of *Homer* and *Virgil*. There are some *Hexameters*, *Iambicks*, *Sapphicks*, and other known kinds of Verses in *David's Psalms*, but they are very rare, and seldom pure and unmix'd: but notwithstanding this, it is easy to perceive (if we be observant and attentive) that there are several Verses together that are *Metrical*. The *Arabian* Criticks tell us, that the *Alcoran* is written in a sort of Verse, and sometimes in Rythme, but every Reader cannot find this. No more can an ordinary Eye or Ear discern the Numbers in the *Hebrew* Verse: for the *Hebrews* way of measuring their Feet was different from that which is in use among the *Greek* and *Latin* Poets; yet so as we may oftentimes perceive a certain Harmony of Syllables. And as the *Psalms* are *Metrical*, so some of them are *Rhythmical*. This is clear in the very Entrance of these Divine Hymns;

378 The Excellency and Perfection

אשרי האיש אשר
לא הלך
} בעצת רשעים
וכרדך חסאים
} לא עמד
ובמושכ לצים
לא ישכ.

Again, in *Psal.* 6. 2.

יהוה אל באפך תוכיחני
ואל כחמתך תיסרני.

This is evident in *Psal.* 8. 5.

מה אנוש כי תזכרנו
ובן אדם כי תפקדנו.

This is plain in *Psal.* 12. 4. ו 51. 16. ו 63. 3. ו 116. 7. ו 148. 1, 2. And in abundance of other Places there is not only a certain Orderly Number of Syllables, but the last Words of the Verses end alike in Sound.

¹ *Psal.* 1. 1.

C H A P. IX.

The Book of Proverbs, why so call'd. The transcendent Excellency of these Divine and Inspired Aphorisms. Some Instances of the Different Application of the Similitudes used by this Author. The Book of Ecclesiastes, why so entituled. The Admirable Subject of it succinctly displayed. The particular Nature of the Canticle or Mystical Song of Solomon briefly set forth. It is evinc'd from very cogent Arguments, that Solomon died in the Favour of God, and was saved. The Books of the Four Great Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, with his Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, are described. So are those of the Twelve Lesser Prophets, Hosea, &c.

WH O should succeed David but Solomon, as in the Throne, so in the Sacred Canon of the Bible? And He, like his Father, was a Divine Poet: his three Books, viz. the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and his Song being written in Hebrew Verse. The first of these Books is composed of Excellent Proverbs (whence it hath its Name). By this word *Mishle*, which is here rendred Proverbs; sometimes are signified, 1. Parables strictly so call'd, which are no other than Apologues or Artificial Fables, of which I have spoken under the Stile of Scripture: but there are none such in this Book. 2. By this Word is meant any 'Trite and Commonly received Saying, any Vulgar Proverbial Speech, as that in *ch. 26. v. 11. The Dog returneth to his Vomit.* But there are few of this sort here.

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380 *The Excellency and Perfection*

3. *Sarcastick Speeches*, Gibes, Taunts, (as in 2 *Chron.* 7. 20. *Psal.* 69. 11.) are intended by this Expression: and this Book of Solomon is not wholly destitute of these. 4. The Hebrew Word denotes such Speeches as are by way of Similitude, *Ezek.* 18. 2. of which kind there are many in this Book, as that in *cb.* 11. 22. *As a Jewel of Gold in a Swine's Snout, so is a fair Woman without Discretion:* and in *cb.* 25. 11. *A Word fitly spoken is like Apples of Gold in Pictures of Silver.* This we find to be the frequent manner of the Wise Man's speaking in this Book: he generally illustrates and amplifies his Doctrine by some fit Simily or Comparison, so that thereby it is as it were twice deliver'd. 5. Sayings that are mixed with some *Obscurity* and *Intricacy*, such Speeches as require Sharpness of Wit and Understanding both for propounding and conceiving them, are denoted by this Word in Scripture. Thus an *Intricate Question* or *Problem* [*Masba*] is set down in *Psal.* 49. 4, 5. and in the rest of the Psalm there is an Answer to this Problem, a Resolution of this Difficult Point. *Proverbial Sentences* are sometimes *Enigmatical*, and have a Meaning far different from what the Words directly signify. Thus you'll find some Sayings that carry a Mystical Sense with them in this Book, as that in *cb.* 9. 17. *Stolen Waters are sweet:* and in *cb.* 25. v. 27. *It is not good to eat much Honey;* and such like Allegorical and Allusive Speeches, which contain in them a higher Sense than the bare Words import. This Proverbial manner of Speaking and Writing was in great Use and Esteem among the *Hebrews*, and all the *Eastern Countries*: whence it was that the Queen of *Sheba* came to prove Solomon with hard

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Questions, 1 Kings 10. 1. *Parables* according to the Chaldees, *Problems*, *Riddles*. These were the *Chidoth* which she propounded to be solv'd by him. Yea; this way of Speaking may generally be taken notice of in the Writings of most of the *Wise Men* of *Antient Times*. *Pythagoras* and *Plato* were much addicted to this Abstruse way, and all their Followers were delighted in Mystical Representations of things. 6. By this Word we are to understand all Wise and Excellent Sayings, *graviter dicta* (as the *Latins* call them) Sentences of great Weight and Importance, but plain and easy to be understood. The *Hebrews* antiently call'd any Saying that had Graces and Wit in it *Mashal*; but especially any Eminent Speech or Smart Saying for the Use of Life and Direction of Manners went under that Name. A Moral or Religious Saying that was of singular Worth and Excellency was stiled a *Proverb*; for this (as the Hebrew Word denotes) is *κυριακή γνώμη*, *Dominatrix sententia*, a Speech that hath the Preheminence above others, a Saying of great Authority and Force, and therefore deserves to be highly esteemed by all.

These Wise Moral Speeches were taken notice of, and held in great Repute of old. *Homer* was a Noted Master of this Excellency, and is applauded for it by the Learned. And indeed when I read in the skillfullest Accomptants of Times, that this Poet flourish'd not long after *Solomon's Days*, I am apt to credit *Casaubon* and *Grotius*, and a Famous *Homerist* of our own, who all agree in this, that *Homer* borrow'd many of his *γνώμαι*, his Sage Sayings or *Proverbs* from our Royal Author; and they produce very fair Instances out of his Poems to

382 *The Excellency and Perfection*

to prove it. After this Great Poet, I might mention those *Minor* ones *Theognis* and *Phocylides*, who are famed for their Excellent Moral Sentences. *Pythagoras* is celebrated for his *Golden Sayings* or *Verses*, and so are some of his Scholars for their Worthy Speeches proper to their School: and truly if we remember that these *Pythagoreans* were enjoined by their Master a five Years Silence, we may well expect some Handsome Sentences from them at last, when they began to speak. I might add here the Set Sayings of the *Stoicks*, such as *Tully's Paradoxes*. Yea, I might remind you that the Sages of all Schools and Sects had their Peculiar *Motto's* and *Devices*. As in Theoretical Philosophy there are *Axioms* and *Maxims*, in Medicks there are *Apophthegms*, in Mathematicks there are *Theorems*, among Rhetoricians there are *χρῆμαι*, Select *Themes* and Matters to declaim upon; so in Ethicks there are *γνώμαι*, Pithy Short Sentences, Wise and Weighty *Apophthegms*, containing Great Morals in few Words; *προιούμια*, Proverbs, Short but Studied Sayings of great and frequent Use in our Lives. This Book of *Solomon* is chiefly made up of this sort, and they outvie all that ever were extant before or since. The Queen of *Sheba* came to hear the Wisdom of this Matchless Prince, and to be benefited by his Divine Accomplishments; but we save our selves the Labour of so long a Pilgrimage, he having visited us, and his Admirable Writings being brought home to us, fraught with the most desirable Treasures. Here is a great Number of Useful Maxims and Rules for our Practice in the several Occurrences of our Lives. Here are *Faithful Sayings*, and worthy of all Acceptation, as the Apostle speaks. Here are Smart and Quick, here are Grave and Sage *Apophthegms*. Here are

Solomon's *Wisdom* *Con-*

Concise and Pithy Adagies, the very Extracts and Essences of the Strongest Sense and most Precious Truth. Here you will find *Solomon* as a Father, and with a Paternal Affection, instructing his Readers and Hearers as his *Sons*, (whom therefore he calls by that affectionate Title more than once in this his Admirable Treatise of Morals) directing them in the various Passages and Affairs of this Life, and framing their Manners most becomingly and successfully in order to another.

The whole Book is divisible into three main Parts; 1. The Inscription or Title of the Book, which contains the Use and Scope of it, *The Proverbs of Solomon the Son of David, King of Israel, to know Wisdom, Instruction, to perceive the Words of Understanding, &c.* (v. 1, 2, &c. to the 7th) that is, to make Men truly Wise and Understanding, or (which is the same thing) Holy and Religious. 2. The Preface or Introduction to the Book, which is a General Exhortatory to True Wisdom and Holiness. This is the Subject of the first Nine Chapters. 3. The Main Body of the Book (from the Beginning of the 10th Chapter to the Close of all) which comprehends in it several Excellent Precepts, Rules and Cautions of a mixt and various Nature, applicable to the different Circumstances, Cases, and Occasions of Persons. These are more signally called *Mishlim* the *Proverbs*, a Collection of Sacred Aphorisms, useful in the Lives of all Men, whether we look upon them in a Natural, Civil, or Religious Capacity, whether we consider them Alone or as Members of a Society, whether we speak of them as they are desirous to live happily here or hereafter, or rather as they desire both. To all these excellent Purposes they may be plentifully furnished by this Royal Author, this Great
Master

384 *The Excellency and Perfection*

Master of the Sentences, this Divine Penman of the Proverbs.

There is mention of the Words of Agur, *ch. 30. v. 1.* who was the same with Solomon, say R. Levi among the Jews; and several Christian Expositors. However, if he be not Solomon under that Name, but a different Person, yet the Words or Prophecy (for so they are also call'd) there contain'd; may be said to be Solomon's, because collected and preserved by him. So Bathsheba's Instructions to Solomon, *ch. 31. 1—10.* may be call'd his, because he had carefully recorded them, and in the greatest Part of his Life had observ'd them. But whether the Encomium of a *Virtuous Woman*, or a *Good Wife*, from *v. 10.* to the End, was penn'd by Solomon or his Mother is disputable: however, this we are sure of, that it was dictated by Divine Inspiration, as the rest of the Sacred Writ; and moreover it is observable that it is compos'd in *Alphabetical Order*, i. e. according to the Series of the Hebrew Letters, as several *Psalms* are, which I took notice of before.

Before I dismiss this Book, it may not be improper here to observe concerning several of the Proverbs, that they may be applied several ways. Accordingly as we interpret the *Similitude* which is made use of in them, so we may form the Sense of the Place: and this ought not to offend any good or wise Man. To give an Instance or two: *As he that bindeth a Stone in a Sling, so is he that giveth Honour to a Fool*, *Prov. 26. 8.* The Meaning of which may be, that Honour conferr'd on an undeserving Person is thrown away and lost, like a Stone cast out of a Sling. Or thus, he that bestows Preference and Dignity on such an one, doth as 'twere Arm him against himself; he helps to do himself a Mischief,

Mischief, because he puts him into a Capacity of doing it. Others have a different Notion of the word *Margemab*, (which is here translated a *Sling*) and by it understand a *Heap of Stones*, and they frame such an Interpretation as this; He that gives Respect and Honour to a Fool, to an unworthy vile Person, is like him that casts a Pretious Stone (for so they limit the Sense of the word *Ebong* (as *Lafili* among the *Latins*, and *Λιθου* with the *Greeks*) have that particular Signification sometimes) among common Pebbles. Others expound it thus, As one single Stone thrown into a great Heap is scarcely discern'd, and makes no Accession to it, so by the Honour and Favour that are collated on a Fool there is no real Addition made to him, there's no Alteration, he is still the same Man. Some Learned Doctors among the Hebrews (as *R. Kimchi*, *Aben Ezra*, *Levi*) produce another Meaning of the word *Margemab*, telling us it is the same with *Argemon*, *Purpura*, and then understand the proverb thus, As he that laps up one of the Stones in the Street in a Purple Vell, so is he that gives Respect and Honour to a Fool, a worthless Person. But the Sense is the same with what was propounded in one of the foregoing Interpretations. All these Expositions are congruous enough, and we need not be very solicitous which of them we adhere to. No Man can say of any one of them, This is the Interpretation, and there is no other intended by the Penman. It is enough that the Sense we pitch upon is consistent with the Scope of the Place and the other Parts of God's Word.

So those Words in *Prov. 1. 17.* where the Wise Man (having in the foregoing Verses spoken concerning the mischievous and bloody Designs of wicked Men) uses this Simily, *Surely in vain the*

386 The Excellency and Perfection

Not is spread in sight of any Bird; admit of diverse Interpretations, and all of them very fit and apposite. First, some render the word *Ecchinum* without Cause; (and so indeed it is Englished in the 11th Verse of this Chapter) and then the Sense is this, As the Fowler spreads Nets for the harmless Birds, that he may feed himself with their Flesh, or make Profit of them by selling them to others, so Thieves and Bloody Men day wait for the innocent, those that never injured them, and merely to gratify their Covetousness, and to fill their Houses with Spoil. The same Simile is made use of in Terence;

*Non recte accipitis teneantur, neque miror;
Qui male faciunt nobis, illis qui nihil faciunt teneantur.
Quia enim in illis fructus est, in istis opera luduntur.*

So that this Proverb may then be used when we see Snarers laid for Men; *ad idem*, (as the LXX translate the Hebrew Word here) *without Cause*, when they are Innocent. And what Solomon expresses here by the Similitude of Birds is by the Prophet Habakkuk set forth by another Comparison from Fishes, *Hab. 1. 13, 14.* But the Generality of Interpreters read the first Word as our Translators render it, viz. *in vain*, and then the Text is capable of several Senses; Some think that as some of the foregoing Verses, so this is spoken by way of *mimoria*, in the Language of Thieves and Bloody Men, who entice others to their Company, and to partake with them in their Villany, by laying before them the Hopes of Impunity; as if they had said, You need not fear and be solicitous, we will cunningly carry our Business: though Justice seeks after us, and would bring us to Punishment, yet

we have our Eyes about us, we shall be able to fore-see their Snakes, and to fly from them as Birds are wont to do from a Net spread wide before them.

Quæstio. nimis pandunt retia vitæ avis.

Or, 2. This may be spoken of those that are enticed by these Men, and fall under their Charms and Allurements. They could never do thus unless they were blinded and insatuated. It is *in vain* to these Deceived Creatures that they see the Net, that they know the Danger; for notwithstanding this they venture upon it, and wilfully run into it, as a Bird dasheth to the Snare, as the same Author speaks, *Job. 1. 13.* Or, 3. if we take these Words as spoken concerning the Evil and Lewd Enticers themselves, then there is this different Interpretation from what was assigned before: either the Similitude runs thus, As foolish Birds being greedy of Food, and allured by the Bait, take no notice of the Net that is spread to catch them, and so unawares are taken in it, (and because the Net that is laid makes not the Birds more wary and cautious, but notwithstanding this they fly to the Bait, therefore in respect of these silly Creatures the Net may well be said to be spread *in vain*) so the Wicked Men whom the Royal Penman here speaks of, and whose Enticements he warns us to beware of, being led with desire of Prey, do not observe the Net laid to take them: or if they be forewarned, yet they are not frightened by the Danger, but are resolv'd to satisfy their greedy Appetite: and then, when they are most secure, they are suddenly surprized and overtaken by the Judgments of God. Or else (which I take to be the plainest and most obvious Meaning) we are to under-

388 The Excellency and Perfection

derstand the Words thus, Although Villanous Complotters think themselves sure of their Prey, yet they are no more certain of it than Fowlers are of catching those Birds which carefully observe the laying of the Net, and by beholding the Spreading of it are admonish'd to fly away from it. *In vain is the Net spread in the Eyes of every one that hath Wings: so the Hebrew.*

Which may be applied first of all to these Flying Inhabitants of the Air, who have sometimes been in a wonderful manner employed to bring to Light the secret Perpetration of Murder and Bloodshed. *A Bird of the Air hath carried the Voice, and that which hath Wings hath told the Matter, Eccles. 10. 20.* In vain hath the Net been spread in the Sight of these winged Creatures. Secondly, the Application of these Words may be made to those Innocent Persons whom these bloody Conspirators intend to entrap. They oftentimes are extraordinarily furnish'd with Eyes and Wings: they are enabled to discern and foresee their Contrivances, and they have Power given them to avoid them. *Saul seeks the Life of David, but his cursed Purposes are discover'd to this latter by Jonathan.* *The secret Counsels and Plots of the King of Assyria are disclosed by Elisha.* *The Jews bind themselves with a Vow to murder St. Paul, but a Youth frustrates their Conspiracy.* It may be applied also to the Angels, who are represented as *Winged* in Scripture, and *full of Eyes.* These oftentimes discover and frustrate the bloody Designs of the Enemies of the Church. These *Ministring Spirits* seasonably fly to the Succour of the Righteous, they

¹ 1 Sam. 19. 2. ² 2 Kings 6. 12. ³ Acts 23. 15; 16.
⁴ Ezek. 1. 6. ⁵ Ezek. 1. 12. & 10. 12.

they kindly hover over them, hide and protect them with their Wings. And as Men and Angels, so God himself (who is All Eye) in a more signal and eminent manner discovers and defeats the Machinations of bloody Men against the Innocent. He is pleased to resemble himself to an *Eagle*, the Prince of *Birds*, that *fluttereth over her Young*, *spreadeth abroad her Wings*, *taketh them*, *beareth them in her Wings*, Deut. 32. 11. *The Eyes of the Lord run to and fro throughout the whole Earth*, to shew himself strong in the behalf of them whose Heart is perfect towards him, 2 Chron. 16. 9. And in all Ages of the World he hath rais'd up Instruments to help and succour his Servants. Thus in vain is the *Net spread in the Sight of every one that is bagonal canaph, Master of the Wing*, as the Original (if we will be exact in rendring it) expresses it. And if we interpret this *Proverb* in this Sense, it Exactly comports with the next Verse, *They lay wait for their own Blood*, *they lurk privily for their own Life*: Those that thus design Mischief against innocent Persons, bring Ruine upon themselves, and are frequently taken in that *Net* which they spread for others. This seems to be the most Genuine Exposition of the Words: but every one is left to his Liberty to choose any other Interpretation which is agreeable to the Context, and opposes no other Text of Holy Scripture. Which of all these Senses was at first design'd by the Holy Ghost we cannot certainly tell. It may be in such Places as these (of which there is a considerable Number in this Book) there is a Latitude, and questionless it is best it should be so, that we may with the greater Freedom search into and descant upon these Sacred Writings, that we may understand the full Extent of these Excellent Moral Observations and Remar-

300 The Excellency and Perfection

kable Sayings of this Wise King, which for the most part are short and concise, and thereby sometimes become somewhat difficult. But if *Galus Imperatoria brevisitas* (as *Tacitus* calls it) was commendable, no wise Man surely will dislike it in *Solomon*, especially when such Divine and Admirable Truths are couched in it.

His next Book is entituled *Ecclesiastes*; for the LXX, by whom the word *Kabai* is generally rendered *καταλιπείν*, do accordingly render *Kohéleti* *ἐκκλησιασμός*. It is probable he penn'd it when he was Old, and had pass'd the several Stages of Vanity. It is an open Disowning of his former Follies and Extravagancies, it is the Royal Preacher's Recantation-Sermon, wherein he renders himself a Publick Penitentiary. Which is the Meaning (as 'One thinks) of that Title of this Book in the Hebrew, *Kohéleti*, or the Gathering Soul, because in this Book he recollects himself, and gathers and adduceth others that wander after Vanity. To this end he makes a clear and ample Discovery of the Vanities of all things under the Sun, i. e. in this Life, or in the whole World (a Phrase peculiar to *Solomon*, and in this Book only, where it is often used). Here the Wise Man convinceth us from his own Experience, that none of the Acquisits of this World are able to satisfy the Immortal Spirit of Man, that the greatest Wit and Learning, the most exquisite Pleasures and Sensual Enjoyments, the vastest Confluence of Wealth and Riches, and the highest Seat of Honour, even the Royal Throne it self, are insufficient to make a Man Happy, and consequently that our Happiness must be sought

¹ Dr. Lightfoot, in his Chronicle of the Times of the Old Testa-
ment.

ought for some where else. Here we are taught, that notwithstanding this World is Changeable and subject to Vanity, though at one time or other all things come alike to all in it, yet the Steady and Unerring Providence of God rules all Affairs and Events here below; and in the Conclusion of all, God will bring every Work into Judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil. Here are Particular Directions given us how we are to discharge our Duty, first with reference to our selves, viz. that we ought very strictly to observe the Laws of Sobriety and Temperance, and to live in a Thankful Use of the good things of this World, and to be Content with our Portion and Allotment in this Life, and to banish all Covetous Desires and Projects. As we must go to the House of Mourning, i. e. be very retired and solemn, very serious and composed, and banish all superfluous Mirth and Gaiety, so we must eat our Bread with Joy, i. e. live in a comfortable Fruition of these earthly Blessings, and delight in these Enjoyments so far as they are lawful and innocent. Our Duty to Others is here also briefly prescribed us, viz. that we ought to pay a Profound Respect to Good Kings, and to keep their Commandments; yea, that our very Thoughts towards them ought to be Reverent. Then, as to those who are of an Equal Level with us, or inferiour to us, that we shew ourselves Just and Righteous to them in all our Converse and Dealings, and that when we see any of them reduced to Poverty and Straits, that we extend our Charity to them, that we cast our Bread upon these Waters, that we relieve their Wants and Necessities. Lastly, we are instructed in our Duty to God, we are taught to approach him with Reverence and Devotion, to keep our Feet when we

392 The Excellency and Perfection

go to his House, to pay our Vows to him, to remember him our Creator and Preserver, to fear him and keep his Commandments: and we are assured that this is the whole of Man, his whole Duty and his whole Concern.

The Canticles, or Solomon's Song, is another Piece of Hebrew Poetry, which he writ when he was Young, and in an Amorous Vein, and yet breathing most Divine and Heavenly Amours. If you take it according to the Letter only, it is King Solomon's Epithalamium or Wedding-Song, of the same Nature with the 45th Psalm, which is a Song on his Nuptials with the King of Egypt's Daughter, but in a Spiritual Sense it sets forth the Glory of Christ and his Kingdom, and the Duty and Privileges of the Church, which is there called the King's Daughter. Such is this Dramatick Poem, wherein are brought in the Bridegroom, and Bride, and the Friends of both, alternately speaking: but we must not be so gross in our Apprehensions as to conceive this to be barely a Marriage-Song (as Castilio groundlessly fancieth, and therefore deems it to be Scripture not of the same Stamp with the rest). Besides the Literal Import of the Words in this Love-Song, there is a Mystical Sense couched in them. Carnal Love is here made to administer to Religion, the Flesh is subservient to the Spirit: and therefore by reason of this Mystery in this Love-Poem the Jews were not permitted to read it till they were of Maturity of Years. If we take this Mystical Wedding-Song in the highest Meaning of it, it is an Allegorical Description of the Spiritual Marriage and Communion between Christ and the Church, it is a Representation of the Mystical Nuptials of the Lord Christ Jesus and Believers. Their Mutual Affections and Loves are deciphered by the Song

Passion

Passions and Amours of Solomon and his Royal Spouse, This (though the Name of God be not in it) makes it a most *Divine Poem*, and highly worthy of our most serious Perusal and Study. For here we see the *Gospel* anticipated, and the most Glorious Subject of the *New Testament* betimes inserted into the *Old*.

Object. But is it not a great Disparagement to this and the other before-mentioned Books of Solomon, that he was a Reprobate, and finally rejected by God? Are we not discouraged from receiving these Writings as Canonical Scripture when we know that the Author of them was a Damned Person? For what can He be else, who, towards his latter end, revolted from the True Religion, and went after Strange Gods and Strange Women? And we never read in Scripture that he repented either of his Idolatry or his Whoredoms. Is it likely that this Gross Apostate was inspired by the Holy Ghost? Is it probable that he had the Honour of being one of the Penmen of Sacred Writ?

Ans. It is true Solomon was as great a Reproach to the True Religion as ever any Person was, if we consider all his Circumstances: His Sins were of a very High Nature, his Faults were most Heinous and Scandalous; and that Man is half guilty of them that endeavours to excuse them. A most provoking Crime it was in him that had been so highly favour'd of God to give himself up to his Lusts: a most horrid Offence it was, even in his old Age, in the close of his Life, (as if now his Years had made him *Decrepid* and *Idolatrous* too) to bow down to Idols. But shall we think that Solomon bowed so low that he could not rise again, that he fell and never recovered himself? I confess no meaner a Man than St. *Augustin* seems to be of this

this Opinion. This Hard Father of Infants was as harsh against *Solomon*, pronouncing him a Person wholly cast out of God's Favour, and never received to Mercy again: and some Other Fathers, as *St. Cyprian*, and *Prosser*, question his Salvation. *Belharmin* and *Pererius* positively conclude he was damned; but then we find three others of that Communion and of the same Order peremptorily asserting the contrary. *Maldonate* declares he doth not know what to determine. Of which Mind it seems was that Archbishop of *Toledo*, who caus'd King *Salomon* to be painted on the Walls of his Chappel half in Hell and half in Heaven.

But, to wave the Opinions and Censures of Particular Persons at present, it is generally the Judgment of the *Christian Church*, that *Salomon* repented, and was saved. And there are such Reasons as these to induce us to believe it; 1. There is no absolute concluding from the Greatness of his Sins that he repented not, and that he was damned; for we are assured that King *Manasseh* was a Greater Sinner than ever he was, for unto all manner of *Idolatry* he added the *Diabolical* Practices of Witchcraft and Inchantment, 2 *Chron.* 33. 3, &c. and yet his hearty Repentance and Turning unto God are recorded, v. 12, 13, 19. Yea, *David*, *Solomon's* own Parent, was a very Heinous Criminal if the Sins of Studied *Murder* (which we do not find his Son guilty of) and *Adultery* could make him such; and yet such was the Divine Goodness, that upon his humble Acknowledgment of these Crimes and reforming his Ways he was acquitted of these Offences. And why may not the same Mercy be shew'd to the Son? and what ground have we to exclude

1 *Pineda, Sallianus, Prexellius.*

exclude him from partaking of it upon his unfeigned Repentance? 2. That he did repent and was saved may be gather'd from 2 *Chron.* 11. 17. where *the walking in the Way of David and Solomon* is mention'd as walking Holily, and so as is Acceptable to God. Upon which Passage a ' Judicious Writer hath these Words; " This very Place and Passage (saith he) " may resolve that *Solomon* was no more " finally cast away for his Idolatry than *David* was " for his Adultery and Murder. We see that *David* and *Solomon* are here joined together, their way of *Walking* is represented as the same, as much as to tell us, that as *David* was a *Man after God's own Heart*, excepting the Murder of *Uriah*, and Debauching his Wife, so was his Son *Solomon*, excepting the latter Part of his Life. 3. *Solomon's Book of Ecclesiastes* (as hath been suggested already) is a plain Testimony of his Repentance. Here he bewails his former Follies, here he makes a Publick Retraction of them, and doth as it were Penance for them before all the World. We may therefore safely vote him a True Penitent, a Real Convert at last, and now a Saint in Heaven. 4. In express Words, according to the *Septuagint*, his Repentance is recorded, *Prov.* 24. 32. ' *Afterwards* (or at last) *I repented*. Or, if this *Version* be not admitted, and although we cannot produce an Express Text, (though that is not necessary, for it is not any where recorded that *Lot* repented of his Incest, or that some Others, whose Salvation we question not, were heartily sorry for their Miscarriages) yet there is ground to believe his Conversion not only from what hath been said, but from what

* Dr. Lightfoot, in his *Chronicle of the Old Testament*. * "Τελευ
ἐξω μετάνοια.

396 *The Excellency and Perfection*

what we are able further to alledg. 5. Therefore we must consider that this Inspired Secretary of the Holy Spirit was of the Number of the *Prophets*, concerning whom our Infallible Teacher saith, that *they are all in the Kingdom of God*, Luke 13. 28. It is not to be question'd but that those *Prophets* who were made use of by God in so Extraordinary a manner as to be *Sacred Writers* of the Bible, were all admitted into the Kingdom of Heaven, and are placed in the Mansions of Glory. Besides, such Persons as these, *who spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost*, are pronounced *Holy Men of God* by St. Peter, 2 Ep. ch. 1. v. 21. None had that Honour but those who were of Real Sanctity, i. e. *the Prophecy of Scripture* (which he speaks of in that place) was vouchsafed to none but such. And therefore though Solomon's Repentance be not expressly recorded, yet when we know that he was one of the most Eminent *Penmen* of the Sacred Scripture, we have Reason to think, that notwithstanding God suffer'd him for a time to fall into those scandalous Sins, yet he return'd afterwards to him by unfeigned Repentance, and was Renewed and Reformed, and died a Holy and Righteous Person.

6. This is evident from that Promise which God made to Solomon, 2 Sam. 7. 15. *My Mercy shall not depart away from him.* Which is commented upon by the wise Son of Sirach, (speaking of this King's Follies and Extravagancies, and the sad Events of them) *The Lord, saith he, will never leave off his Mercy, neither shall any of his Works perish, neither will he abolish the Posterity of his Elect, and the Seed of him that loveth him he will not take away*, Ecclesiastic. 47. 22. Whence we may rationally gather, that Solomon was not cast off by God, but still continued in his Favour.

Some

Some argue from his Name *Agur*, which they say implies his former Failings, and his being Reclaimed. Others think his Name *Jedidiab*, *Beloved of the Lord*, is a good Intimation that he became a True Penitent, and was saved. And some conceive, that because he was a *Type* of the Blessed *Jesus*, he could not miscarry. But, whether these have any Weight or no, I am confident no considerate Person can deny the Force of the Reasons before alledged. We may from them alone conclude, that *Solomon* was not finally rejected by God, yea that he was upon his hearty Repentance received into Favour, and is now in the Number of the Blessed. And this was the Judgment of those Antient and Learned Writers of the Church, *St. Jerom*, *Ambrose*, *Hilary*, *Cyril*. Let us then forget his Faults when we study his Books, wherein it is certain there are no *Errata*'s, he being an Interpreter of the Holy Ghost unto us, and when he utter'd these things being a Friend and favourite of God. But suppose we knew certainly (which we do not, and cannot, but have sufficient ground for the contrary) that he was at last cast off, yet I do not see how this doth necessarily invalidate his Writings, God might, if he pleas'd, make use of a Bad Man to pen some Part of the Bible, as he thought fit to call *Judas* to the Apostleship, and to be an Eminent Preacher of the Gospel. Therefore though we should grant that *Solomon* was an Apostate, yet this is no direct Argument against the Validity and Authority of his Writings. But there being such great Probability, not to say Reasons, on the other side, we need not

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¹ qu. Recollectus, Receptus, sc. in favorem Dei. ² Cont. Jovin. ³ Lib. 2. Apol. Dav. ⁴ In Psal. 52. ⁵ Cateches. 2.

398 *The Excellency and Perfection*

fly to this Answer, but on good ground persuade our selves that *Solomon*, who was once inspired with Sacred Wisdom, never lost it wholly, and consequently that we ought not to be prejudiced against what he hath writ by reason of his gross Failings and Miscarriages.

Next, we are to speak of the *Books of the Prophets*. Of those who prophesied after the Division of the ten Tribes from the other two, but before the Captivity of either, *Isaiah* is the first and most eminent. He was of the Blood Royal, his Father *Amoz* being Brother to *Azzab* King of *Judah*. He was an old Prophet, having been in that Employment under four Kings of *Judah* (as he tells us himself): and all this time (which was about threescore Years) he faithfully discharged the Part of a True Prophet in an impartial reprov'g of the Vices and Disorders of the Age he lived in, in a free and open displaying the Judgments of God which were impendent on that Nation; yet not forgetting to threaten and denounce Vengeance on those Foreign and Strange People, who were instrumental in inflicting these Judgments, and who for their crying Enormities deserv'd to be destroy'd, viz. *Assyrians*, *Egyptians*, *Ethiopians*, *Moabites*, *Edomites*, *Tyrians*, *Arabians*) in a most Pathetick Exhortation to Repentance, and in setting before them the Promises of Mercy and Deliverance. This last especially he is most famous for, clearly foretelling the Deliverance of the Jews from their Captivity in *Babylon* by the Hand of *Cyrus* King of *Persia*; and this he exprelly mention'd an Hundred Years before it came to pass. But his Predictions concerning the *Messias* are the most

most remarkable of all: He in plain Terms foretells not only the Coming of *Christ* in the Flesh, but all the Great and Memorable Passages which belonged to him. He speaks as clearly and distinctly of these as if our Saviour had blessed the World with his Presence at that very time when he wrote his Prophecy. He seems to speak, saith St. *Jerom*, rather of things past than to come, and he may be call'd an *Evangelist* rather than a Prophet. Which is the Reason without doubt of the so frequent Citations which are made of this Book in the *New Testament*: for you may observe that *Christ* himself, his Evangelists and Apostles, have quoted about three score Places out of it. In reading of this Book then we read the Gospel itself, we antedate the *New Testament* by the Writings of this Evangelical Prophet. I have intimated before that he is the most Eloquent of all the Prophets. He was the *Hebrew Demosthenes*, as *Grotius* rightly styles him; the Purity of *Hebraism* is to be seen in him, as in the other that of *Athens*. He useth many Schemes and Figures, but none is more remarkable than (that for which that *Athenian* Orator was so applauded, saith *Quintilian*) his *Similes*, his Excellent Art of adding Gravity, Force and Vehemence to what he saith: he continually Exaggerates and Amplifies the Matter which he undertakes. He had (above other Prophets) an Advantage of improving his Style by reason of his Noble Descent, and conversing with Men of great Parts and Elocution. But the main thing wherein he excels the rest of the Prophets, is this, that he saith more of our Lord *Christ* than all of them put together. This is his Peculiar Excellency,

400 *The Excellency and Perfection*

cellency, that he makes so early a Discovery of the Advent of our Blessed Lord, and of the Great Mysteries of the Gospel.

Jeremiah was another Antient Prophet, he beginning to prophesy in the thirteenth Year of King *Josiah*, and continuing in that sacred Employment till the last Year of King *Zedekiah*. He saw the Captivity of the Kingdom of *Samaria*, and after that the total Destruction of the Kingdom of *Judah* and of the Temple. Part of this famous Prophecy, yea most of it was after the Captivity of *Israel*, and before that of *Judah*, (from chap. 1. to ch. 44.) and part of it was in the time of the latter Captivity, this Prophet being not carried captive with the other Jews, but remaining in *Judea*, and afterwards carried into *Egypt* (from chap. 44. to the end). In the whole are comprized many things of great Worth and Moment: for here we find this Divine Prophet laying open the Sins of the Kingdom of *Judah* with an unparallell'd Freedom and Boldness, and reminding them of the Severe Judgments which had befallen the ten Tribes for the very same Offences and Miscarriages. Here this Weeping Prophet, this *Jewish Heracitus*, most passionately laments the miserable Condition which they were plunging themselves into, and withal directs them how to prevent it, namely, by a speedy reforming of their Lives. But at last he more peremptorily proclaims God's Wrath and Vengeance against them, foreseeing and foretelling the Grievous Calamities which were approaching, particularly the Seventy Years Captivity in *Chaldea*, which began (as some think) with the carrying away of those of *Judah*. He also dissuades them from breaking Faith with the *Chaldeans* after they were conquered by them, and sheweth how unsuccessful

successful they should be in their revolting from them to the Egyptians. But even then he foretels their happy Return and Deliverance, and likewise the Just Recompence which *Babylon*, *Moab*, the *Philistines*, and other Enemies of the Church should meet with in due time. Here are also several Intimations concerning *Christ* the Blessed *Messias* and Redeemer, and concerning his *Kingdom* and Government in the times of the Gospel. Here are many Remarkable *Visions* and *Types*, wherein are represented things of the highest Nature. And lastly, here are sundry *Historical Passages* of considerable Moment which relate to those times. So that the whole Book is of Inestimable Worth, and such as is not to be found any where but in the Sacred Volume.

His *Lamentations* (which are in Hebrew Verse; and are so contrived, that in the four first Chapters every Verse, excepting one, begins with a Hebrew Letter in the Alphabetick Order) were written on the Death of that Religious Prince *Josiah*: which appears from what is recorded in *Chron. 35. 25*. *Jeremiah lamented for Josiah; and all the singing Men and the singing Women spake of Josiah in their Lamentations to this Day, and made an Ordinance in Israel, and behold they are written in the Lamentations*, even those which this Prophet composed. Which is also confirmed by the Jewish Historian, who voucheth this Poem to be a *Funeral Elegy* on that Pious King. To which *St. Jerome* adds, that this Prophet laments the Loss of *Josiah* as the beginning of those Calamities which afterwards ensued; and accordingly he proceeds to bewail the Miserable State of the Jews, and parti-

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cularly the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, which was not then come to pass, but is prophetically foretold, it being not unusual with the Prophets to speak of things to come as if they were already past: Unless we should say (as some have) that part of this *Mournful Song* was endited after the taking and sacking of *Jerusalem*, and the carrying the People Captive, and is a Passionate Bewailing of the Destruction of the Temple, and the Horrid Consequences of it. In which also the Holy Man humbly confesseth the Sins of the People, and acknowledgeth the Divine Justice in all that befall them: to which he adjoineth a Serious Exhortation to Repentance, and comforts them with Hopes of a Restoration. So that the whole is an Exact Pattern of Devotion in times of Great and National Calamities and Publick Sufferings, and instructs us how to demean our selves in such deplorable Circumstances.

Ezekiel was carried captive into *Babylon* with those that went thither in the second Captivity, which was in the 8th Year of *Nebuchadnezzar's* Reign, about ten Years before the time of the last Captivity. He prophesied here at the same time that *Jeremiah* did in *Judaea*, and afterwards in *Egypt*. Many of the same things he foretold, more especially the Destruction of the Temple, and the fatal Issue of those that revolted from *Babylon* to *Egypt*, and at last the Happy Return of the Jews into their own Land. He distinctly foretels the Plagues which should certainly be inflicted on Other Nations who were profess'd Enemies of the Church, as the *Edomites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Egyptians*, *Tyrians*, and lastly the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*. In figurative and mystical Expressions he predicts the *Messias*, and the flourishing Estate of

of his Kingdom, i. e. the Christian Church. Because the Prophet begins with *Visions* and *Types*, and ends with the *Measuring* of the *Mystical Temple*; therefore (by reason of these Abstrusities and Mysteries) the Beginning and End of this Book were forbid to be read by the Jews before they came to thirty Years of Age. But the greatest Part of this Prophecy is plain and easily intelligible, it having reference chiefly to the Manners of that degenerate Age; wherein the Prophet observes and severely animadverts upon the General Corruption which had invaded them in those Days, and which merited the severest Judgments that Heaven could send down upon them. He exhibits a Particular Catalogue of the Notorious Enormities which their Kings, their Priests, their Prophets, their People were infamous for; he labours to bring them to a Sense of these scandalous Practices, and to make them heartily Relent for them: finally, like a True Watchman (as he is stiled) he faithfully warneth them of their Imminent Danger; and admonisheth them to prevent it (if possible) by abandoning their Evil Ways. This is the Inspired Man that penn'd this Book: and this is the Book which contains so many worthy and excellent things in it.

Another of the Four Great Prophets is Daniel (who was of the Progeny of the Kings of Judah.) He was contemporary with Ezekiel, and was a Captive in Babylon at the same time that he was. There he prophesied, and there he wrote, and his Book is the Result of both: the six first Chapters of which are an History of the Kings of Babylon, and of what befel some of the Captive Jews under

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under

404 *The Excellency and Perfection*

under them. Here we have *Nebuchadnezzar's* remarkable *Dreams* interpreted, we have a Relation of the singular Courage of the three *Hebrew Young Men* that refused to fall down to his Image, with the miraculous Deliverance of them out of the Flames. Here is unfolded *Belshazzar's* Fatal Doom, contain'd in the Mystical *Hand-writing* on the Wall, with his Death that soon follow'd upon it, and the Succession of *Darius* to the Throne, and the Translation of the Monarchy to the *Medes*. It was under this Prince that our Noble Prophet was advanced to his greatest Height of Honour: for whereas he had been a great Courtier and Favorite in *Nebuchadnezzar's* time, and in the close of *Belshazzar's* Reign was made the Third Ruler in the Kingdom, now he is made the First, being set over all the *Presidents and Princes of the Realm*. This made him envied and hated, but he was hated and persecuted much more for his *Religion* by the Great Men of the Kingdom, and even by a Decree of the King's own signing committed to the Den of Lions, there to be devoured of them. But the Hand of Omnipotence immediately interposed, and he came out thence safe, and his Adversaries and Accusers were sent thither in his room, who fared not after the same rate that he did. After this he lived in great Esteem, Honour and Prosperity, not only in this King's Reign, but under *Cyrus* King Monarch of the Persian Race. But as our Author in the former Part of this Book relates things as an *Historian*, so in the six last Chapters he is altogether *Prophetical*, foretelling what shall befall the Church in general, and particularly the *Jews*: yet his Visions and Prophecies reach to future Events wherein even those that are out of the Church are concerned. What can be more valuable than his

Dream

Dream or Vision of the *Four Secular Monarchies* of the World, and of the *Fifth*, which was to be *Spiritual*, viz. that of the *Messias*? What is more famous and celebrated than his Discovery (by the Angel *Gabriel's* Information) of the *Seventy Weeks*, viz. of Years, i. e. 490 Years, upon the expiring of which the *Messias's* Kingdom was to be set up? What plain and signal Prophecies doth this Book afford concerning that Renowned Conqueror *Alexander the Great*, and his subduing the *Persian Empire*, as also concerning the Fierce Wars among his Great Captains and Commanders who succeeded him; particularly how clearly and plainly are the Actions of *Antiochus the Great*, and *Antiochus Epiphanes* his Son, described by our Prophet long before these Persons were in being? And many other Notable Occurrences relating to the most publick and famed Transactions on the Stage of the World, are prophetically fore-signified and revealed by this Divine Seer: insomuch that we may justly stile this Book the *Apocalypse* of the *Old Testament*; to which that Other of the *New* so often refers, and even borrows many things of great Moment. Lastly, we may particularly note concerning this Book, that a great Part of it is written in the *Chaldean Tongue*, viz. from the fourth Verse of the Second Chapter to the End of the Seventh: the Reason of which may be this, because *Daniel* was now by his long Abode in that Country become as 'twere a *Chaldean*; and moreover, he thought fit to write in the *Chaldean Language*, because he relates those things here which are proper to the Kings of *Babylon*, and the Affairs of that Place, which could not be better express'd than in this Tongue.

The *Twelve Lesser Prophets* (so call'd because their Writings are of a Smaller Bulk) are account-

ed by the Jews as *One Book*: and accordingly St. Stephen quoting a Passage out of *Amos*, saith, *It is written in the Book of the Prophets, Amos 7. 42.* The First of these Holy Seers was *Hosea*, who flourished in the Kingdom of *Israel* in the Days of *Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz* and *Hezekiah*, Kings of *Judah*, and of *Jeroboam* King of *Israel*: so that he was Contemporary with *Isaiah*, as appears from the first Verses of both Prophecies. He directs his Prophecy wholly against the Kingdom of *Israel*, which consisted of the Ten Tribes, but is by him peculiarly stiled sometimes *Joseph*, sometimes *Ephraim*, at other times *Samaria*, *Bethel*, *Jacob*, and *Israel*: as, on the other hand, the Kingdom of *Judah* is call'd by him *Benjamin*, and sometimes *Jerusalem*. His main Design and Business through the whole Book is to set forth the gross Idolatry and other flagitious Practices of that degenerate People, and to denounce the Judgments of God against them, and particularly to foretel their Captivity in *Assyria*, and withal to excite them to a due Apprehension of this Severity of God towards them, and thereby to beget an unfeigned Remorse and Penitence in them, that they may obtain the Pardon of their Sins, and partake of the Divine Mercy and Favour. All which is done with a most ravishing Ardency, Affection and Zeal. As to the Style indeed, it may be observ'd, that as *Ezekiel* was the Obscurest of the *Greater Prophets*, so *Hosea* is of these *Minor ones*: but this Obscurity and Difficulty are countervailed by that Rich Treasure which are hid under them, and which will prove an Am-
ple

¹ Duodecem Prophete in unius voluminis angustias coarctati. Hieron. Epist. ad Paulin. Τὸ Ἀντιόχειον, Epiphanius Hæres. 8. l. 4. c. 13.

ple Reward to those who search into it, and acquaint themselves with the transcendent Excellency both of the *Stile* and *Matter* of this Writer.

Joel prophesied in the Kingdom of *Judah* before the time of the Captivity, though the particular Time is not (as in most of the other Prophets) mentioned. But 'tis probable he prophesied at the same time with *Hosea*, who is set immediately before him. So *St. Jerom*, *Theodoret*, *Augustine*, and other Fathers think. He foretellethe the coming up of a *Northern Army*, viz. from *Babylon*, which is North of *Judea*: Though some interpret it of an *Army of Locusts* and *Caterpillars*, and other such mischievous and devouring Insects mentioned *ch. 1. v. 4. &c.* and consequently the Prophet predicteth the horrid *Devastation*, *Dearth* and *Famine* in *Judea*, which should be caused by them. I am for joining both these Interpretations together, for I see it is the usual way of the Holy Ghost in the Scriptures (especially the *Propbetick* ones) to express two different Things and Occurrences by the same Words. Here is then a double Army spoken of, viz. that of the *Chaldeans*, which in a short time afterwards invaded *Judea*, and laid it waste; and also that of *Noxious Vermin*, which was to be sent as a just Penalty and Infliction for their Abuse of the Fruits of the Earth, and the great Plenty which they had enjoy'd. Whereupon he most warmly stirs them up to *Repentance*; and to that Purpose enjoineeth a *Fast*, and urgeth them to a strict Observance of it from the Hopes of *Mercy* and *Forgiveness*, and the Removal of all those *Judgments* which they labour under, yea from the Expectation, or rather the Assurance of a *Blessing* upon the whole Church. This is briefly, but most admirably set forth by this Man of God. And as it refers to that direful

408 The Excellency and Perfection

Judgment of Famine and Destroying the Fruits of the Earth, it may be made use of as a Seasonable Form and Rule of Devotion and Behaviour in the time of such a Calamity.

Amos, who in his Youth had been a *Herdsmen* in *Tekoa*, (a little Country-Town a Mile and a half off of *Jerusalem*) is now sent to the *King of Bashan*, the People of *Samaria*, the Kingdom of *Israel*, to reduce them to Repentance and Reformation of Life. To which end he boldly remonstrates against the Crying Sins which were visible among them, but especially against *Idolatry*, *Oppression*, *Wantonness*, and *Incorrigibleness*. He spares not those of *Judah*, but frankly reproves them for their *Carnal Security*, *Sensuality*, *Injustice*, *Confident Boasting*. And he scares both of them with frequent *Threatnings* and *Menaces*, and is not afraid to tell them that their persisting in their Sins will end at last in the Ruine of the Kingdoms of *Judah* and *Israel*; which he confirms and illustrates by the *Visions* of a *Plumb-line*, and of a *Basket of Summer-Fruit*. It is further observable in this Prophecy, that as it begins with Denuntiatiions of Judgment and Destruction against the *Syrians*, the *Philistines*, the *Tyrrians*, and other Enemies of the Church, so it concludes with comfortable Promises of restoring the *Tabernacle of David*, and erecting the Kingdom of *Christ*. He prophesied in the Days of *Uzziah* King of *Judah*, and *Jeroboam* the Son of *Joash* (to distinguish him from the other of that Name, who was Son of *Nebat*): so that he flourish'd at the same time with *Hosea* and *Joel*. But there is some Difference as to the time, for 'tis added, [*two Years before the Earthquake*] v. 1. that is, towards the latter End of King *Uzziah's* Reign.

Obadiab's

Obadiab's Prophecy is contain'd in one single Chapter, and is partly a Divine Invektive against the merciless *Edomites*, who mocked and derided the Captive *Israelites* as they passed to *Babylon*, and who, with other Enemies (their Confederates) invaded and wronged these poor Strangers, and made a great Ravage, and divided the Spoil among them: and it is partly a Prediction of the Deliverance and Salvation of *Israel*, and of the Victory and Triumph of the whole *Church* over all her Enemies. Some think this *Obadiab* was he that was King *Ahab's* Steward, who hid the Prophets: then 'tis certain he was before these Other Prophets. But there is no Foundation for this. We may rather adhere to St. *Jerom's* Opinion, who goes upon this Rule, that when the time of the Prophecy is not mention'd, it is to be referr'd to the same time that the preceding Prophecy was writ in.

Jonah's Prophecy was directed to the *Ninevites*, as *Obadiab's* to the *Edomites*, and relates how that Prophet being commanded by God to go to *Nineveh*, but disobediently travelling another way, was discover'd by a sudden *Tempest* arising, and was cast into the Sea, and swallowed by a *Whale*, which, after it had lodged him three Nights and three Days in its Belly, disgorged him upon the dry Land. Whereupon being made sensible of his past Danger, and of his Miraculous Deliverance from it, he betook himself to that Journey and Embassy which were first appointed him; and arriving at that Great City, the *Metropolis* of all *Assyria*, he, according to his Commission, boldly laid open to the Inhabitants their manifold Sins and Miscarriages, and proclaim'd their sudden Overthrow if they repented not. Upon which the whole City, by *Prayer*, and *Fasting*, and *Humbling* them-

410 *The Excellency and Perfection*

themselves, and by Turning from the Evil of their Ways most happily averted the Divine Vengeance, and prevented their Ruine. A most Admirable Instance of the Divine Mercy! A Rare Example of Universal Repentance, and that even in a Pagan Country! Happy had the *Ninevites* been if they had not relapsed afterwards. Nor is *Jonah's* unseasonable *Repining* at this Dispensation of Heaven omitted here by him, or by whoever it was that wrote this Remarkable History; wherein we see the Integrity of the Inspired Writers, which is such, that they are not backward to communicate to the World their own greatest Failings, or those which the best Men are incident to. *Jonah* prophesied at the same time with the foregoing Prophets, as *Jerom* concludes; and he is back'd by other *Fathers*, as *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, *Eusebius*, *Augustine*, *Theophylact*.

Micah prophesied in the Kingdom of *Judah* before the Captivity of *Babylon*, in the same Kings Reigns that the preceding Prophets did, as appears from the first Verse. He impartially reprehends the Great and Rampant *Vices* both of *Jerusalem* and *Samaria*, and is terrible in his Denuntiati-
ons of *Judgments* against both Kingdoms, but more particularly he foretels the approaching Destruction of *Jerusalem*: Yet he leaves not the Church without Comfort, for he expressly foretels the Confusion of her Enemies, the *Messias's* blessed Arrival, and with him the Peace and Prosperity, the Increase and Advancement, the Glory and Triumphs of the Church. So that *Micah* seems to be *Isaiah* epitomized, giving us that in brief which the other more largely and amply insisted on. And it may be observ'd that these two Prophets are alike in their Style and manner of Speaking, which is very sublime and towering.

Na-

Nabum prophesied after the carrying captive of the Ten Tribes, a little before the Captivity of the Kingdom of *Judab*. His Prophecy is rightly call'd a *Burden*, that Word both in the Greater and Lesser Prophets importing the denouncing of some Grievous and Heavy *Judgment*: and such is this which he here threatens to *Nineveh*. For it seems this People returned to their former evil Ways after *Jonah's* Preaching; and for this Reason another Prophet is sent to fore signify their Overthrow by the Chaldeans upon this their Relapse into their former Sins. He useth no kind Invitations to *Repentance*, as the former Messenger did, but he absolutely and peremptorily proclaims their *Ruine*, and with a most passionate and melting Eloquence (such as is not to be parallell'd in the most Celebrated Masters of Oratory) deciphers the horrid Nature of it.

Habakkuk prophesied in King *Abaz* and *Hezekiab's* Reigns, as *Theodoret*, *Epiphanius*, and others of the Antients, probably determine; and not after the Captivity of the Two Tribes, as *Jerom* thinks, for this was not past when this Prophet writ, as is evident from chap. 1. v. 6. *Lo, I raise up the Chaldeans, who shall march through the Breadth of the Land, &c.* He complains of the Corrupt State of the Jews in those times, predicting the Invasion of the *Chaldeans* as the just Recompence of their Misdoings. This is remarkable in this Prophecy (which we find not in any of the rest) that it is composed in way of a *Dialogue*. First, the Prophet speaks, chap. 1. v. 1, to the 4th: then God answereth, v. 3, to the 11th. The Prophet replies, v. 12, to the 17th: God's Answer is in chap. 2, to the End. Then follows the Prophet's *Prayer*. The *Providence* of God in suffering the Best Men to be miserably treated,

treated, and that by the Worst and Vilest, is here vindicated; and the Certainty of a *Happy Revolution* is assured. The Prophet also by propounding the Example of his own Singular *Faith* and *Patience* in the greatest Difficulties and Extremities, encourageth the Pious to wait on God, to rejoice in him, and to expect Deliverance from their Calamities, and Revenge on their Enemies in due time. The whole was designed to be a Support and Solace to the Faithful in the time of their Captivity.

Zephaniab, who was employed in the Prophetick Office in King *Josias's* time, (as we read, *v. 1.*) a little after the Captivity of the Ten Tribes, and before that of *Judah*, (so that he was Contemporary with *Jeremiab*) freely and plainly tells the Jews what it was that incensed God's Wrath against them, *viz.* their *Contempt of his Service*, their *Apostacy*, their *Treachery*, their *Idolatry*, their *Violence* and *Rapine*, and other egregious Enormities which were observable in them and their Princes. Such high Provocations as these rendred their Destruction terrible, universal, unavoidable. And then (as most of the Prophets are wont) he mingles *Exhortations* to Repentance as the only Proper Concern in these Circumstances. He adds very severe *Comminations* against their Enemies, and presageth their Downfal. He likewise comforts the Godly with *Promises* of the certain Restoration of the Church, of a Release from all their former Pressures and Grievances, of a Cessation from all their Fears, of the Continuance of the Divine Presence and Blessing. So that this short Prophecy contains in it all the Others, and may justly be said to be an Abridgment of them.

Haggai prophesied after the Return from the Captivity in *Babylon*, in the second Year of *Darius* King

King of *Persia*, sharply reproving the Jews for their neglecting the Rebuilding the Temple, and vigorously exciting them to that Work both by *Threatnings* and *Promises*, but chiefly by the latter, assuring them of the Divine Blessing and Assistance in so religious and worthy an Enterprize, and foretelling them of the *Messias's Coming*, and of the *Glory of this Second Temple*, which should far exceed that of the first, even in this respect, that the *Messias* himself should honour this Temple with his Presence.

Zecbariah enter'd on the Prophetick Office at the same time with *Haggai*, some time after the Release from the Captivity, and he was sent to the Jews on the same Message, *i. e.* to check them for their Backwardness in erecting the Temple, and restoring the Divine Worship, but especially for the Disorder of their Lives and Manners, which could not but derive a Curse upon them. Therefore he exhorts them to seek the Lord, and to turn from their evil Ways, and thereby to conciliate and obtain the Favour of God. By several *Notable Visions* and *Types* he endeavours to confirm their Faith, and establish their Assurance concerning *God's Presence* with them and *Care* of them, yea and of his *Whole Church* to the *World's End*: and as a Proof and Demonstration of this he intersperseth the most comfortable Promises of the *Coming*, the *Kingdom*, the *Temple*, the *Priesthood*, the *Victory*, the *Glory of Christ the Branch*. Nor doth he forget to assure them of the Ruine of *Babylon*, which had been their implacable Enemy. And here likewise is foretold the Great Number of Converts to the Christian Faith, the successful Spreading and Propagating of the Gospel, the wonderful Efficacy of the Holy Spirit in those Days, the Re-
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414 *The Excellency and Perfection*

section of the Unbelieving Jews, the utter Destruction of their City, Temple, and whole Nation by the Romans, for their rejecting and crucifying the *Messias*, and other particular things belonging to the times of the Gospel, which none of the *Lesser Prophets* speak of but this.

Malachi is the last of these Prophets, yea of all the Prophets of that Dispensation. After him ceased *Vision* and *Prophecy* in *Israel* until *Christ's* appearing, when *Zachary*, *Simeon*, *Mary*, *Elizabeth*, *Anna*, were illuminated with the *Prophetick Spirit*. He prophesied about 300 Years before our Saviour's time, reproving the Jews for their Ungrateful and Wicked Living after their Return from *Babylon*: particularly he chargeth them with *Rebellion*, *Sacrilege*, *Adultery*, *Profaneness*, *Infidelity*, but especially he reprehends the *Priests* for being Careless and Scandalous in their Ministry, which one thing was sufficient to give Authority to others to be Vicious. At the same time he forgets not to take notice of and encourage the *Pious Remnant* in that corrupted Age, who feared the Lord, and thought upon his Name, whose Godly Converse and Associating with one another in that debauched time, he assures them were registred in a *Book of Remembrance* by God himself. This Prophet, who had pointed before at the *Messias* to be exhibited, (for he expressly saith, *He shall suddenly come to his Temple*) now shuts up his Prophecy, and indeed all the Prophecies of the Old Testament, with an Exhortation to remember the *Law*, i. e. to live according to its holy Rules and Injunctions, and with a Promise of the Coming of the Lord, who was to be usher'd in by *Elijah* the Prophet, i. e. by *John the Baptist*, who came in the Spirit and Power of *Elias*, *Luke* 1. 17. And so this Close of the Old Testament refers to the New, to which I now hasten.

CHAP:

C H A P. X.

An Account of the Writings of the Four Evangelists : the peculiar Time, Order, Stile, Design of their Gospels. The Acts of the Apostles shew'd to be an Incomparable History of the Primitive Church. The Epistles of St. Paul particularly delineated. He is prov'd to be the Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. An Enquiry into the Nature of this Apostle's Stile and manner of Writing. The excellent Matter and Design of the Epistles of St. James, St. Peter, St. John, St. Jude. An Historical Series or Order is not observ'd in the Book of the Revelation.

NEXT follow the Sacred Books of the New Testament, the Evangelical Novels, the New Laws of Christianity, the True Authenticks, which present us with the actual Discoveries of the Glorious Light of the Gospel, and of the Blessed Author of it. These were writ in Greek for the same Reason that Joseph the Jew chose to write his Books not in his own Language, but in this, because (as he saith himself in his Preface to the Jewish War) he would have them read and understood by Greeks and Romans, and all Persons. So *Alian* was a Roman, yet writ his Books of *Animals*, and *Various History*, &c. in Greek, because this was the Universal Language at that time. These Writings of the New Testament are either *Histories* or *Epistles*. The *Histories* are the *Four Gospels*, and the *Acts of the Apostles*. As for the former, the Writings of the *Four Evangelists*, there were none of them extant whilst *Christ* was on Earth, for till his being taken up to Heaven, (which was the

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416 *The Excellency and Perfection*

Consummation of all he had before done and suffer'd) they could not make the Evangelical History perfect. But afterwards some of the Apostles and Disciples resolving, according to their Master's Order, to go and preach in foreign Regions, and to disperse the Christian Religion over all the World, put forth the History of the Gospel in Writing before they went about this great Work. St. *Matthew* was the first Inspired Person that committed the Evangelical Transactions to Writing, which he did about eight Years after Christ's Passion, *A. D. 42.* He alone, of all the Evangelists, say St. *Jerom*, *Eusebius*, St. *Augustine*, *Crysostom*, and most of the Antient Writers of the Church, wrote his Gospel first in *Hebrew*: which partly appears from this, that some of the Hebrew Words are explained by the Person who translated it into Greek; who it is probable was St. *Matthew* himself, as the Antients generally agree; and so the Hebrew and Greek Copies are both of them the Originals. Then St. *Mark* and St. *Luke* writ their Gospels, the one about ten (tho others say twenty), the other about twenty (some say thirty) Years after our Saviour's Death; and there are some that invert the Order, and give the Priority to St. *Luke*. But all agree that St. *John* was the last of the Evangelists, and wrote towards the latter end of the first Century. But as for the Punctual Time when the Evangelists put forth the Gospels, it is doubtful; and I do not find any certain ground whereon we may fix a satisfactory resolution of the Doubt.

This may be observ'd that St. *Matthew* and St. *John* were Eye-witnesses of what they wrote: But

Acts 1. 8. Prolog. Gal. ante Evang. Eccl. Hist. l. 3.
De Cons. Evang. l. 1. Homil. in Matth.

St. *Mark* and St. *Luke* had what they wrote from the relation of others. Particularly St. *Mark*, who was St. *Peter's* Companion, composed his Gospel by his Order and Direction, and with his especial Approbation, saith *Eusebius*. Again, it is to be observ'd that this every Evangelist relates nothing but the Truth, yet no one of them relates the Whole Truth concerning Christ's Life and Actions. Tho' the Substance of the Gospel be contain'd in every one of these Writers, yet some Particulars are found in one that do not occur in another: which makes it necessary to consult them all, and to compare them together. As for St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark*, we may take notice that they do not always observe the Order of Time, and the true Series of the Matter: especially the former of these is not curious in this particular. But as for the other two Evangelists, they are very punctual, and inviolably observe the Order of things as they happened, excepting only that *Parenthesis* (for such it is) in *Luke* 3. 19, 20. concerning *Herod*. Of all the Evangelists St. *Luke* is the fullest, and gives the compleatest, most circumstantial and orderly Relation of things: which he himself takes notice of in his Preface to his Gospel, in those Words to *Theophilus*, *It seemed good to me, having had perfect Understanding of all things, from the very first, to write unto thee in order.* And yet, though his Gospel be ample, and more methodical in the Narrative or History than the rest, yet he is but brief in relating things that our Saviour did till the last Year of his Preaching, St. *Matthew* having been full in them: and in some other things he hath need of a Supply from the rest of the Evangelists, and more especially from St. *John*, whose Gospel (from the Beginning of the 14th Chapter to the

418 *The Excellency and Perfection*

End of the 17th) contains those Excellent Discourses of our Saviour before his Passion, which were wholly omitted by the other Evangelists. Besides that, this Evangelist, in the Entrance into his Gospel, is more Sublime and Soaring than the rest, (and for that Reason is represented by an *Eagle*) asserting the *Divinity* of Christ against the bold *Hereticks* of that time, who openly confronted that Doctrine. And in other Places of his Writings he hath a Peculiar Strain and Excellency, which *Luther* expresses thus, after his plain way, *Every Word in John weigheth two Tuns*. Concerning the *Evangelists* I may note this, that though they do not all of them set down the very *individual Words* that Christ or others spake, (for we see that sometimes one represents them in Terms different from the rest) yet those that do not so, deliver always the *Sense* of what was said; and even that was dictated by the Holy Spirit, which is sufficient. And concerning St. *John* particularly I remark this, that seeing he was the last of all the Evangelists, *i. e.* he wrote his Gospel last, it is rational upon that Account to interpret the other Evangelists by him, namely, where any Doubt or Controversy arises: for he having perused the other Evangelists, and observ'd what Exceptions unbelieving Men had made against any Passages in their Writings, it is not to be doubted but that he expresses himself with greater Plainness and Perspicuity where those Matters are concern'd. This the intelligent and observant Reader will find to be true if he consults the respective Places.

It is endless to give a Particular and Distinct Survey of every one of the Evangelists Writings. This only

only can be said here, (in pursuance of our grand Undertaking) that these Books are the Choicest History that ever were committed to Writing, because they contain the *Birth*, the *Life*, the *Actions*, the *Doctrine*, the *Miracles*, the *Sufferings*, the *Death*, the *Resurrection*, the *Ascension* of our Lord JESUS Christ, our most Compassionate Saviour and Redeemer: All of which are the most Stupendous and Amazing, as well as the most Necessary Matters to be known in the whole World. If this brief and summary Account of the *Gospels* be not sufficient to recommend them to our Studies and Meditations, and to beget in us the utmost Esteem of them, nothing more largely said will ever be able to do it.

To the *Historical* Part of the New Testament belong the *Acts of the Apostles*, wherein there is an Account given of what all the *Apostles* were concern'd in, viz. their choosing *Matthias* into *Judas's* room, their Meeting together on the Day of *Pentecost*, at which time they were all inspired by the *Holy Ghost* (according to Christ's Promise) visibly descending upon them, their *Determinations* in the *Council* held at *Jerusalem*, with their *Letters* which they sent to the Churches abroad, and several other things in which the *Apostles* were jointly interested. This Book contains also the History of the first *Founding* of the *Christian Church*, of its happy *Progress* and *Success*, especially among the *Gentiles*, of the *Opposition* and *Persecution* it encountred with, of the *Undaunted Courage* of the *Apostles*, of the *Course* of their *Ministry*, of their *Disputations*, *Conferences*, *Apologies*, *Prayers*, *Sermons*, *Worship*, *Discipline*, *Church-Government*, *Miracles*. Here we are informed what were the *Usages* of the first *Apostolical Ages*: In a word, here we may find

420 *The Excellency and Perfection*

the *Primitive Church* and Religion. All which are plain Evidences of the singular Usefulness, Worth and Excellency of this Book. But it is chiefly confined to the Acts and Achievements of those most Eminent Apostles *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*: and especially and most largely here are related the *Conversion, Travels, Preaching, and Sufferings* of the latter of these; for *St. Luke* being *St. Paul's* Companion all along, and well acquainted with whatever he did, and whatsoever happen'd to him, gives us the fullest Narrative of this Apostle. The whole Book is a History of about forty Years, namely, from *Christ's* Ascension to the second Year of *St. Paul's* Imprisonment at *Rome*.

The *New Testament* consists likewise of several *Epistles of the Apostles*; which are Pious Discourses, occasionally written more fully to explain and apply the Holy Doctrine which they had delivered, to confute some growing Errors, to compose Differences and Schisms; to reform Abuses and Corruptions, to stir up the Christians to Holiness, and to encourage them against Persecutions. For the Apostles having converted several Nations to the Faith, when they could not visit them in Person, wrote to them, and so supplied their Presence by these *Epistles*.

To begin with *St. Paul's Epistles*, they were written either to *Whole Churches*, viz. of *Believing Gentiles*, (i. e. the greatest Part of them were such, tho some of *Jewish* Race might be mix'd among them) as the *Epistles* to the *Romans*, *Corinthians*, *Galatians*, *Ephesians*, *Philippians*, *Colossians*, *Thessalonians*; or of *Believing Jews* wholly, as the *Epistle* to the *Hebrews*: Or they were written to *Particular Persons*, as the *Epistles* to *Timothy*, *Titus*, *Philemon*.

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The Epistle to the *Romans* is made up of several Profound Discourses on such Subjects as these, the Prerogatives of the *Jews*, their Rejection notwithstanding those Prerogatives, the Wonderful Dispensation of God towards the *Gentiles*, the Nature of the Law, Justification by Faith alone, Election and Free Grace, the Conflict between the Flesh and Spirit, Christian Liberty, Scandal, the Use of Indifferent Things, &c. But the chief thing which he designs in this Epistle, is to shew, that neither the *Gentiles* by the Law of Nature, nor the *Jews* by that of *Moses*, could attain to Righteousness and Justification, and consequently Salvation; but that these are to be obtained only by Faith in Christ Jesus, for whose Merits alone we are accounted righteous in the Sight of God. And then, to shew that this Faith is not separated from Good Works, he addeth Exhortations to the Practice of Holiness, Obedience of Life, and a Religious Conversation. So that this Epistle is both Doctrinal and Practical, it directs us in our Notions and in our Manners. It decides some of the greatest Controversies, and withal it informs us about the most indispensable Offices of Christianity.

The next Epistles are to the Church of *Corinth*, the chief City of *Peloponnesus*, which is now call'd the *Morea*. And *Cenchrea* (which you read of, *Rom.* 16. 1. *Acts* 19. 18.) was the Station of Ships for this maritime City, but was a distinct Town from it. To the Converted Inhabitants of this great Metropolis, (famed for its Wealth, and therefore surnamed the *Rich*, as *Thucydides* saith) yea to all the Saints in *Achaia* the Apostle here writes. His first Epistle to them is against the Un-

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422 *The Excellency and Perfection*

found Perswasions and Vicious Practices which he observ'd among them at that time. His Design was to reform them as to their Schisms and Dissensions, their Idolatrous Communion, their Unseemly Habits, their Confusions and Disorders in their Assemblies, their Prophaning the Lord's Supper, their Toleration of Incest, and the like scandalous Behaviour. Besides, there are other considerable Matters which he treats of, as Marriage, Divorce, Virginity, eating of Meats sacrificed to Idols, Christian Liberty, going to Law before Heathens, Church-Discipline, Ministers Maintenance, Spiritual Gifts, especially the Gift of Propheying, &c. Some particular Cases concerning which are resolved with great Plainness and Dexterity, and may be serviceable to determine our Judgments in all Cases of the like Nature. He also admirably descants on the Nature and Necessity of Charity, and he by multiplied Arguments asserts the Doctrine of the Resurrection.

When the *Corinthians* had received this *First Epistle*, and as soon as the Apostle was informed by *Titus* what Reformation it had wrought in them, he writ a *Second* to them, in Defence of his Ministry and Apostleship, against some that labour'd to bring him into Contempt among them. He threatens Offenders, he encourages the Obedient, he animates the Faint-hearted, he confounds his Antagonists, and that by a new way of Argument, *viz.* by boasting of his *Sufferings*, and giving a full Inventory of them. He displays his Calamities, he blazons his Crosses; and Victories and Triumphs do not more elevate others than these do him. He excellently discovers the hypocritical Pretences of False Prophets, he vindicates his own Person and Authority, he answers the Calumnies and

and Aspersions of Erroneous Teachers, he clears himself from the Imputation of Levity, Pride, Vain-Glory, Severity, and other things laid to his Charge: He asserts the Truth of his Doctrine, and the Laudableness of his Actions, and exhorts to all Holiness and Righteousness of Life. But the greatest Part of this Epistle is *Apologetical*: whence we learn, that it is not unseemly or unchristian to enlarge on one's own Actions and Sufferings when there is a necessary Occasion.

The *Epistle to the Galatians* (*i. e.* the Christian Brethren in *Galatia*, a Region in the Lesser *Asia*, call'd also *Gallo-Græcia*, because it was of old inhabited by Gauls and Greeks) is directed against the False Apostles among them, who mingled the Law with the Gospel, Legal Works with Faith, and made the former necessary to Justification. Whereupon he again asserts the Doctrine of Justification by Faith; so that this Part of the Epistle is a brief Summary of the *Epistle to the Romans*. He proves, that these *Gentile* Converts need not become Proselytes of the *Jews*, nor observe the Law of Circumcision, or any other Mosaick Rite. But he tells them the right Use of Circumcision and of the Law, and bids them stand fast in the Evangelical Liberty, and be careful that they do not abuse it, but walk in Love and Meekness, Humility, Modesty, and Charity, which are the Great and Noble Vertues that are to shine in the Lives of Christians. It is easily observable that the Apostle is more Warm and Vehement in this Epistle than in any of his others; the Reason of which is, because he saw his *Galatians* so greatly endanger'd by their listening to the perverse Reasonings of the *Gnosticks* (as some think) or other *Judaizing* Teachers that were crept in among them, and were perswading them

424 *The Excellency and Perfection*

to imbrace *another Gospel*, to disown and reject the Principles which he had taught them, and to come off from *Christianity* to *Judaism*. This kindles a holy Indignation in his Breast, and makes him with an unwonted Keeness and Severity cry out against them, and complain of their gross *Folly*, yea their wilful suffering themselves to be bewitched and insatuated by those Impostors.

His Epistle to the *Ephesians*, i. e. the faithful Christians of *Ephesus* the Head-City of *Asia* the Less, (which was written from *Rome* when he was a Prisoner there) divinely sets forth the Great and Astonishing Mystery of our Redemption and Reconciliation, the Freeness and Riches of Grace in Christ Jesus, the Admirable Benefits and Privileges of the Gospel, the Marvelous Dispensation of God to the Gentiles in revealing Christ to them, the Excellency and Dignity of his Apostolick Charge. He adds most Pathetick Exhortations to Constancy in the Faith, notwithstanding the Calumnies of False Teachers, and the Peril of the Cross. He propounds the most Cogent Motives to Love and Unity: he urgeth the conscientious Performance of all the Duties of Religion, and gives Particular Rules and Precepts for the discharging of every Christian Office; so admirable, so Entire, so Comprehensive is this Part of the Apostle's Writings.

The Epistle to the *Philippians* (i. e. the Christians of *Philippi*, a City of *Macedonia*, and a Roman Colony) was writ also when the Apostle was imprisoned at *Rome*: and in it he thanks them for their Liberality towards him in his Bonds, and for their sending *Epaphroditus* (their Minister) with a Supply of Money to him. This Epistle is chiefly writ to them in return to this seasonable Kindness of theirs, and (as that to the *Galatians* was the Sharpest,

est, so this) is the Smootheft and Sweetest, the most Endearing and Pathetick of all St. Paul's Epistles, and is fullest of Paternal Affection. He here likewise takes notice of and extols their Proficiency in the Gospel, and then labours to confirm them in it: he exhorts them to Increase and Persevere in the Christian Faith, to bear their Persecutions with Patience and Constancy of Mind, to be Humble and Peaceable, and to be Loving to one another. He cautions them against Seducers and False Teachers, who had them rely on the *Righteousness of the Law*; and on the contrary assures them, that their only Trust and Dependance ought to be on the *Righteousness which is of God by Faith in Christ Jesus*. He earnestly beseecheth them to be Exemplary in their Conversations, and to live in the Practice of all Christian Duties. He lovingly and passionately Salutes them, and Prays for them: he is every where Obliging and Affectionate; in sum, the whole Epistle is written with a Pen dipp'd in Oil.

In the Epistle to the *Colossians* (*i. e.* the People of *Colosse*, a City in *Phrygia*, not far from *Laodicea* and *Hierapolis*, in the *Proconsular Asia*, who were converted by the Preaching of *Epaphras*, whom St. Paul had sent to them, but now is his Fellow-Prisoner at *Rome*) the chief Design of the Apostle is to Reduce those that were led away by False Teachers, whether *Jews* or *Philosophers*. The former introduced the *Mosaick Ceremonies* and Observations; the latter brought in Unsound Notions and Speculations, and both of them perverted the Simplicity and Purity of the Gospel. Wherefore the Apostle endeavours to establish them in the true Evangelical Doctrine, in opposition to *Judaism* and the *Vain Deceits of Philosophy*. He is earnest

426 *The Excellency and Perfection*

nest with them to adhere only to Christianity, and to persevere in the Practice of all those Excellent Precepts that belong to it. And accordingly first he mentions some General, and then some Particular Graces and Duties. This Epistle is of the same *Tenour, Subject*, and even the same *Expression* generally with that to the *Ephesians*: for the Apostle, about the same time that he wrote to the *Ephesians*, did so likewise to the *Colossians*, whilst the very same things were still fresh in his Memory: whence it is that he uses the same Words often to both.

The *first Epistle to the Thessalonians* (or rather the *Thessalonicians*, for they were Inhabitants of *Thessalonica*, the chief City of *Macedony*, and converted by St. Paul, Silas, and Timothy) was writ on the Occasion of the Persecutions which those Christians felt from the *Jews*: and in it the Apostle, after he had expressed his Joy for their Conversion and Sincerity of Faith, exhorts them to Constancy and Perseverance in his Doctrine, and not to be discouraged by their Sufferings, but to continue in the Practice of Holiness as well as in the Profession of the Gospel. To encourage them to which he reminds them of his Boldness, Faithfulness, Sincerity, Affectionateness in preaching the Gospel to them, and of his Present Care and Concernedness for them. He gives several Particular Precepts of Charity and Piety, and warns them of Christ's Second Coming, of which he adds a very Lively Description.

In his *Second Epistle* he corrects some Misinterpretations which had been made by them of what he had said in the *first*: For it seems they mistook the Apostle concerning the *Coming of Christ*, as if it were presently to happen, whereas (as he acquaints them) there must first be a Visible Depar-

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ture and Declension from the Faith ; and the Man of Sin (whom he briefly delineates) must appear in the World before that Day cometh. He heartens and encourages them under their Sufferings, and admonisheth them to continue in their Duty, from the Consideration of the Certainty of Christ's Appearing : he prays most ardently and affectionately for them, and interchangeably craveth their Prayers for him. These are the Choice and Admirable Contents of these Epistles.

In the *first Epistle to Timothy* there are many Remarkable things treated of, namely, the Right Use of the Law, Praying for all Mankind, Womens modest Apparel, their Silence in the Churches, the Apostacy of the latter times, the Duty of Servants, the Gain of Godliness, the Mischief of Covetousness, besides several other Heads that are only glanced at. But the main thing insisted and enlarged upon is *Timothy's* Duty as he was a *Bishop*, where we have an Excellent and Compleat Character of a Faithful Ruler or Overseer of the Church. Here he is directed how to behave himself in that High Calling, how to discharge all the Offices of that Sacred Function. Upon which Account this Epistle may justly be stiled a *Pastoral Letter*, because it doth more immediately concern those Persons who have the Charge of Christ's Flock, and have the Honour to be Guides and Instructors of Souls. Here they may be taught all the Parts of their Ministerial Employment, here they may furnish themselves with Exact Rules of their Duty. This is the best *Rubrick* and *Canon* for this Purpose. Nor are there wanting particular Instructions concerning the *Deacons* Office, and concerning *Elders*.

And

428 *The Excellency and Perfection*

And such is the *Second Epistle*, wherein likewise are farther Directions about the Office and Behaviour of an Evangelical Bishop: and he is exhorted to all Vigilancy, Patience, Prudence, Faithfulness, Diligence and Constancy in the Ministerial Function, notwithstanding the Labours and Afflictions which accompany it, notwithstanding the Discouragements, Hardships and Sufferings which attend the conscientious Discharge of it. Besides many Other Things of great Moment there is inserted a *Prophecy* concerning the Impious Seducers that should come in the last Days, with a particular Description of them.

The Epistle to *Titus* is of the same Nature with those former ones, (especially the first to *Timothy*) wherein he gives Directions how he ought to demean himself as a true Evangelical Bishop or Pastor, inserting the Lively Pourtraiture of such an Officer in the Church. For which Reason it is more peculiarly fitted for the Use of those who are invested with that High Character in the Ministry of the Church. But there are also Instructions belonging to those of another Rank, and to all Christians in general; for they are enjoined to be *subject to Principalities and Powers*, to *live soberly, righteously and godlily*, to *maintain good Works*, to *avoid foolish Questions and Controversies*, and (in brief) to behave themselves in their several Stations as it becometh the Followers of Christ: So full, so large, so pregnant is this Short Epistle.

The Epistle to *Philemon* was written by the Apostle from *Rome* when he was in Prison, upon this particular Occasion; *Philemon*, one of *St. Paul's* Converts, and afterwards a Fellow-Labourer with him in the Gospel, had a Servant who defrauded him, and then ran away from him, and coming to

Rome

Rome when St. Paul was Prisoner there, was converted by him; whereupon he sends him back again to his Master with this Epistle, wherein he desires *Philemon* to forgive his fugitive Servant, and to be reconciled to him, and to receive him again into his Service and Favour, and to look upon him as a Christian Brother rather than a Servant. This the Apostle pursues with Expressions of extraordinary Love and Compassion towards *Onesimus*, whom he had begotten in his Bonds, and with great Tenderness and Affection to *Philemon*, who was also his Son in the Lord; and in his Behaviour towards both he shews the Authority and Bowels of a Spiritual Father.

The Epistle to the *Hebrews* (i. e. to those Converted Jews whom St. Paul had known in *Judea* and *Syria*, or who were dispersed in other Countries, and at that time being persecuted by the Unbelieving Jews, began to fall off from the Christian Faith, and the Assemblies of the Faithful) was written to establish them in Christianity, to assert the Preheminence of *Christ* above *Moses*, and the Preference of the *New Testament* to the *Old*; to shew that the Priesthood of *Christ* was prefigured by that of *Melchisedec*, and that it far surpassed the *Aaronical* or *Levitical* Priesthood; to evince the Excellency of the Evangelical Dispensation above that of the Law; to prove that the *Mosaic* Rites and Ceremonies were abolished, being all accomplish'd in *Jesus* our High Priest, especially that all the *Legal Sacrifices* were fulfill'd in his once offering up himself upon the Cross for us, and that this Offering was Satisfactory unto God the Father for the Sins of the World. This is managed with very strong Reasoning, with a very singular and close Application, and with such a peculiar

430 *The Excellency and Perfection*

culiar Light and Spirit as this Divine Penman was Master of. This I may truly say, that this Part of the Epistle to the Hebrews is the most illustrious Confutation of the *Socinian Heresy* that is in the whole New Testament. For here is plainly and fully asserted the Efficacy of Christ's offering himself as a Sacrifice on the Cross for the expiating the Sins of Mankind. In sundry Particulars this is most demonstratively proved, that a Compleat and Full Satisfaction was made unto God by his Death: which for ever confounds that impious and blasphemous Doctrine of *Socinus* and his Followers, 'that the Sufferings of Christ had no more Virtue and Efficacy in them than the Sufferings of any mere Man whatsoever. After the Apostle had thus maintain'd the transcendent *Worth* and *Virtue* of our Saviour's *Priesthood*, and thence undeniably inferr'd that the Gospel is a most Admirable and Excellent Institution, he exhorts them to a constant Profession of it without wavering, and to a Holy Life and Conversation futable to so excellent a Doctrine: he with great Industry endeavours to convince them of the Danger of *Apostacy*, he confirms them in the Christian Doctrine amidst all the Persecutions and Difficulties they labour'd under. And lastly, he is solicitous to prevent their revolting by setting before them the most Eminent *Examples* of Faith and Patience. These are the Momentous Themes which are observable in this Epistle.

I know some have doubted whether this Incomparable Epistle be St. *Paul's*, and others have absolutely

¹ Quicquid passus est Christus, nullam majorem vim per se habere potest quam si quilibet purus homo idem passus est. *Socin. de Servat. Par. 3. c. 4.*

solutely denied that it is his, yet still allowing that it was written by some Inspired Person, and belongs to the Canon of Holy Scripture. The Learned *Grotius* endeavours to prove that *St. Luke* wrote it. But for my Part I have no Inclination to believe that any other Person than *St. Paul* penn'd this Epistle: for this is most clear from that one Place, *2 Pet. 3. 16. Even as our beloved Brother Paul also, according to the Wisdom given unto him, hath written unto you.* *St. Peter* here speaks to the *Jews*, for to them this Epistle as well as the former was written, as appears from the Title of it, ' *To the Strangers scatter'd throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, i. e. the Jews* dispersed up and down the World, who by *St. James* are call'd ' *the twelve Tribes which are scatter'd abroad.* These, tho they neither lived in *Palestine*, nor used the *Hebrew* Tongue, but lived among the *Greeks*, and spoke that Language generally, and used the *Greek Bible*, viz. the Translation of the *Septuagint*, in their Synagogues, and were commonly known by the Name of *Hellenists*, and consequently were not *Hebrews* or *Jews* in the strictest and properest Sense, yet because they were of *Jewish* Parentage, and professed, or had once professed the *Jewish* Religion, they were still call'd *Jews* or *Hebrews*, and accordingly have that Denomination here. So that *St. Paul* here, and *St. Peter* and *St. James* write their Epistles to the same Persons; that is, to the *Converted Jews* that were dispersed abroad, especially in *Greece*: and, which is the Argument I make use of at present, *St. Peter* particularly takes notice of *St. Paul's* Writing to these Dispersed *Jews*. But how doth it appear that he writ
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432 *The Excellency and Perfection*

to them? Thus all the Epistles of this Apostle which we have mentioned before (excepting this which we are now speaking of) were written either to the Churches of *believing Gentiles*, or to some *Particular Persons* (as hath been noted already): whence it follows, that seeing he wrote to the *Jews* or *Hebrews*, (as St. Peter testifies) he was the Author of this remaining Epistle which is inscribed to *them*. We are certain that St. Paul writ to the *Jews*, because St. Peter tells us so, that is, he tells us that St. Paul wrote to those to whom he wrote: but St. Peter wrote to the *Jews* or *Hebrews* both his Epistles, therefore St. Paul wrote to them likewise: and this Epistle to the *Hebrews* which we now have, must be that very Epistle, because there is no other of his to them besides it. Wherefore it is an undeniable Consequence that the *Epistle to the Hebrews* was writ by St. Paul, and by none else; which was the thing to be proved. Again, I might further add that what the Apostle Peter saith concerning St. Paul's Epistles, (or concerning the Matters contain'd in them, for *ἐν οἷς* may refer rather to *πρὸς τὰς* than to *ἐν πλείοσι τοῖς ἑπιστολὰς*) viz. that 'there are in them some things hard to be understood, doth agree well to the Sublime Matter of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, wherein so many *Prophecies*, *Types*, *Allegories* and *Mysteries*, are treated of and applied: so that it may probably be inferr'd hence, that this Epistle is referr'd to in particular, and consequently that St. Paul was the Author of it. To corroborate this, we may subjoin the unanimous Testimony of the *Greek Fathers*, who gene-

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¹ 2 Pet. 3. 16. ² Justin Martyr, Clem. Alexandr. Origen, Eusebius, Concil. Nic. 1. Athanasius, Cyril of Jerus. Greg. Nyss. & Naz. Basil, Epiphanius, Chrysost. Cyril of Alexand. Theodoret.

rally attribute this Epistle to St. Paul: With whom agree the *Schoolmen*; and all the Writers of the Church of Rome, but *Erasmus* and *Cajetan*, and *Ludovicus Vives*, assert the same. Most of the *Lutherans* are of this Opinion, though herein they dissent from their Master *Luther*; and the *Reformed Churches* (as distinct from the *Lutherans*) are of the same Perswasion, though *Calvin* be of another Mind; which shews that there are very Cogent Reasons for this Opinion, otherwise these Parties would not dissent from their Masters. It may be added, that Our *English Church* in the Title calls it the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Hebrews. As for the Reason of the Omission of his Name in the Beginning of this Epistle, (which is not to be observ'd in his Others) perhaps it was (as *Clement of Alexandria*, *Athanasius*, *Chrysostom*, *Theophilact*, conjecture) because his Name was odious to most of the Jews, he having been once a Jew, but afterwards abandon'd that Religion; wherefore he advisedly left out his Name that it might not prejudice what he writ, and that the Epistle might not be thrown away for the Author's sake. But whether this was the Reason why his Name is not inserted (as in the rest of his Epistles) I am not able to determine: only I am sufficiently convinced, from what St. Peter saith, that this Epistle was writ by St. Paul; that single Testimony is Proof enough.

Here I might take occasion (having hitherto given you a brief Account of the Excellent Matter of this Apostle's Writings, which are so great a Part of the New Testament) to speak something concerning his *Stile*, or rather to add to what I have already said of it in another Place, under this Proposition, *There are no Solacisms in the Holy Writings*. This I am the more willing to do, because some

434 *The Excellency and Perfection*

have look'd upon this Apostle as a Man of no Eloquence, yea scarcely of any Grammar and Consistency of Sense : which Imputation would argue a great Defect and Imperfection in Scripture, and therefore I am obliged to take notice of it. It is true, there are several things which render his Style somewhat dark and perplexed in sundry Places. He brings in *Objections* sometimes, but doth not intimate that the Words are spoken in that way, as in *Rom.* 3. 5, 6, 7. and other Places; which makes the Sense difficult to those that do not carefully examine the Context. In the 4th Chapter of that Epistle, *ver.* 1. a *Negative* is left out, *viz.* the Answer to the preceding Question, which should have been thus; *No; he hath not found.* And in *ver.* 8. the Note of *Parenthesis* is omitted, as 'tis in several other Places. Further, 'tis observable, that the Apostle hath sometimes references to Words and Things which he had mention'd before, but which he seem'd to have quite laid aside in his Discourse. Thus he turns back again in *2 Cor.* 3. 17. and refers to what was said before in *ver.* 6. for those Words in the latter Place [*The Lord is that Spirit*] refer to the former one, where he speaks of *the Spirit*, *i. e.* the Gospel and Spiritual Dispensation, in contradistinction to *the Letter*, *i. e.* the Dispensation of the Law. The Words then I interpret thus, *The Lord Christ is that Spirit*, he is the Blessed Author and Instituter of that Evangelical and Spiritual Oeconomy which we are now under, and which brings true *Liberty* with it, as he adds. Many Expositors labour to tack this Text to the immediately foregoing one, but to little purpose; for they thereby make the Sense harsh and distorted, there being nothing there to which this Passage refers. But by reducing these

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Words to the 6th Verse (as 'tis not unusual with this Writer to allude to some certain Expression at a considerable Distance) the Sense of the Place becomes very easy and intelligible; viz. that Christ Jesus our Blessed Lord is clearly exhibited in the Gospel, and gives *Life* and *Spirit* with this Evangelical Administration.

Again, it is true St. Paul's Stile is very full and running over sometimes: his Pen is frequently in a Career, and is not easily stopped. All that he saith from the first Verse of the first Chapter of the Epistle to the *Ephesians* till you come to the fifteenth Verse, is but one single Period. And in some other Places he spins out his Subject into a Thread of almost the same Length. From this Fulness of Matter it proceeds that he makes so many *Excursions* in his Writings, which seem sometimes to Persons who take no notice of his sudden Transitions, to be very Incoherent. Thus when he was proving the Dignity of Christ's Priesthood, he undertakes to shew that he was a Priest after the Order of *Melchisedec*, of whom, saith he, *we have many things to say*, Heb. 5. 11. but yet he saith nothing of him till the seventh Chapter; the Remainder of the fifth Chapter, and the whole sixth being spent in a long Digression. But you may observe a far longer in his Epistle to the Romans, chap. 3. v. 1, 2. *What Advantage hath the Jew, or what Profit is there in Circumcision? Much every way, chiefly because that unto them were committed the Oracles of God.* Where you see he begins to reckon up the *Advantages* and *Privileges* of the Jews, (and therefore *πρῶτον*, as I conceive, should not be translated *chiefly*, but *first*) and yet here he names but One of them, for an *Objection* (which he undertakes to answer and enlarge upon) takes him off

436 The Excellency and Perfection

for many Chapters together, and he returns not again till *ch. 9. v. 4.* where he enumerates the rest of the *Privileges*. And several other Instances might be assigned of his launching out into Discourses which seem to be foreign to his purpose, which render his Stile somewhat abrupt, and his Sense intricate. He had begun a Comparison, *Rom. 5. 12. As by one Man Sin entred, &c.* but then he strikes in with a *Parentthesis* in the next Verse, which hinders him from finishing what he began till the 18th Verse, *Even so by the Righteousness of one, &c.* Nay rather, he forsakes the Comparison, and riseth above it, finding the *Grace in Christ Jesus* rise higher than the *Condemnation* that came by *Adam*. Whereas he began with an [*as*], and should have followed it with a [*so*], he turns this into a [*much more*] *v. 15, 17.* and then at last comes about to compleat the Comparison as he had first begun it, *v. 18.* There is a plain *Parentthesis* from the 1st Verse to the 7th in the first Chapter to the *Romans*. There is another somewhat longer in *1 Cor. 11.* which begins at *v. 23.* and lasts to the 33d. So in the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, *ch. 3.* when he had said, *For this Cause I Paul the Prisoner of Jesus Christ for you Gentiles, v. 1.* he presently runs into a *Parentthesis*, which continues till the 14th Verse, where he leaves off his Digression and proceeds, *For this Cause, &c.* Thus the Redundancy of his Matter and Sense makes him interrupt himself, and lard his Discourse with frequent Digressions, and divert his Reader oftentimes from the present Subject he is upon. But notwithstanding this, no Man that is Master of any Eloquence himself, or understands the Laws of it in others, can fasten any such thing as *Illiterate, Blunt, Unfashion'd Language* upon the Apostle.

It is true he terms himself *rude in Speech*, 2 Cor. 11. 6. whence ' One gathers that he was but a Bad Speaker; for we cannot think, saith he, that he told a Lie out of Humility. But I reply, we cannot only think, but we must know, that the Apostle debaseth himself here out of Christian Modesty, as when he stiles himself *the least of the Apostles*, 1 Cor. 15. 9. yea, *less than the least of all Saints*, Eph. 3. 8. Will any one say that he tells a Lie here, though he was the Greatest Apostle, and one of the Greatest of Saints? Besides, he might not unjustly stile himself *rude in Speech* in this respect, that he so frequently treats of Difficult and Abstruse Points, which are not easily express'd, but are and must be clothed in such Language as is harsh, uncouth, and unusual. When he discourses of *Predestination*, of *Faith*, of *Justification*, of the *Last Times*, of the *Son of Perdition*, of the *Day of Vengeance* on the Enemies of Christianity, of the *Time of the Coming of our Lord*, (yea St. Peter tells us in that in all his Epistles there are some things hard to be understood) it is no wonder that his Speech is obscure, and that he seems to be *ἰδιώτης τῷ λόγῳ*. The Mysteries and Profound Subjects which he insists upon, and which cannot be spoken out plainly, cause him to be thought such. His *Rudeness of Speech* may be understood as the *Foolishness of Preaching*, i. e. that it seemed such to some Persons, though it was not really so in it self. But though the Great Apostle was pleas'd to diminish himself, and to speak meanly of his way of Writing and Discourse, and tho his Adversaries or Pretended Friends were wont to vilify his manner of Speaking, yet let not us conceal or disguise his Excellent Gift of expressing

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' Mr. Boyle of the Stile of Scripture.

438. *The Excellency and Perfection*

himself in his Writings. He was certainly a Great Master of Language and Discourse: and indeed we could reasonably expect no other from his Education, which furnish'd him with all sorts of Learning; for as he was born at *Tarsus*, so it is likely he was brought up in the same Place, which was then an *Academy*, and thence sent to *Jerusalem*, where he sat at the Feet of *Gamaliel*: so that he was Master both of *Heathen* and *Jewish* Learning. It is a Mistake of some Learned Writers of very great Note, that St. *Paul's* Writings are full of *Solatisms*, he being an *Hebrew*, and understanding little *Greek*. This, I say, is a Mistake, for he was a *Græcian* by Birth, for *Cilicia* was in *Greece*; and we read that the Inhabitants of *Tarsus* (his Birth-place) did strive to equal the *Athenians* in the Study of Good Letters and Humane Learning. We may then reasonably think that St. *Paul*, tho he was an *Hebrew* by Parentage, was well skill'd in *Greek*, it being his native Tongue. Therefore a Modern Critick of great Acuteness hath well observ'd, that the *Greek* Tongue was as familiar to him as *Hebrew* or *Syriac*. Shall any rational Man then think that he was not able to speak Properly and Grammatically? Nay, shall we not conclude from his Admirable Writings that he knew how to place his Words, and to speak with a good Grace? St. *Jerom*, who particularly takes notice that St. *Paul's* Writings are full of *Parentheses*, *Transitions*, *Digraphions*, *Concise* and *Abnupt* Sayings, yet acknowledgeth that he was a most Astonishing Speaker, and Thundered as often as he spoke. Yea, tho on the 3d Chapter of the Epistle to the Epho-

¹ Strabo Geogr. l. 15. ² Salmas. de Hellenist. Pars 1. qu. 6.
³ —Quocunq; respexeris fulmina sunt. Hieronym. Apol. pro lib. adv. Jov.

Ephesians he hints that St. Paul's Writings were destitute of Rhetorick, yet at another time (to let us know that he said not this absolutely) he owns him to be *flumen Eloquentiæ*, a Flood, or rather a Torrent of True Eloquence. Eusebius, who was a Good Judg of Eloquence, pronounceth St. Paul a most Powerful Spokesman, and one that was admirably skill'd in the whole Parade and Furniture of Words, and could do more this way than the most Celebrated Orators among the Pagans. So that * Luther was in the right when he said, One of St. Paul's Words containeth well three of Tully's Orations. In fine, no Tongue can express the Excellency of his Profound Writings, which not only comprise in them all the Depths and Mysteries of Christianity, and astonish us with their High and Heavenly Matter, but moreover do furnish us with many Elegancies and Embellishments of Oratory, with many Florid and well Compos'd Periods, and abound every where with a most Winning Eloquence, with the Charms of a most Melting and Affectionate Rhetorick; insomuch that in some of his Epistles his Warmest Blood seems to be the Ink he wrote with, and every Leaf is as it were the very Membrane of his Heart.

Besides St. Paul's Epistles, which are fourteen in all, there are seven others, viz. one of St. James, two of St. Peter, three of St. John, and one of St. Jude; all which (except the two latter of St. John) are call'd *Catholick* or *General Epistles*, because they were not directed to Particular Churches in one Place, but to the Dispersed Converts through a great Part of the World.

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St.

* Ad Pammach. * Πάντων ἐν ἁγίᾳ συνάπτει τὰ λα-
γόν. Ecclef. Hist. l. 2. c. 18. * Coll. Menf.

440 *The Excellency and Perfection*

St. James's *Epistle* was written to the Christian Jews that dwelt in other Regions besides *Judea*, who consisted partly of the *Ten Tribes* carried captive by *Salmanassar* King of *Assyria*, who never, that we read of, return'd again, and partly of the *Two Tribes*, many of which still remain'd in Exile: wherefore St. James sends this *Epistle* to the *Twelve Tribes* scatter'd abroad. The two main things in it are first concerning the Afflictions and Persecutions which were to be undergone for Christ's sake; where he exhorts them to Patience under those great Trials. Secondly, concerning the Necessity of a Holy Life, where he shews them that Justifying Faith must be known and manifested by Good Works. Besides, many Excellent Caveats and Admonitions are intermingled touching Riches, Covetousness, Hearing the Word, Swearing, Unruliness of the Tongue, Envy, Wrath, Pride, Rash Judging of others, Self-Confidence, Forgetfulness of God's Sovereignty and Providence in the World, and sundry other things of very great Use in the Lives of Christians, especially of those that are in Affliction and Adversity. Wherefore this *Epistle* is chiefly calculated for such.

St. Peter also (who was the *Apostle of the Circumcision*) writes to the *Dispersed Jews*, (such as were scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, (*i. e.* the Lesser) and Bithynia, five Provinces of the Roman Empire) those that voluntarily lived among the *Gentiles* ever since the Great Dispersion, and were now become *Christians*, and fared the worse among the Heathens and Obstinate Jews for being so. And perhaps here may be meant those likewise that by Persecution were driven from their Homes in *Judea*, and therefore are called *Strangers*, 1 *Epist.* ch. 1. v. 1. To these distressed Jews, or of what

what kind soever they were (for ' *St. Augustine* and some others think the *Converted Gentiles* in several Countries are not here excluded) he writeth his *first Epistle*, to confirm and strengthen them in the Doctrine of the Gospel, and in the Profession of the Christian Faith which they had hitherto made, and to exhort them to a Greater Proficiency in it, and to comfort them in their Persecutions against the Scandal of the Cross; and lastly, to stir them up to the Exercise of all Christian Graces and Duties, many of which, as Mutual Love, Patience, Watchfulness, Perseverance, Obedience to Magistrates, with the particular Duties of Servants to their Masters, of Husbands and Wives towards one another, of Spiritual Pastors towards their Flock, he most excellently (though briefly) describeth.

His *Second Epistle* (for it is undoubtedly his, as well as the first, though *Hugo Grotius*, or he that publish'd those *Posthumous Annotations*, labours to offer Arguments to the contrary, which are enervated by Dr. *Hammond* in his *Notes* on this Epistle) is of the same Nature with the first, exhorting the Believing Jews to a Life worthy of Christians, to add one Vertue to another, and to increase in all the Graces of the Holy Spirit. He asserts the Truth and Authority of the Gospel, he shews the Danger of Backsliding, he warns them against Heretical Teachers and Profane Scoffers that should come in the last Days, of whom he gives a very Lively Character in several remarkable Particulars. He voucheth the Certainty of Christ's Coming to Judgment, and the Conflagration of the World,
and

¹ De Civ. Dei, l. 18. c. 28. contr. Faust. l. 22. c. 89. ² Ecce, Aquinas, Lyranus, Ribera.

442 *The Excellency and Perfection*

and thence infers the Reasonableness of preparing themselves for that last *Catastrophe* by a blameless Life and Conversation. All which is express'd in most apt and choice Words, and with that Concernedness and Zeal which became so Eminent an Apostle.

The *first Epistle of St. John* (which is called *Catholick* or *General*, as being written to all the Christian Jews wheresoever they were) is partly directed against Seducers and Impostors (whom he calls *Antichrists*) risen up in those Days, who subverted the Fundamentals of Religion, but more especially the Deity and Humanity of Christ, as the *Simonians*, *Gnosticks*, *Carpocratians*, *Cerintbians*, *Ebionians*, and others mention'd by ¹ *Epiphanius* and ² *Austin*: whence he adviseth the Christians to *try the Spirits*, and not to be too credulous and hasty in imbracing every Doctrine that is offer'd them. He hath observable Notices concerning the grand Privilege of Adoption, concerning the Love of the World, concerning the Sin unto Death. But the main Design of this Epistle is to urge a Godly and Righteous Life, to convince those who are called by Christ's Name of the Necessity of their walking answerably to it. Indeed this Apostle was forced (as *St. James* before was) to write on this Subject, to press Good Works and Outward Righteousness, because some in those Days turned the Grace of God into Licentiousness, making Faith exclude all External Acts and Works of Holiness. Wherefore he offers several Plain *Marks* and *Tokens* whereby they may certainly know whether they be Real Christians, truly Religious, and the Children of God. The Sum of all he propounds is
this,

¹ In Panario. ² De Hæresib.

this, that if they love God and their Brethren, and demonstrate this Love by the proper and genuine Fruits of it, then they may conclude they are Christians indeed; otherwise they are mere Strangers to Christianity, and to all Religion, they deceive themselves, and there is no Truth in them. This the Beloved Disciple and Divine Amorist inculcates with that Spirit, Warmth and Earnestness, which so Weighty a Subject deserves.

His *second Epistle* is written to the *Elect Lady and her Children*, that is, saith St. ¹ Jerom, to some Eminent Select Church in *Asia*, and to all the Christians belonging to it; for *Κύρια* among the *Athenians*, and *Curia* with the *Romans*, are of the same Import with *ὁ κληρονομία* an Assembly. Perhaps *Ephesus* is meant, saith a ² Learned Man, which was the Metropolis of *Asia*, and so may more signally be call'd *Κύρια*. But it is the general Opinion of the Antients and Moderns, that a *Person*, not a *Church*, is meant here; and that St. *John* (the Evangelist, not another *Presbyter* of that Name, as St. ³ Jerom thinks) writes to a *Vertuous Lady*, who was an *Elect* Servant of Christ, a very Godly and Religious Woman: or it may be her Proper Name was *Elect*, as a Learned Critick hath conjectured: Which may seem the more probable, because the word hath no *Article* prefix'd to it. It was usual with our Saviour himself (as the Evangelical Writings inform us) to make his Applications to those of this Sex, to cherish and commend their Vertues. It is particularly recorded, that ⁴ of the Chief Women (afterwards call'd ⁵ Honourable Women) not a few

¹ Epist. 11. ad Agerach. ² Dr. Hammond in loc. ³ Catalog. Scrip. Eccles. ⁴ *Ἐλεγκται*, sine articulo. Pricus in Apoc. in loc. ⁵ Acts 17. 4. ⁶ Ver. 12.

444 *The Excellency and Perfection*

few were St. Paul's Profelytes. And to descend lower, we read that St. Jerom took great Pains in instructing the *Roman* Ladies, and in commending and encouraging their Study of the Holy Scriptures. Yea, many of his Writings were directed and dedicated to Noble Women, Widows and Virgins, as *Paula*, *Eustochium*, *Salvina*, *Celantia*, and several others that were Roman Ladies, and of noble Extraction. Such is our *Elect* here, who is the only Person of that Sex to whom an *Inspired Epistle* is written. She is commended for her virtuous bringing up her Children, she is exhorted to abide in the Doctrine of Christ, to persevere in the Truth, and to be careful to avoid all Delusions of False Teachers. But chiefly the Apostle beseecheth this Noble Matron to practise the great and indispensable Commandment of Christian Love and Charity.

His *third Epistle* was writ to *Gaius*, a Converted Jew, (or *Gentile*, as others think, because he hath a *Roman* Name) a Man of a fair Estate, and who had been very bountiful and hospitable to the Saints. The Design of the Epistle is to own and commend his Hospitality, especially his seasonable Beneficence and Charity to Strangers, to those that were Exiles for the Cause of Christianity, and to stir him up to continue in the Exercise of the same Charity and Liberality to the distressed Brethren. *Demetrius* is propounded as an eminent Example of this, for which and all other Vertues he had the good Report of all Men, yea and of the Truth it self; that is, as he was spoken well of by every one, so he really deserv'd it. On the other side, he complains of the Uncharitable, Insolent and Ambitious *Diotrephes*, a Prating Opposer not only of him and his Doctrine, but of all the true Servants of *Jesus*.

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The *General Epistle of Jude or Judas*, as we render it in *John* 14. 22. (it being the same Name with that of the *Traitor*, for it is no unusual thing for good and bad Men to have the same Names; as in the Old Testament *Eliab, Jehu, Hananiah, &c.* in the New Testament *Simon, John, Ananias*, are instances of this). This Epistle, I say, of this Good Apostle with a Bad Man's Name was written to all Christian Churches, or at least to all the *Jewish Christians Dispersed*; (the same to whom St. James and St. Peter wrote) wherein he exhorts them to contend for the Faith, against those *Dreaming Hereticks and Seducers* that were at that time crept into the Church, whose Erroneous Tenents and Ungodly Practices he here particularly deciphers, and from the Examples of God's Vengeance on other Great Offenders infers the Certainty of these Mens Ruine. In short, this Epistle hath all the Marks of a true Apostolick Spirit, and is of the same Argument with the second Epistle of St. Peter, and is a kind of Epitome of it: and therefore I need not be very Particular in rehearsing the Contents.

The last Book of the *New Testament* is the *Revelation of St. John the Divine*, which Epithet is signally given to him here, because of the Divinity and Sublimity of his Raptures, because he (of all the Apostles) had the greatest Communications of Divine Mysteries. It may be referr'd either to the *Historical Books* or to the *Epistles*; to the former, because it is a *Prophetick History* of the State of the Church from the Apostles times to the end of the World: to the latter, because it is in the Form of an *Epistle*, (after the three first Verses, by way of Preface) viz. to the Seven Churches of *Asia*, at first planted by, and now under the Government

446 *The Excellency and Perfection*

vernment of *St. John*: and as it begins, so it ends after the usual way of concluding Epistles, *The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen.* Concerning the precise time when *St. John* receiv'd, and when he wrote this *Revelation*, there is some Dispute: but the most probable (if not the most generally received) Opinion is, that he being banish'd into *Patmos* (an Isle in the *Archipelago*, situated about forty Miles from the Continent of *Asia*) by *Domitian*, (under whom was the *Second Persecution*) this *Revelation* was deliver'd to him about the middle of the Emperor's Reign, (but at several times) and that he committed it to Writing about the latter end of it. As to the *Visions* themselves, I will not here particularly insist upon any of them; only in general it is commonly said and believed, that the Vision of the *Seals* sets forth the State of the Church under the *Heathen Persecutions*, from *Nero* to the end of *Dioclesian's* Persecution: the Vision of the *Trumpets* (which follows that) shews the Calamity of the Church by Heresies, Schisms and Persecutions afterwards, in the times succeeding the Pagan Roman Emperors, viz. under *Papacy*. And then the *Vials* tell what Vengeance befalls the *Papal Antichrist*, and all the Churches Enemies. So that the *Seals*, *Trumpets* and *Vials* give an Account of the three Grand Periods of the Church. There is great Probability of this: but I must add, (and I will offer it to the Reader as a thing necessary to be taken notice of in order to the right understanding of this Book) that the Order of Time and History is not always observ'd here: things are not related constantly in a certain continued Method and Series, nor are we to understand or take them as written so. A great and prevailing *Mistake* it hath been to think that

that the Course and Order of Time are duly and all along observ'd in these Writings. Whereas to a considerate Person it will appear that there is no such thing, and that the Chapters are not writ and disposed in any Method.

This, because it may be look'd upon and censured as a New Notion, I will make good thus; the *Day of Judgment* is represented and described three or four times in these Visions and Revelations, as first at the opening of the Sixth Seal, *ch. 6. v. 12*, to the end: where the Description of the Last Day agrees exactly with others in the New Testament, especially that of our Saviour in *Mat. 24.* and therefore to allegorize it, where there is no Occasion for it, is unreasonable. If it be said, that *the Disorder of the Sun, Moon and Stars* (which is here spoken of) signifies sometimes temporal Judgments, as the Destruction of *Babylon*, *Isa. 13. 10.* and of *Egypt*, *Ezek. 32. 7.* I answer, that though it doth so, yet these Remarkable Judgments and Devastations were Figures and Representations of the Last and Terrible one, and were so design'd by Heaven, and therefore this may well be set forth to us by the Holy Ghost in this manner: nay, *the darkning of the Sun and Moon*, and the like Expressions, are but *Metaphorical* in those former Instances, but here are Proper, Natural and Real, and therefore ought so to be understood in this Place. Again, *St. John* hath another Revelation of this *Great Day*, in the End of the *11th* Chapter, from *ver. 15*, to the Close of the Chapter: but especially those plain Words in *ver. 18.* *Thy Wrath is come, and the time of the Dead that they should be judged*, place it beyond all doubt that the *Final Judgment* of the last Day is here meant. Again, the Seventh Vial mention'd, *Rev. 16. 17.* which

448 *The Excellency and Perfection*

which contains the Last Plague, is no other than the Indignation and Punishment of That Day, as appears from the Prodigies which accompany it, and particularly from what is said, *ver. 20. Every Island fled away, and the Mountains were not found*, which expresse the terrible Dissolution of the World at that time. Besides that it is observable in the Conclusion of the preceding *Vial*, which made way for this last, that Christ saith, *I come as a Thief*, v. 15. which manner of Expression is particularly applied and made use of when the *Day of Judgment* is spoken of, *Mat. 24. 43. 1 Thess. 5. 2, 4. 2 Pet. 3. 10.* And lastly, in the 20th Chapter, from the 11th Verse to the end, there is another Vision of this Last and General Appearance of the World, as is universally acknowledg'd by Interpreters, and therefore we need not stand to clear it. Now from all this it is evident, that there is not observed in the Visions of this Book an *Historical Order* or *Course of Time*; for if there were, the General Day of Doom, which is the last thing of all, could not be represented here three or four times: This must have come in the shutting up of all, when all other things were past, whereas now we see it is represented in the Beginning, in the Middle, and in the End of these *Revelations*: Which, if it be well attended to, is one admirable Key to open the Secrets of this Book, for hence we understand that this Prophecy is not (what it hath been thought to be) one Entire Historical Narration of what shall be, and that first one thing is foretold, and then what follows that in time is next set down, and so on in order. No; the Day of Judgment being thrice at least inserted, shews, that the Visions of this Book end, and then begin again, and then have a Period, and commence again,

again, and after that the same or the like Scene is opened, and things of the same Nature are repeated. Which is a most evident Argument that this Book consists of Three or Four Grand Prophecies, or Prophetick Representations of the Condition of Christ's Church from the time when this was penned to the Consummation of all things. Here are represented by different Types, Prophetick Symbols and Visions, the most remarkable things which happen on the Stage of the World, and they are these three, the *Troubles and Persecutions* which befall the Servants of the most High, the *Deliverance* of them out of those Trials, and God's *final Punishing* of their Enemies. These you will find set forth and illustrated by diverse Schemes and Apparitions, by different and reiterated Representations. And the Reason why things, tho' the same, are diversly represented, *i. e.* in different Visions over and over again, and why they are express'd in different Terms and Words, the Reason (I say) why they are so often repeated, is, because they so often come to pass in the several Ages of the World by the wise Disposal of Providence. These Prophecies have been, and they shall be yet fulfilled: for the State of the Church, as to the Cruelty of its Enemies and Persecutors, and the Wonderful Deliverance from them, and Avenging their Cause upon their Heads, is the same in different Ages, until the time when *Babylon* shall fall, and never rise again. To use the Words of a most Eminent and Learned Bishop of our own; "One may easily see (saith he) that *Rome* is here intended; and not *Pagan* but *Christian Rome*, which is degenerated into an Idolatrous

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450 *The Excellency and Perfection*

“*latrous and Tyrannical State. It is easy to see*
 “*in the Book of the Revelation, that the Roman*
 “*Church is doomed in due time to Destruction.*”

You see then how Useful this Book is, you may be convinc'd of the Truth of what is said in the Beginning of it, *Blessed is he that readeth, and they that bear the Words of this Prophecy, ch. 1. v. 3.* Tho we cannot so clearly descry the *Particular and Individual Things, Times and Persons* contain'd in it, tho this last Book of the Holy Scripture be in this Respect the *Obscurest* of them all; tho in some Places there be as many *Mysteries* as Words, yet thus far it is properly *Revelation*, that herein the State of the Christian Church, and the Particular Methods of God's Providence towards it in all times are plainly revealed and discovered to us plainly, I say, because they are so often repeated, that it is impossible to mistake them. As *Pharaoh's Dream* was doubled to shew the Certainty of the things represented, *Gen. 41. 32.* so these Prophecies and Visions are doubled, and tribbled; yet more than so, to assure us of the Certain Truth and Reality of these Events, to confirm us in this Perswasion, that tho the Church of Christ here on Earth be often troubled and persecuted, yet she hath her times of *Restoration* and *Reviving*, and there is a time of *Vengeance* and *Récompence* to her Enemies, even in this World, but more especially at the Close of it, when Christ shall come to Judgment.

Thus I have attempted to evince the *Perfection of Scripture* by enumerating *all the Books of both TESTA-MENTS*, and giving you a brief Account of them. These Excellent and Incomparable Books are the

Truth

* Tot habet sacramenta quor verba. Hieron. Ep. ad Paulin. de lib. *Apocalyp.*

True Pandects indeed, the Books that comprehend all, that treat of every thing that is necessary. They are the most Valuable Collection of Writings under Heaven, they are of all the Books in the World the most worthy of all Acceptation, because they are our Infallible Rule and Surest Guide to Wisdom, Holiness and Blessedness, to the Attainment of the most Desirable Things here, and of the most Eligible hereafter. If this and all that I have said before do not prove them to be *Complete and Perfect*, I despair of ever telling you what will.

C H A P. XI.

None of the Books of the Holy Scripture are lost: Not the Book of the Covenant: Nor the Book of the Wars of the Lord: Nor the Book of Jasher: Nor the Acts of Uzziah. An Account of the Book of Samuel the Seer, the Book of Nathan the Prophet, the Book of Gad the Seer, the Book of Iddo, the Books of Shemaiah, Jehu, &c. What is to be thought concerning the Books of Solomon, mention'd 1 Kings 4. 32. 33. Objections drawn from Jam. 4. 5. from Luke 11. 49. from Acts 20. 35. from Jude v. 14. from 1 Cor. 5. 9. from Col. 4. 16. fully satisfied. Other Objections from 1 Cor. 7. 6, 12, 25. 2 Cor. 8. 8. & 11. 17. particularly answer'd.

BUt tho this be a clear and demonstrated Truth, yet it is question'd and doubted of by some. Wherefore the *Fourth General Undertaking* which I propounded was this, to clear the Point of those *Objections*, which are wont to be brought

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452 *The Excellency and Perfection*

against it, and to shew that notwithstanding these the *Perfection of Scripture is unshaken*.

First, Some tell us that there is a considerable Number of Books mention'd or quoted in Scripture, as the *Book of the Covenant*, the *Book of the Wars of the Lord*, the *Book of Jasher*, &c. which seem to have been once a Part of this Holy Volume, but now are lost. Among the Fathers ' *St. Chrysostom* (who is followed by *Theophilact*) is of this Opinion. *Bellarmino* and several of the Papists hold it. Yea, some Protestants acknowledg as much: *Calvin* and *Musculus*, and our *Whitaker* incline this way. And *Drusius* is very angry with any Man that denies that there any Books of Holy Scripture missing. Now, if this be true, there is ground to complain of a *Defect* and *Imperfection* in the Sacred Writings, by reason of the loss of these Books. That therefore which I am to undertake here, is to shew that there are no Books mentioned in Scripture, as belonging to it, but what are now to be found in it, and are really a Part of it, and consequently that the Holy Writings are not Defective, that the Body of Sacred Scripture is not Maimed and Imperfect.

First, As to the *Book of the Covenant* mention'd in *Exod. 24. 7.* which some fancy is lost, it is not any distinct Book from the *Body of the Jewish Law*. If we impartially weigh the Place, we shall find that it is no other than a Collection, or Volume of those several Injunctions and Institutions which we read in the foregoing Chapters (*viz. 20, 21, 22, 23.*) which God delivered to *Moses* on the Mount. It is the very same with the *Book of the Law*, *Deut. 31. 9.* That which hath caused a different Per-

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¹ Hom. 9. in *Matth.* & Hom. 7. in 1 *Ep. ad Corinth.*

swation in some is this, that these Laws are call'd a *Book*: but I shall make it evident afterwards that this Appellation is of a great latitude, and is applied to any sort of *Writing* by the Hebrews.

Secondly, As for the *Book of the Wars of the Lord*, Numb. 21. 14. which is thought to be now wanting, the Answer given by some is, that this was an *Apo-cryphal* Author, and so cannot be said to belong to the *Holy Scriptures*, and consequently the loss of this Book doth not argue the *Imperfection* of the Bible. But tho this way of Solution be tolerable, when made use of as to some Other Books hereafter mentioned, yet I think there is no need at all of using it here, because it is not unlikely, according to the Judgment of our ' Learned *English Rabbi*, that *Moses* refers here to *himself*, and a *Book* of his own composing; for we read that upon the Discomfiture of *Amalek* God commanded *Moses* to write it for a *Memorial* in a *Book*, Exod. 17. 14. and (as it follows) to rehearse it in the Ears of *Joshua*. So that it may seem to have been some *Book of Directions* written by *Moses* for *Joshua's* managing of the Wars after him. Thus this Learned Writer makes this *Book* only to be of private use, and dictated by an Ordinary, not a Divine Spirit: wherefore it cannot be one of the Books of the Bible. And if this be true, then though it be lost, yet no Canonical Scripture is lost hereby. But from what I shall propound, I think it will be found reasonable to believe that the *Book* in this Place mention'd is one of the received Books of the Old Testament, i. e. it is the *Book of Judges*, which deservedly hath the Name of the *Book of the Wars of the Lord*, because it recounts

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454 The Excellency and Perfection

those Warlike Enterprizes which those Heroick Spirits stirr'd up by God in an extraordinary Manner were famous for. Or *Milchamoth Jehovab*, the Wars of the Lord, are as much as the Great, Wonderful and Renowned Wars (for perhaps the Name of God is used here, as in several other Place, to augment the Sense, and to express the Greatness and Excellency of the Thing) fought by the Valiant Jews. To any one that consults the Text together with the 26th v. of that Chapter, it will plainly appear that this Passage particularly refers to the 11th Chapter of Judges, v. 15, 16, 17. But if you ask how Moses, who was dead long before, could write this? I answer, though he undoubtedly writ the Book of Numbers, as well as the rest of the Pentateuch, yet some few Passages in this and the other Books may reasonably be supposed to be inserted afterwards by some other Inspired Persons, as I have had Occasion to advertise before. *Exra*, it is likely, revising this Book, added this of what God did in the Red Sea, and at the Brooks of Arnon. And to give yet more ample Satisfaction to this Scruple, I desire it may be observed, that though we translate the Text thus, *It is said in the Book of the Wars*, &c. yet in the Original the Verb is in the future Tense, *אמר ידע-* *tur*, it shall be said: and so we may look upon it as a Prophecy of Moses. He here foretels that afterwards it shall be commemorated how God fought for his People. When there shall be at solemn Times a Rehearsal of the Jewish Wars, then this Passage shall be call'd to mind and made mention of. And then we must look upon these two Verses, not as cited out of the *Book of Judges*, but proposed to be inserted there afterwards. The plain Answer then is, that the *Book of the Wars of the Lord*

in the Book of Judges, together with that of Joshua, where are related the Particulars of the Holy War, i.e. the War of the Jews against the Infidels, and that in one of these it shall be particularly remembered and recorded what God did in the Red Sea, and in the Brooks of Arnon, &c. and accordingly we find it inserted in the forecited Place in Judges. Thus you see it can't be proved hence that the Church hath lost any Part of the Book of God.

Another Book said by some to be lost is the Book of Jasher, mention'd in Josh. 10. 13. & 2 Sam. 1. 18. But some of the most-celebrated Hebrew Doctors say they have found it, telling us that it is the Book of Genesis, wherein are contain'd the Acts of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and other Patriarchs, who were by way of Excellence call'd Jashirim, Recti, Justi. But surely that Man is easily satisfied who can acquiesce in this. Dr. Lightfoot holds the Book of Jasher to be the same with that which I asserted the Book of the Wars of God to be: But there is little Foundation for it, for though the particular Narrative of the Sun's standing still, be in the Book of Jasher, (as we learn from the Text) yet there is no intimation that all Joshua's Wars, or the Wars of the Israelites were registered there. This Book was according to the Excellent *Grotius* an ἐπὶ νίκῃ, a *Triumphal Poem*, in which שָׂרָא was for the Verse sake contracted into שָׂר. But though this be very Ingenious, yet it wants solidity, and it is not probable that the Word would be twice mention'd (i.e. both in the Book of Joshua, and in the 2d Book of Samuel) in its Abbreviated Form. The Learned *Jewish Historian* seems to me to bid fairest for Truth, who

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* Annot. in 2 Sam. 1. 18.

* Antiqu. l. 5 c. 2.

456 *The Excellency and Perfection*

saith by this *Book* are to be understood certain Records kept in some safe Place on purpose, and afterwards in the Temple, giving an Account of what happen'd among the Jews from Year to Year, and particularly the Prodigy of the *Sun's standing still*, and the Directions and Laws about the *Use of the Bow*, i. e. setting up of Archery, and maintaining Military Exercises. And if it be ask'd why the Title given to these Jewish Annals was the *Book of Jasher*, i. e. *Recti*, this may be rendered as a probable Reason, *viz.* because it was by all Persons reckon'd as a very *Faithful* and *Authentick* Account of all those Events and Occurrences which it recorded, it was composed with great *Uprightness* and *Truth*: Thence it was commonly known by the Name of *Jasher's Book* or *Chronicle*. And if you remember that *Jasher* is translated *αληθινος* by the *Seventy* in several Places of the Book of *Job*, it will further confirm what I say, and induce us to believe that *Jasher's Book* is as much as a *True Book*, a Book that is not counterfeited. It was not the Work of any Inspired Person, but was of the Nature of Common Civil *Annals*: and consequently we cannot infer hence that any Book properly belonging to the *Holy Scripture*, i. e. that was written by Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, is at this Day missing.

Again, some reckon the *Acts of Uzziah* written by *Isaiah the Prophet*, 2 Chron. 26. 22. in the Catalogue of such Books of Scripture as are lost. But they have little reason to do so, for by those Words is plainly meant that Part of the Life and History of that King which we now have in the Prophecy of *Isaiah*, for the first six Chapters are a Relation of what was done in his Days. They give an Account of several Passages which belong to

to the Church and State in that King's Reign. And *Isaiah* is truly said in the foremention'd Place in the *Chronicles* to have written his *Acts* first and last, because you will find that the Prophecy of *Isaiah* begins at the Days of *Uzziah*, v. 1. and the sixth Chapter relates what happen'd in the Year that King *Uzziah* died, v. 1. So that something of what was first and last in his Time is here recorded. This I look upon as a very substantial and satisfactory Answer to the Scruple about that Place.

Also, some would infer from 1 *Chron.* 29. 29. that all the Canonical Books of the Bible are not extant at this Day, because there is mention of the Book of *Samuel the Seer*, and the Book of *Nathan the Prophet*, and the Book of *Gad the Seer*, in which it is said, all *David's Acts* were written. But no such Inference can rationally be made: only this we gather (which is the Solution of the Difficulty) that *Nathan* and *Gad* as well as *Samuel* compiled the History that goes under the Name of this last: and because it was made by them all three, therefore it is represented here as three different Books. But the true Account is that those two Books in the Old Testament which bear the Name of *Samuel*, were written partly by him (the greatest Part of the first Book relating things that happen'd in his time) and partly by *Nathan*, and partly by *Gad*, two eminent Prophets in those Days, and who survived *Samuel*.

Then as to 2 *Chron.* 9. 29. where we are told that *Solomon's Acts* were written not only in the Book (*Hebr. Dibrim, the Words*, as the Book of *Chronicles* is call'd the *Words of Days*) of *Nathan*, (of which before) but in the Prophecy of *Abijah the Shilonite*, and in the Visions of *Iddo the Seer*, which last are call'd

458 *The Excellency and Perfection*

call'd *Midrash*, the *Story* or *Commentary* of the *Prophet Iddo*, Chap. 13. v. 22. And as to 2 *Cbron.* 12. 15. where we read also of this *Book of Iddo the Seer*, and of *Shemaiah the Prophet*, in which it is said, *Rehoboam's Acts were written*, the Answer which I give relating to these Books in brief is this, that few of them, if any, are different from those of the *Kings*, but are only a Part of them, though they are here spoken of as *Distinct Books*, and that for this reason, because that individual Part of the *Story*, viz. concerning *Solomon* and *Rehoboam*, is quoted, which these particular Persons here named wrote. You must know then that this *Historical Part* of the *Old Testament* was the *Work* of several Persons, it was a *Collection* made by sundry *Prophets* and *Holy Men*, as *Samuel*, *Nathan*, *Gad*, *Abijah*, *Iddo*, *Shemaiah*; and the Books which they wrote are called the *Books of Samuel*, and the *Books of the Kings*, and are generally known by these Names; but when those *Parts* of them which were particularly inserted and written by *Samuel himself*, or *Nathan*, &c. are quoted or referr'd to in the *Books of the Chronicles*, they are mentioned as *Distinct Books*: the meaning of which is, that they are *Distinct Parts* of such a *History*, and wrote by such *Particular Persons*, who altogether made up that *Historical Part* of the *Bible*. Those *Books* then (for so the *Hebrews* call any *Writings*) which those Authors above-named wrote are not lost, as some imagine, but are still extant in the *Bible*, for they are *Parts* of the *Books of Samuel* and the *Kings*. This Answer is grounded on 1 *Cbron.* 29. 29. *The Acts of David the King first and last, behold, they are written in the Book (or History) of Samuel, and in the Book of Nathan the Prophet, &c.* which shews that the foresaid Books were a *Collection* made by several

several Prophets, viz. Samuel, Natban, Gad, &c. This I think is very plain, and the foresaid Objection is wholly removed by it.

Then, as to the rest of those Books which are said to be lost, as the *Sayings of the Seers*, 2 Chron. 33. 19. and the *Book of the Acts of Solomon*, 1 Kings 11. 41. and the *Book of Jehu the Son of Hanani*, 2 Chron. 20. 34. or any other which the *Objectors* mention, it is granted by some very Sober Writers (not only Foreigners but of our own Country) that these Books are really lost, but they deny that this is any Argument of the *Imperfection of Scripture*, because these Books were not absolutely necessary, neither are we certain that they were Divinely endited. And this was the Opinion of the *Antients* as well as the *Moderns*. Yea St. *Chrysostom* and some others of the *Fathers* who speak of these Books, say positively that they were not written by Inspiration from Heaven. To this Purpose St. *Augustine* hath this useful Distinction, 'the Penmen of the Sacred Scripture (saith he) write some things as they are Men with Historical Care and Diligence, other things they write as Prophets by Inspiration from God. This then may satisfy us that all that was written by the Prophets, and even by those Holy Men who were Authors of some Part of the Bible, was not *Canonical* and *Divine*; because they writ some things not as Inspired Persons, but as meer Historians. Some of *this* sort of Writings are referr'd to in the forecited Places; and though they be not extant now, yet the *Scripture* is not hereby rendered *Imperfect*, because these were not such

¹ Alia sicut homines historicâ diligentia, alia sicut Prophetarum inspiratione divinâ, De Civ. Dei l. 28. c. 38.

460 *The Excellency and Perfection*

such Parts of it as were Essential to it, or were of Divine Inspiration. The like may be said when in the *Book of Kings* there is frequent reference to the *Book of Chronicles*; those of the Bible are not always meant, being not then penned: Besides that many things that are referr'd unto there are not found in these Books. Wherefore it is probable that these were *Additional Writings*, not belonging to the Body of the Canonical Scripture, nor written by Persons that were Inspired, and consequently though they are lost, yet the Canon of the Bible is not impaired. And indeed we find that those of the *Protestant Perswasion* (as *Whitaker, Willet, &c.* and among Foreigners, *Calvin, Beza, &c.*) who acknowledg the loss of these Books, do at the same time strongly assert the *Perfection of the Holy Scriptures*: which they very consistently may do, because they hold these Books to be no part of the *Canon of the Bible*.

Again, if what we have said be not fully satisfactory, this may be further added, that the Complaint of the Loss of some Books of Holy Writ proceeds from the mistaking of the Word *Sepher*, which is translated a *Book*, but among the *Hebrews* is oftentimes no more than a *Rehearsal* or *Commemoration* of something, a brief *Narrative* or *Memoir*, a setting down any thing in Writing, as you'll find in these following Places, *Num.* 5. 23. *Josh.* 18. 9. *1 Sam.* 10. 25. *Esth.* 9. 20. *Isa.* 30. 8. *Jer.* 32. 12, 14. And sometimes it is nothing but a meer *Genealogy*, as *Gen.* 5. 1. *The Book of the Generations of Adam*. So *St. Matthew* begins his Gospel, *The Book of the Generation of Jesus Christ*, *Mat.* 1. 1. i. e. his *Genealogy* or *Pedigree*, a brief *Enumeration* of the Persons he descended from, which is the proper Denotation of the Word *Sepher*,

pher, from *Saphar*, *numerare*, *retensere*, whence *Siphra* or *Cipbra*, a Word that is used in most Languages. Some not attending to this have fancied that a great many Books of the Sacred Writ are embezzled, because they do not find such Formal Books as those of *Jebu*, or of the *Acts* of Solomon, &c. now belonging to the Bible. This arises from a misunderstanding of the *Hebrew Word*, which signifies generally any Short kind of *Writing* or *Memorandum*. This, with the Answer before given, will solve all Doubts concerning the Places afore alledged.

As to the common Objection concerning the Loss of Solomon's Books, which are said to be mentioned in 1 Kings 4. 32, 33. I answer; 1. That when some call them Books, it is more than they can prove: it is not said that Solomon wrote, but that he *spake of Trees*, and *spake of Beasts*, &c. i. e. he learnedly discoursed of these several Subjects upon occasion, and *spake* such a Number of *Proverbs*. Here can be no Loss of Books then. But, 2. Suppose he committed these Disquisitions and Discourses to Writing, and that they are now lost, (it may be consumed when *Nebuchadnezzar* burnt *Jerusalem*, or by some other Means imbezzled afterwards) yet still this is nothing to the purpose, because they were no Part of *Canonical Scripture*. His Universal *History of Vegetables*, from the Cedar even to the Hyssop that grows out of the Wall, and his Books of the Nature of all *Animals* in the Sea, on the Land, and in the Air, appertained to *Philosophy*, and might indeed have serv'd to have set up a *Royal Society*, and have been advantageous to the Men who are employ'd in the Study of Nature; for these questionless were full of Admirable Philosophy, according to that great and matchless Measure

fure of Wisdom which God had endued him with. Thus far the Loss of those Writings is great, but none but Philosophers ought to bewail it. Tho I must suggest this by the way, that perhaps there is no ground of complaining for them neither; for it may be these Books of *Plants* and *Animals* were extant till *Alexander the Great's* Days, and being perused and understood by *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus*, by the Help of an Interpreter, they were transcribed by them, and so set down as we find them in their Writings which have gain'd them so great Fame and Renown. This may be the more credible, especially as to *Aristotle*, because we read that he was a Great Plagiary, and burnt or otherwise made away those Writings from whence he borrowed his Notions. If this be true, it is likely we have these *Books of Solomon* extant still: in those forenamed Authors we read his *Natural History* concerning *Vegetables* and *Animals*. But as touching the *three thousand Proverbs* which he spake, it is most reasonable to believe that most of them were *only spoken*, not written down: and as for those that were penn'd, we have them at this Day in the *Book of Proverbs*, which is Part of the Canon of Scripture. There we have *those Proverbs* which the Holy Ghost saw to be most profitable and necessary for the Church: That one would think should content us. So as to his *Songs*, which were a *thousand and five*, (as we read in the fore-mentioned Place) there is but One of them that hath arrived at our Hands, and was thought worthy to be inserted into the Sacred Writings, unless we reckon the *Forty fifth Psalm* to be a *Song* of his. This then adds to the Excellency of these Writings of *Solomon* which we have, that they are Choice Pieces, selected even by the Holy Ghost, who

who was the Prime Author of them. This surely may satisfy us that the Books or Writings of this Wise Prince, which were most Excellent, and which were dictated by the Spirit, are transmitted to us, and are Part of the Bible. Thus there is nothing lost that belongs to the Canonical Scripture of the Old Testament.

And whereas it is *Objected* that some Places are quoted in the *New Testament* as taken out of the *Old*, and yet are not to be found there, as *Mat. 2. 13. James 4. 5. Jude, v. 14.* I answer as to the first, that from those Words, *That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Prophets, He shall be called a Nazarene*, no Man can gather that some of the Canonical Books of Scripture are missing; because if you take the *Prophets* here for Prophetick Men who spoke only, and did not write, then there were no Books of theirs to be lost. Or if by *Prophets* you understand the Penmen of the Bible, it may be shew'd that what they foretold is still extant in their Writings. For though those individual Words, *He shall be call'd a Nazarene*, are not found among the Prophecies of the Old Testament, yet the Purport and Sense of them are there, and the Places to which they have reference are very obvious, as I have shewed in that particular Interpretation of the Words which I have offered to the Publick in my *Enquiry into some Remarkable Texts of the New Testament*. Thence I hope it will appear that the *Objectors* have no ground for what they alledg, and also that the *Jews* Cavil against this Place of *St. Matthew*, where they say he quotes a Text out of the Prophets which is not to be found in any of them, is void of all Reason.

Another Place which is wont to be mention'd on this Occasion is *Jam. 4. 5. Do you think that the*
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Scripture saith in vain, *The Spirit that dwelleth in us lusteth to Envy?* Which Words are no where to be found in Scripture: therefore, say they, some Part of the Holy Writings is lost. And Sir N. Knatchbull seems to say, that this is a Passage taken out of the Writings of the Prophets which are missing at this Day. In answer to this some say that Gen. 6. 3. is the Place of Scripture here refer'd to; but after they have taken a great deal of Pains to make this out, their Labour is in vain, for surely no Man of free and unprejudiced Thoughts will be perswaded that those Words [*My Spirit shall not always strive with Man*] are of the same Import with these [*The Spirit that dwelleth in us lusteth to Envy*]. This Exposition is built upon a mistaken Notion of the Hebrew word *יִתְּנָה* contendet, (which our Translators truly render *shall strive*) some fancying that it is to be derived from *יָרֵךְ* a Sheath, and then forsooth the Soul or Spirit is a Sword. Lewis Chappel and some Others as groundlessly make these Words an Interrogation, *Doth the Spirit that dwelleth in us lust to Envy?* and think they refer to Numb. 11. 29. *Enviest thou for my sake?* The Question, say they, is a Negation, and is as much as if it had been said, *Doth the Scripture and the Holy Spirit teach you to contend, to be envious and quarrelsome?* No. But this likewise is forced and strained, and an impartial Eye cannot possibly see any Affinity between the two Places of Scripture; besides that there is one Interrogation to introduce another, which confounds the Style. The plain and unforced Answer is this, that St. James doth not here quote any Particular Place of Scripture, as if there were such express Words in the

^a Grotius and Hammond.

the *Old Testament* as are here set down by him. He only tells us what is generally deliver'd in Scripture, viz. that Man's Nature is depraved and corrupted; that it is enclined to Envy as well as to other Lusts and Unlawful Affections. Or, if any one Particular Place be referr'd to more than another, it is probable it is that of *Gen. 6. 5.* or *ch. 8. v. 21.* where we are told that *the Imaginations, or the Purposes and Desires of Mens Hearts are evil from their Youth, yea they are only evil, and that continually.* The Words then are not to be understood of the Divine Spirit, but of that Corrupt Spirit which is in Men, not *the Spirit which is of God,* but *the Spirit of the World,* as the Apostle Paul distinguisheth, *1 Cor. 2. 12.* This Spirit lusteth to Envy, and prompts Men to all other Vices. And for the next Words [*He giveth more Grace*] they refer not to *the Spirit* here spoken of, but to God, who, though he be not named in this Verse, is twice in the immediately foregoing one. *He giveth more Grace;* he, according to his good Pleasure, restrains Mens Lusts and envious Desires, and teacheth them Humility, Submission, and all other Divine Vertues. Or (according to a late *Worthy Critick*) it, i. e. the *Scripture, giveth more Grace,* for that it saith, &c. In this Holy Book there are Examples of some Persons in whom this Spirit of Envy was restrained. When the Apostle then here saith, *Do you think that the Scripture saith in vain?* &c. we must not wonder that those very Words are not found in any Part of the *Old Testament*; for the Apostle only speaks here of what may be deduced from these Sacred Writings, or what is said in them to the same purpose, though

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466 *The Excellency and Perfection*

in other Words. There are many Places of Scripture which speak of the *Lusts of that corrupt Spirit* which is in us, whereby we are stirr'd up to *Envy and Strife*. From several Texts we may gather that Man's Nature is prone to these and the like Passions. This I take to be the true Account of the Words.

In the same manner we are to understand *Luke 11. 49. Therefore said the Wisdom of God, I will send them Prophets and Apostles, &c.* There is no particular Text that hath these Words, but there are several Prophecies to this Purpose. So *Ephes. 5. 14. He saith, Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee Light.* is not meant of any such particular and individual Words, but of the Spirit's speaking in the Gospel to that Effect, though I know *Dr. Hammond* and others refer it to *Isa. 60. 1.* and some Interpreters to *Isa. 51. 9.* but you will not find these or such Words in either of those Places. That Passage in *Acts 20. 35. It is more blessed to give than to receive,* is recited as the Words of the Lord Jesus; yet we find them not recorded in the Gospel. But our Blessed Master frequently utter'd Words that were of the like Import, as is easy to prove: or rather (I conceive) we may truly say that he spoke this very Sentence, for it may be observ'd that what is here quoted is not only call'd the Words of the Lord Jesus, but this is added, [*how he said*] to let us know that he said these very Words when he was upon Earth. And many the like Excellent Sayings and Aphorisms he pronounced, which (as well as innumerable Actions that he did) were kept in remembrance by the Apostles, but were not written down, of which *St. John* speaks, *ch. 20. v. 30. & 21. 25.* So that it is impossible to prove hence that any Book belonging to the Sacred Canon is lost.

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As for the Objection grounded on St. Jude, v. 14. viz. that *Enoch's Book* which is quoted by this Apostle (and if it had not been Canonical, it would not have been quoted by him) is lost; some (as *Origen, Jerom, Augustine*) grant it to be so, but deny it to be Canonical, it being their Judgment that St. Jude might, if he thought fit, alledge an *Apocryphal Writer*. But according to my Apprehension the brief and satisfactory Answer is, that there is no mention there of any *Book or Writing of Enoch*, and therefore none can infer thence that any *Book or Writing* of his is lost. It is only said, *He prophesied, saying, &c.* which he might do, and questionless did, without penning down any of his *Prophetical Sayings*; but they were transmitted from Generation to Generation, and thence it was that the Apostle Jude inserted this into his Epistle: Nor are we to be concern'd that a *Book of Enoch* is mention'd by some of the Antient Writers of the Church, for 'tis well known that they had several *Spurious Authors* among them: and (as a Learned Doctor of the Sorbon observes) all the *Fathers*, except *Tertullian*, reckon this that went under the Name of *Enoch* as such.

But are not some of the Writings of the New Testament wanting, seeing there was a *Third Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians*, in order the first wrote unto you in an Epistle not to keep Company with Fornicators, 1 Cor. 5. 9. Therefore it appears hence that there was another before this which passes commonly for the first: But this is not extant, for we have now but two that bear the Name of that Blessed Apostle. *Ans.* Nor were there ever any more, for when he saith *he wrote to them in an Epistle,*

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468 The Excellency and Perfection

He means this very First Epistle he was now writing. He refers to what he had said before in the former Part of that Chapter; and the meaning is, When I even now wrote unto you in this Epistle, *ver. 2. not to keep Company with Fornicators*, I do not mean the Fornicators of this World. Thus St. Chrysostom and Theophylact interpret the Place. But, if I may be permitted to vary from those Excellent Fathers, I would propound one of these two ways of understanding the Apostle's Words. First, it may be he hath reference here to what he saith afterwards in this Epistle, *ch. 6. v. 13. and again, v. 18. & ch. 7. v. 2. where he writes to them to avoid Fornication*. Wherefore upon reading over this Epistle, after he had finished it, he thought good to insert this, and to take notice here of what he saith afterwards, *ἐγχατα ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ*, I have (saith he) written to you in this Epistle, *viz.* in some of the following Chapters against Fornication, and joining your selves to Persons that are noted for that Vice. Or else conceive the word *ἐγχατα* is put for *γεαφα* (the Preterit for the present Tense, of which there are very near an hundred Instances in the New Testament: and all Men vers'd in Criticism know that there is nothing more common). Thus *ἐγχατα* is used in this very Epistle, *ch. 9. v. 15. [Neither have I written these things] i. e. at this time, in this Epistle that I am now writing*. This any Man, that consults the Context, will be forc'd to acknowledg to be the true Sense of the Place; whence it appears that *ἐγχατα* is equivalent with *γεαφα*. So you will find the Word must be taken in the 1st Epistle of St. John, 2d Chapter: you will see and be thoroughly convinced that *γεαφα ὑμῖν*, *v. 12, 13.* is expressed by *ἐγχατα ὑμῖν*, *v. 14,*

21. And thus in the Text that is before us ἔγραψα ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ is no other than γράφω ὑμῖν, &c. I write unto you in this Epistle not to, &c. Which that it ought to be rendred so is evident from ver. 11. (which is but a Repetition or Reassumption of this) ἔγραψα, now I write unto you: the Adverb ἔνι shews that it is spoken of the Present Instant Time, though the Greek Verb be in the Præterit. This then I offer as the plain Sense of the Text and Context, I write unto you, O Corinthians, in this my Letter, not to be mingled (so the Word properly denotes) with Fornicators, or with the Covetous, or Extortioners, or Idolaters, for then you must needs go out of the World (there being so great a Multitude of them): but this is that which I mean, that you should avoid the Company of a Brother (i. e. a professed Christian) if he be given to Fornication, Covetousness, Extortion, or Idolatry. This is the Thing which I at this time write and signify to you. So that you see ἔγραψα is instead of γράφω: the simple and plain Tenour of the Words may convince any Man of it. And therefore the true and genuine Translation both of the former and latter ἔγραψα is I write: which makes the Apostle's Sense clear and perspicuous. I appeal to any Man of Judgment and Sagacity, whether this Account of the Words be not exactly adjusted to Grammar and Criticism, to the Scope of the Apostle, and the Design of the Context: besides that it is serviceable to the Business in hand, viz. utterly to overthrow the Surmise of an Epistle written to the Corinthians before this which the Apostle is here writing. If the Learned *Drusus*, or the Excellent *Grotius* had weighed these things which I have suggested, I doubt not but they would have chang'd their Minds; they would not have cried out that this Epistle here spoken of is lost.

470 The Excellency and Perfection

But it is further said, that the Apostle writ an Epistle to the *Laodiceans*, as may be collected from Col. 4. 16. which is wanting at this Day, that is, although it be extant, and allowed of by some Authors, yet it is not put into the Canon of the *New Testament*; wherefore the Canon is Imperfect. I answer, 1. It is true there is an Epistle to the *Laodiceans*, which goes under St. Paul's Name, but it is generally voted to be Spurious and Counterfeited. 2. The Apostle in that Place to the *Colossians* speaks not of an Epistle to the *Laodiceans*, but from *Laodicea*, for ἐκ λαοδικείας cannot conveniently be translated otherwise. Yet I know not how it comes to pass that so sharp a Critick as Sir N. Knatchbull holds it was an Epistle written by the Apostle to the *Laodiceans*, and saith it is lost. His Critical Genius fail'd him here, for ἐκ λαοδικείας carries no such Sense with it. As he himself illustrates the Phrase, it should be an Epistle not to but of the *Laodiceans*, for he saith this way of speaking is frequent, as τινὲς τῶν ἐκ τοῦ συναγῶγος, some of the Synagogue; οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἱερέων, some of the Faithful; οἱ ἐκ τῶν ὁσίων, the Stoicks, or those that belong'd to the *Stoa*. According to this Idiom which this Learned Gentleman alledgeth, ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἐκ λαοδικείας should be an Epistle of the *Laodiceans*, and then 'tis nothing to his purpose, unless he could have proved that of the *Laodiceans* or of *Laodicea* is the same with to *Laodicea*. Ἐκ τῆς λαοδικείας is rendred by the Old Latin *ex qua est Laodicensium*, which Version this Learned Man produces and applauds as if it were on his side: but I conceive the Import of the Latin is not what he represents it to be, viz. the Epistle which was written to the *Laodiceans* by the Apostle. At least there is no necessity of making this Construction, for it may as well signi-

by an Epistle written from Laodicea by the Apostle. If it be demanded, what Epistle this was? and consequently, what Epistle is here meant? The Answer is, that it is probable it is the first Epistle to Timothy, that being written from Laodicea, as you will find in the Close of it. Or, 3. if he speaks of an Epistle brought to the Colossians from Laodicea, it being wrote to the Christians of that Place by St. Paul, it may be the Epistle to the Ephesians, because Laodicea was a Church within the Circuit of the Ephesian Church, which was the Metropolitan of all Asia. And Ephesus being the chief City of this Proconsular Asia, this Epistle may refer to all the Province. As to the Ground and Occasion of producing an Epistle to the Laodiceans, perhaps it was this, St. Paul order'd that his Epistle to the Colossians should be read in the Church of the Laodiceans, which was near to Colosse, Col. 4. 16. And we must remember this, that though Colosse was a considerable City, yet Laodicea was more considerable in that Province. But it is likely there were more Christians in the former than in the latter; and that moved the Apostle to direct his Epistle to the Colossians; but withal he enjoins it to be read in the Church of Laodicea, the chief City. Now, it being read there, it was said to be an Epistle to the Laodiceans, whence in time some feigned this Epistle which is now extant. This I conceive may be the Cause of the Mistake and Forgery. Lastly, if after all we should suppose (though I see no Reason for it) that the Epistle which St. Paul here speaks of is lost, yet if the Substance of it be contain'd in the Other Epistles, or in the rest of the Books of the New Testament which we have, the Scripture is not maimed: and therefore the Objectors have no Reason to cavil against it as Imperfect and Defective.

472 The Excellency and Perfection

But an *Objection* of another Nature is shaped out of 1 Cor. 7. 6. *I speak this of Permission, and not of Commandment: And v. 12. To the rest speak I, not the Lord: And v. 25. I have no Commandment of the Lord, yet I give my Judgment: And 2 Cor. 8. 8. I speak not by Commandment: And again Chap. 11. v. 17. I speak not after the Lord.* From all which Texts they gather that there is something in St. Paul's Epistles that is not divinely dictated. He acknowledgeth as much himself, say they, and we ought to give credit to him. And if it be thus, wherein doth this Part of Scripture excel any other Writings? I will return a distinct Answer to the several Quotations. The first speaks of the mutual rendering that *ὁφειλομένη ἑννοία* (v. 3.) required in the Conjugal State: and the Apostle shews the Extent of the Obligation of this Advice which he gives about it. *I speak this*, saith he, *μετὰ συλλογῆς*, in way of Permission, that is, I herein permit you to do as you shall see Occasion, as you shall find your selves disposed. If you can refrain in those Circumstances I mention, then do so: but if not, I allow you to act otherwise. *I speak to you ἡ κατ' ἐπιταγὴν*, not of Commandment, i. e. in a peremptory way. I am not positive, I do not command you. I have no Absolute Injunction to lay upon you in this Matter. If you can forbear, you had best to do so, but I have no Authority to force it upon you. Thus the Apostle lets them see how far his Doctrine obliges, and what Authority it hath. And this he speaks as an Inspired Person: So that it is ridiculous to collect hence that he was not Inspired when he wrote this Passage in his Epistle.

The Second Place speaks of Divorce or the Separation of married Persons in case of unequal Mar-

Marriages, viz. between Christians and Infidels. These are the *λοιποὶ* the *Rest*, which he now distinctly applies his Discourse to. To these, saith he, *speake I*, i. e. I as an Apostle, I as a Person divinely enlightn'd declare this, that their best course is to live together, and not to think of parting. This is that which I say to those who are married to Unbelievers, and I say it by immediate Revelation from God. That is the true Meaning of *speake I*: And any considerate Man that well weighs the Words cannot but discern it. It follows, *and not the Lord*, i. e. God hath given us no express Command about this: We find nothing of it in *Moses's* Law which was from the Lord himself. The Apostle refers here to what he had said before in this Chapter about *Married Persons*, v. 2, 3. which was according to the *Mosaick* Law, *Exod.* 21. 10. and a Law before that, viz. in *Genesis*, ch. 2. v. 24. which obligeth the Married Couple to be faithful to one another. But here, saith he, in our present Case the Lord hath left no Positive and Absolute Precept or Prohibition. Or, it may have respect also to *Christ our Lord*, and then the meaning of *I speake*, *and not the Lord* is this, what I now deliver to you is not from our B. Saviour directly: It is not expressly set down in the Gospel as spoken by Him when he was here on Earth, but I gather it from the general Doctrine of the Gospel, and I make this Collection and Inference by the Guidance of the Holy Spirit, and not of my own Head. Thus what I advise and direct you to is *from the Lord*, i. e. from the Holy Ghost, though *not from the Lord* in that other Sense, as if he had given any particular and express Command concerning it. So the Force of the Objection is quite taken of: And at the same time also, the Distinction of *Evangelical Counsels* and

474. *The Excellency and Perfection*

and *Precepts* (which is so much talk'd of and made use of by the *Romanists*) appears to be frivolous and impertinent.

The third Quotation is to be interpreted in the same Manner. He here speaks concerning Single Persons, such as were never married, and he acquaints them (as before) what Authority his Doctrine concerning these hath. *Ἐγὼ οὐκ ἔχω*, I have not a Commandment of the Lord, i. e. I have no express Word of our Saviour concerning *Virgins*, as there was concerning the Divorce of *Married Persons*, of whom I spake v. 10. for our Lord had positively determin'd what was to be done in that Case, *Mat. 5. 32. & 19. 9. Luk. 16. 18.* Therefore there not I, but the Lord himself was properly said to command. But here no Absolute Precept of our Lord can be alledg'd; he hath nowhere peremptorily commanded to marry, or not to marry: And the more particular things relating to a *Single Life* (spoken of here by the Apostle) are not so much as mention'd by him. *Τετ,* saith he, *I give my Judgment, as one that hath obtained Mercy of the Lord to be faithful,* i. e. in an immediate and extraordinary Manner I have obtained this Favour, to deliver faithfully what is dictated to me in this Affair, though there be no express Word of our Lord about it. I am Divinely taught what to say, the Holy Spirit suggests to me what Counsel to give. And therefore with respect to this and whatever he said before, he concludes in the last Verse of this Chapter, that he *hath the Spirit of God.* And when he saith he *thinks* so, it doth not denote in the least, the Uncertainty of the thing, but the Humility of the Apostle. We are not then to imagine (as several Commentators, and of good Note too do) that by *γνώμη*, which

which we render *Judgment*, is meant the Apostle's *private Opinion and Sentiment* in contradistinction to the Dictates of the *Holy Ghost*; but according to the plain Interpretation which I have given, we have reason to believe that both in this and his other Epistles he writes all by Divine Inspiration.

Then, as to the next Place, where the Apostle saith he speaks not *κατ' ἐντολὰς* by command, this way of Expression is somewhat of the same Nature with the first: which is evident from the Subject-matter he treats of, and the particular Application of this Expression. For in this Chapter his Business is to excite the Corinthians effectually to a Charitable Contribution for the distressed Christians at Jerusalem, and he requests that they would be very Liberal, and abound in this Excellent and Noble Work: which yet he saith he doth not speak to them *κατ' ἐντολὰς* in a commanding Way, but he leaves them to their Liberty. He would have their Charity to be free, and therefore doth not command them. It is of the same Strain with *Philos. 8, 9.* Though I might be much bold in Christ, I enjoin that which is convenient, yet for Love's Sake I rather beseech. But this beseeching them, and this professing that he leaves them to their Freedom, is from the Lord, and from Divine Inspiration. Which ought necessarily to be added, to clear this and the other Texts: for I do not find that Commentators have fully interpreted and explain'd these Places. Only they tell us that the Apostle doth not command the things to be done, but leaves them at Liberty: whereby they intimate that what he saith is from himself, it is his Private Opinion. But we must not harbour any such Thoughts, because if all Scripture be endited by the Holy Ghost, (as certainly it is) then we can't admit
of

476 *The Excellency and Perfection*

of any such thing here as meer Private Opinion.

The last Place alledged is, *I speak not after the Lord.* Which some would interpret according to the foregoing Sense of the Apostle in those Places I have spoken of, but they hugely mistake the Text, and miserably distort the Apostle's Meaning. Therefore my Apprehension of the Words is this, that as in several other Places, so here he speaks *Ironically*; "The false Apostles, the deceitful Workers, saith he, whom some of you have such a Kindness for, exceedingly boast of their great Performances among you. I think I had best to do so too, for that it is the way to gain your good Opinion of me. I can brag and glory of my Atchievements as much as any of them, yea much more. Therefore as a Fool receive me, that I may boast my self a little. Seeing that many glory after the Flesh, I will glory also. For ye suffer Fools gladly, seeing ye your selves are Wise. You and your new Teachers are Masters of great Wisdom without doubt, and it cannot but be a very laudable Thing to imitate you, especially in your Boasting and Vaunting. And yet when I am forced to commend my self and vindicate my Actions, that which I speak thus, I speak it not after the Lord, no, by no means: I can neither say nor do any thing that is wise or good: I am (in the Esteem of some of you) a Fool and a confident Talker, as he immediately adds. This seems to be the clear Import of the Words, and it is not the only time that St. Paul hath addressed himself to the Corinthians in an *Ironick* Stile, as I have shew'd in another Place. Thus I hope it is manifest that the *Objectors* have no Advantage from this Place of Scripture. And from all that hath been said, it is clear that the *Sacred Writings* are of Divine

Divine Inspiration, and therein excel all other Writings whatsoever.

C H A P. XII.

A short View of the Eastern Translations of the Old Testament, especially of the Targums. The several Greek Translations, more especially that of the LXX Jewish Elders. The impartial History of them, and their Version. Some immoderately extol it; others as excessively inveigh against it. The true Grounds of the Difference between the Hebrew Text and the Greek Translation of the Septuagint assigned, viz. One Hebrew Vowel is put for another: One Consonant for another, sometimes both Vowels and Consonants are mistaken: The Difference of the Signification of some Hebrew Words is another Cause: Sometimes the Sense rather than the Word it self is attended to: Some Faults are to be attributed to the Transcribers: Some, because the LXX are Paraphrasts rather than Translators; they take the Liberty to insert Words and Passages of their own. The Greek Version hath been designedly corrupted in several Places. Why the Apostles in their Sermons and Writings made use of this Version, though it was faulty. Sometimes the Sacred Writers keep close to the Hebrew Text, and take no notice of the Seventy's Translation of the Words. At other times in their Quotations they confine themselves to neither, but use a Latitude. The Greek Version is to be read with Candour and Caution: And must always give way to the Hebrew Original. The chief Latin Translations of the Bible, especially the Vulgar, examined. Modern Latin Translations, and lastly our own English one, consider'd.

Again,

Again, there are some that detract from the *Excellency and Perfection* of the Holy Writings, because they observe a great Difference between the *Hebrew Text* of the Old Testament, and the several *Versions* of it: And so as to the New Testament, they see the *Original Greek* and some of the *Translations* disagree; but more especially the Disagreement is seen between the *Hebrew* of the *Old Testament*, and the *Greek Translation* of it made by the *Seventy Elders*. This is improved into a kind of Argument thus; If those *Versions* of the Bible disagree with the Text, then either the Text it self or the *Versions* are erroneous and faulty: But it is probable, and it is asserted by some Learned Criticks, that the Errors and Mistakes are in the former, i. e. in plain Terms that we have not now the *Original* or *True Copies* of the Bible, and consequently that the Bible it self is very Defective and Imperfect. To take off this seeming Argument it is necessary that we enquire into, and give some brief Account of the *Translations* of the Bible, but especially that we fix where the Grand Objection lies, viz. concerning the Discrepancy between the *Hebrew Text* and that of the *LXX*, which seems to give the greatest Shock of all to the Assertion which I have been maintaining.

Those *Translations* which are in the *Eastern Languages* are these that follow; First, the *Perick*: But the *Antient Version* is lost: And as for what is now extant, it is seldom made use of by the Learned. The *Coptick* (so call'd from *Copt* or *Cophus*, the Name of a great City in *Egypt*, the Metropolis of *Thebais*, the Language of that Place being the Antient Dialect of the Egyptians) and the *Ethiopic* are of great Antiquity, and were made and used by the Christians of *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*.

via. The former (as those acquaint us who have insight into that Tongue) hath a great Affinity with the *Hebrew* Text: And the latter is wholly taken out of the former, and is a meer Translation of it. The *Samaritan Pentateuch* was for the Use of the *Samaritan Jews*, who used that Dialect, and acknowledg'd only the Books of *Moses*. It is ancient and of good Account, though not void of Errors and Corruptions, as Archbishop *Usher* and *Hottinger* have observed, and particularly enumerated the Faults: But yet, if we will shew our selves Candid, we cannot but grant that where it varies from the *Hebrew*, it is generally by way of Illustration or Paraphrase. The *Syriac* Version is of good Repute, and very conformable to the *Hebrew* in most Places, notwithstanding what the Learned *Mossus* hath enviously suggested. The *Arabick* follows the *Seventy* and its Faults, and is not so antient as the *Synack*, nor so exact, but is of good Use, and may serve to corroborate the Authority of the *Hebrew* Text. Concerning all these *Eastern Translations*, except the *Syriack*, it may be observ'd, that though they are generally taken out of the *Greek Version* of the *Seventy*, (for that only was the Authentick Scripture with the Churches of the East) and though they were made and writ at several times, yet they do very much agree with the *Hebrew* which we have at this Day: And whenever in any Place they vary from it, it is generally in some little things, wherein there is no prejudice to Truth, or the Variation is only as to the Paraphrastical Part, where we cannot expect an exact Rendring of the Original; and with any considerate and unbiassed Man this will not pass for any Proof of the Corruption of the Original.

But

480 *The Excellency and Perfection*

But of all the Translations which are in the Oriental Tongues, the *Chaldee* is of the greatest Esteem and Reputation among the Learned. This is called the *Targum* from the root *Targam interpretari*, so that the *Targum* is the *Interpreting* or *Translating* the Bible into another Tongue; and because there was among the Jews of old no Translation but the *Chaldaick*, that was by way of eminency call'd *Targum*. The Occasion of this Version was the Change of the Tongue among the Jews: They in the Time of the Captivity in *Babylon*, which lasted 70 Years, corrupted the Hebrew Tongue, that is, they mixed *Hebrew* (their own Tongue) and *Chaldee* (the Language of that Place where they were) together. Yea, tho the Scribes and Learned Men had not forgot the *Hebrew*, yet the common People had, and being used wholly to the Speech of that Countrey, they understood only *Chaldee*. Wherefore that they might have the Bible in a Language which they understood, several *Chaldean Targums* were made on the Books of the Bible, indeed on all but *Daniel*, and *Ezra* (which were half *Chaldee* before) and the *Paralipomena*, which were explain'd in the Books of the *Kings*. These *Targumim* were made by different Authors, and at diverse Times. First, there was that of *R. Jonatban*, which was a Translation or Paraphrase rather on the Prophets and the Historical Books. He is said to be *R. Hillel's* Disciple, and to have lived a little before our Saviour's Nativity. Secondly, there was that of *Onkelos*, which was only on the *Pentateuch*. This Author lived soon after Christ's Time: Though I know a very Confident Writer tells us, that there is reason to doubt whether *Onkelos* and *Jonathan* were the

the Authors of those two Chaldee Paraphrases, and he positively avoweth that the *Time* when they were made cannot be known. Moreover, it is asserted by ¹ another of as great Confidence and Learning, that neither the Paraphrases of *Onkelos* nor *Jonathan* are a thousand Years old, and particularly that that of *Onkelos* is not so much as mentioned by any Jew or Christian who was not after St. *Jerm* some Ages. The same was said before by as ² Positive a Man, but was never proved, and therefore we have no reason to attend to it, much less to believe it, especially since we know the Design of the Man, which was to beat down the Credit and Value of all Translations of the Bible but the *Latin* one. It appears from sufficient Authors, that these two Chaldee Paraphrases are some of the antientest of the Jewish Writings on the Bible, and it appears from these Targums themselves that they agree with the *Hebrew* Text which is extant at this Day. Thirdly, there was the *Jerusalem Targum*, call'd so either from the peculiar Dialect of it, or from its being first published in that Place. This was upon the *Pentateuch* only, and was written (as is generally thought) by *R. Jochanan* after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*. To these 3 Chaldee Paraphrases (which were of Greatest Authority among the Jews, and were read in their Synagogues) are wont to be added two others, viz. the *Targum* of *Jonathan* (the Rabbi before mention'd) on the *Pentateuch*, and the *Targum* of *Joseph the Blind* on the *Psalms*, *Job*, *Proverbs*, *Esther*, *Canticles*. And there were other Versions of some other Books of the Bible which were made for the Sake of the dispersed Jews in *Chaldea*, and were likewise call'd

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¹ *Is. Vossius.* ² *Morin. Exercitat. Bibl. l. 2. Exercitat. 8.*

482 *The Excellency and Perfection*

Targumim, all which are unanimously acknowledg'd by the Learnedest of the Antients and Moderns to be faithful Translations of the Original; and none but prepossessed Minds can find any disagreement between them as to the Main. It is true these are *Paraphrasts* rather than *Translators*, and therefore it can't be expected that these *Targumists* should render the Hebrew Word for Word: It cannot rationally be thought that in this free way of giving the Sense of the Original they should be exact: They intended a Comment only in some places, and not an exact Version.

To pass then from the Translations which have been made in the *Oriental* Tongues to some *Others*, I will in the next Place speak of the Greek Versions of the Bible, and more especially of that of the *Septuagint*. The Greek Translations of the Old Testament are either those that were made since our Saviour's Time, or that Celebrated One made before it. As for those that were made since Christ's Time, the Author of the first of them was *Aquila*, who lived under the Emperor *Adrian*, and was converted from Gentilism to Christianity, and then forsook Christianity and turned Jew, and translated the Old Testament out of Hebrew into Greek. He was a very Morose Interpreter, even to Superstition adhering to the Hebrew Letter, and altogether averse from the *Seventy's* Translation. The next Greek Version was that of *Theodotion*, in the Emperor *Commodus's* Time, who was an *Ebionite* or Judaizing Christian. A third was put out in the Emperor *Severus's* Reign by *Symmachus*, who was first a Jew of the Samaritan Sect, and afterwards a Christian, but an *Ebionite* or Judaizing Heretick, wherefore he is call'd *Semi-christianus* by St. *Jerom*. These were the Authors of the

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the three first Interpretations of the Old Testament that were composed after our Saviour's Days, and you hear what kind of Persons they were. One of these Translations was wholly Literal, the other took a Liberty and followed the Sense, and the third was of a middle Nature: But none of them were ever publickly received, and read by the Church. Wherefore there is no reason to quarrel with the *Hebrew* Text, and to accuse it of Corruption if we find that these vary from it: Though to speak impartially, the Translations of these fore said Men (notwithstanding that they bear the Character of Apostates and Hereticks) dissent not from the *Hebrew* in any thing of considerable Moment. There are two other Translations mentioned, but we know not the Authors of them. These five with the *LXX's Version* made up *Origen's Hexapla*. As for the other Greek Interpretations of the Old Testament which were publish'd afterwards, viz. that of *Lucian the Martyr*, and the other of *Hesychius*, they were not (properly speaking) New Versions, but only New and Correct Editions of the *Septuagint* Translation, which was purged from its Errors and Faults by these Worthy Undertakers. So much concerning the *Greek Translations* since Christ.

Our main Business is with that which was before our Saviour's Days, that First Translation which was made of the Bible by the Jews, that most Famous Work of the *Seventy Elders* about 250, others say about 260 Years before Christ's Birth. It is true, before the *LXX* set about the Version of the whole Bible, some part of it was translated into Greek. viz. *Moses's Writings* in the time of the *Persian Monarchy*, if we may believe *Megasthenes*,

484 *The Excellency and Perfection*

who is quoted by ' *Eusebius*. And ' *Clement* of *Alexandria* attests, that some part of the Old Testament was turn'd into Greek a little before *Alexander the Great's* Time. Which is not improbable if we consider that from about the time that *Alexander the Great* transferr'd the Persian Monarchy to the Greeks, the Greek Tongue spread it self, and became the Universal Language, insomuch that the *Jews* in *Asia*, *Egypt* and *Greece* forgot their Hebrew, and understood the Greek only. But this is not the Version which I am now to speak of, which is the Celebrated Translation of the *Seventy Jews*, who rendered the whole Book of the Old Testament into Greek: And it seems (according to what hath been said) there was a kind of Necessity for it, because in the East the *Hebrew* was grown to be an unknown Tongue, and the very *Jews* generally understood nothing but Greek. Some have observ'd a considerable Disagreement between the *Hebrew Text* and this *Greek Version*, and hereupon they undertake to form an Argument against the *Perfection* of the Holy Scriptures; for they argue thus, There is great reason to assert the Authority of this Translation, and to believe it is True and Genuine: Which, if it be granted, makes the Hebrew Text to be suspected, nay it will follow thence that it is faulty and defective, because there is so vast a Difference between the one and the other. If this of the *Seventy* be a True Version, then the *Hebrew* of the Bible which we have is not the True Original, but is corrupted and depraved, and consequently there is a sufficient Proof of the *Scripture's Imperfection*.

Now because this may seem to have something of Rea-

Reason in it, and because the greatest Controversy is about *This Translation*, I will insist much larger on this than on any of the others, and endeavour from the whole to evince the Truth of this Proposition, that the *Hebrew Text* is not at all faulty, but that it remains still in its Original Purity and Perfection. Here first it will be necessary to enquire into the Occasion, and into the Authors of this famous *Greek Version*, and also into the Manner of their performing it, and from these to gather of what Authority it is. *Ptolomee* surnamed *Philadelphus*, King of *Egypt*, about the Year of the World 3730. erected a vast Library at *Alexandria*, and furnish'd it with all the choicest Books he could procure: But notwithstanding this, he thought it imperfect till the *Hebrew Bible* was added to it. Accordingly by the Direction of *Demetrius Phalereus*, who was the Library-keeper, he caused this Excellent Monument of Learning to be deposited in it. But because he was ignorant of the Language in which it was written, he by Letters importuned the High Priest and the Rulers at *Jerusalem*, to send him some Persons to translate it out of the Hebrew into the Greek. Whereupon they sent him *Seventy* or *Seventy two Interpreters*, in imitation perhaps of that Number of *Elders* which *Moses* was commanded to take with him when he went up to the Mount to receive the Law. And these Select Persons betook themselves to the Employment which the King set them about, and first translated the *Pentateuch*, and a while after the rest of the Old Testament into Greek. This is generally allowed by the most Exact Searchers into History to be real Matter of Fact, as being vouched by Writers of very good account, and whose joint Authority in this Case we have no reason to suspect.

486 *The Excellency and Perfection*

As for some Particular Circumstances which relate to this Matter, as the Place where they met, their Mavellous Consent in the Work, and the Time they dispatched it in, these may be doubted of, though for my part I see no solid ground of denying them altogether. The whole Translation was finish'd in 72 Days, saith *Aristæas* (or *Aristæus*, for his Name is written both Ways) one that was a great Favourite of King *Ptolomee*, and writ the History of this Greek Translation of the Jewish Elders: But this Author is thought to be spurious by *Vossius*, and by some other Learned Men before him. As to the Place, *Philo* the Jew, *Justin Martyr*, and others tell us it was the Great Tower in the Isle of *Pharos*, which was set up to direct the Mariners in the dangerous Seas about *Alexandria*. Upon which a *Great Critick* turns *Devout*, and exerts his Fancy very piously, observing this to be a proper Place for such a Work, the Bible being truly a *Light* to lighten the Gentile World, a Light hung out to guide all doubting and troubled Souls in the Storms and Tempests they meet with. And there were *Distinct Places* (if you will credit some Jewish and Christian Writers) wherein these Interpreters separately performed the task which they were set about. They did the Work each of them in diverse Rooms, say the *Talmud* and the *Rabbins*. They were put into 70 distinct Cells when they translated the Bible, saith *Justin Martyr* in his *Apology* to the Roman Emperor: And moreover he adds that he was at *Pharos*, and saw what was left of those Cells: And with him agree *Irenæus*, *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, *Epiphanius*, *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, and *Augustine*. And further, though an *Arabick* Commentator

tator on the Pentateuch (whom Mr. Gregory cites) reports that the 70 Seniors disagreed in their Translation the first time, and so were set to it again, yet these *Fathers* take notice of no such thing, but tell us that though these Translators were separated into distinct Places by themselves, yet they all agreed in the same very Words and Syllables. Which they borrowed, it is likely from *Philo*, who had expressly said they all exactly agreed on the same Names and Words to interpret the Chaldee by, (for he calls it the Chaldee instead of the Hebrew) as if some Person stood by them and invisibly dictated to them, although the Chaldee might be translated diverse ways, the Greek Tongue being so copious. And he further adds that *there was a Feast yearly in the Pharos, whither the Jews went to solemnize it, and to see the Place where this Version was made.* But how can this be reconciled with the *Fast* appointed to be kept by the Jews on the 8th Day of *Tebet* or *December*, because the Law of *Moses* was translated into the Greek Tongue by the Jews of *Alexandria* in *Ptolomee's* Time, at which time they say there was Darkness three Days together over the whole World? That therefore which *Philo* saith, seems rather to be said on purpose to inhanse the Credit of this Translation, for which reason we may justly question the Truth of it. *Josephus* who purposely *treats* of the turning the Law into Greek by King *Ptolomee's* Order, saith nothing of the *Different Cells*, nor doth he represent the Interpreters as Inspired Persons. And *St. Jerom*, who was a Searching Man, was the first of the Fathers that opposed and contradicted this Story, declaring that he could not be-

¹ De vit. Mos. l. 2. ² Ibid. ³ Scalig. de Emen l. Temp. Antiq. Jud. l. 12. c. 2.

488 *The Excellency and Perfection*

lieve any thing concerning these Distinct Rooms and Apartments, and the Miraculous Agreement of the Interpreters in these separated Cells, giving this Reason for it, because neither *Aristæas* nor *Josephus* speak a Word of them.

But some are not satisfied with this, but roundly tell us that *Jerom* had made a New Translation of the Bible out of the Hebrew himself, wherein he very much differ'd from the LXX, and so he was obliged to disparage the Cells and the Translators, to make way for his own Translation. This is the uncharitable Censure which ^a One gives of this Great Father. And as for *Aristæas*, he comes off thus with him, it is no wonder that he saith nothing of the Cells; for this *Aristæas* who is quoted by St. *Jerom*, is not the genuine Author, but a spurious one, for the Fathers quote many things out of him which are not to be found in this Book. But ^b Another tells us another Story, viz. that the Hellenist Jews, who read the Translation of the 70 in their Synagogues, were the Inventers of this History of the Translators, and put it out in one *Aristæus's* Name. And the same Person moreover presents us with this New Conceit, that it was call'd the Translation of the Seventy, not from Seventy Translators who were the Authors of it, but from the Seventy Judges, i. e. the Sanhedrim at Jerusalem, who authorized and approved of it. Then, as for *Josephus*, we are put off thus by Mr. *Gregory*, viz. that he is wont to comply with his Readers, and useth not to put Great and Wonderful things on their Belief if he can help it, as appears in his Relation of the Israelites passing the Red Sea, and

^a Hieron. Præf. in Pentateuch.
mon. Crit. Hist. l. 2.

^b Mr. Gregory.

^c F. Si-

and *Nebuchadnezzar's* going to *Grafs*, &c. so here he omits the *Seventy Seniors* their Consenting in that wonderful Manner in the Translating the Hebrew Bible, because it would have been incredible to the *Gentiles*, that Persons separated and shut up from one another should agree so exactly. To this effect you'll find that *Notable Critick* speaking: But it will appear to be a very Sorry Evasion (as those of the other Persons before mention'd are) if any Man look narrowly into it; for upon the same ground that he gives here, that *Jewish Historian* might have omitted most of the things he relates, because they are very *Great* and *Wonderful*, and far exceed the Belief of a *Pagan*.

We are not then to attend to such poor Suggestions as these, and to swallow all that hath been related by Writers concerning the *Seventy Interpreters*. Neither is there reason to disbelieve all they have said, but in this (as in most Historical Relations) we ought to credit what is most Probable, and to reject the rest. We need not with *Epiphanius* and *Augustine* hold that the *Seventy Interpreters* were divinely inspired, and that their Translation of the Bible was done in a Miraculous Manner, and that it is of Divine Authority, which we may find some Writers aiming at; but on the other hand there is no ground to affirm that all which *Aristæas* and *Aristobulus* say concerning the *Seventy's* Version is Fable and Fiction, as the *Parisian Professor* of *Divinity* pronounceth, but very rashly in my Judgment. We have no reason to deny the Chief and General things which are related concerning the *Seventy Seniors* who were employed in turning the Old Testament into Greek; we have no reason

son to question their Skill and Ability (as to the Main) to perform that Task, we have no reason to deny the Authority of their Version, i. e. that it was really Theirs, and that it is Genuine. We are certain that it was approved of by the Testimony of all the *Jews* who flourish'd before the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, viz. *Aristeas*, *Eupolemus*, *Aristobulus*, both the *Philo's*, *Josephus*, &c. We are certain that the *Hellenist Jews*, i. e. such as lived among the *Grecians*, and read the Scriptures in this Version, and pray'd and performed all other Offices in *Greek*, esteemed it equally with the Original, and read it constantly in their Synagogues. We are certain that Christ and the Apostles followed this Translation generally: And we are sure that the *Greek* and *Latin Church* for 400 Years received and approved it, as the most Authentick of all the *Greek* Translations.

But this, you will say, makes the *Objection* stronger: For if the *LXX's Version* be of such Authority, and yet differs from the *Hebrew*, then this shakes the Credit and Authority of the *Hebrew*, which is the Original Scripture. But I answer, we are giving the *Greek Translation* of the *Seventy* its due, but we do not intend hereby to wrong the *Hebrew*: Yea, our design is to give unto both what belongs to them; which I find several Learned Writers of late are unwilling to do. When I affirm that the *Septuagint's Version* was not only heretofore, but is to this Day of undoubted Authority, and is the most Authentick *Greek Translation* of the Old Testament that is extant, I do not say it is Faultless, and that it is to be equall'd with the *Hebrew*; but I positively assert that it hath many Errors and Mistakes, many faulty Omissions and Additions, many Disorders and Corruptions in it, and

and yet that notwithstanding this it is the most Authentick and justly esteemed Version among all the Antient ones, and is of great use in the Church. It was hotly disputed of Old which of these two, the *Hebrew Bible* or the *Seventy's Translation*, should have the Preheminence. Some in a very high Manner extoll'd the latter, and disparaged the former; then came *Jerom*, and was not content to cry up this, but immoderately inveigh'd against the other, and cried it down as not to be suffered. And we have seen this Old Controversy newly started and revived by some of late: Some on one side applauding the *Hebrew* to the Height, that they wholly disregard the *Greek Version* of the 70 Elders; others on the other side crying up this with a vilifying of the *Hebrew Text*. *Ludovicus Capellus* goes this latter way, but he is outdone by *Morinus*, who shews himself a Sworn Enemy to the *Hebrew Text*, and at a high Rate defends the *Greek Translation* of the *Seventy* in all things: insomuch that a Man may plainly see he resolves to do it at a Venture, whether there be any reason for it or no. He is back'd by *Isaac Vossius*, who pretending he saw the *Hebrew Text* magnified and adored by some Men, (*Half-Jews* he calls them) thereupon undertook to stand up for the *Septuagint*, and destroy the Authority of the *Hebrew Original*. It will not suffice this Gentleman to say the *Greek Version* of the Elders is Divine, but from his Discourse he would have us gather that the *Hebrew Text* is scarcely Humane, it being so disorder'd, so lame, so miserably corrupted. These are the Extreame which Men unadvisedly run into; that they may extol the *Greek Version*, they shamefully vilify the *Hebrew Text*. But I will take another Course, not endeavouring to oppose one of these to the other, but so far

491 *The Excellency and Perfection*

far as it is fitting, reconcile them both: Which I will do by shewing you what is the true Difference between these two, and whence it ariseth.

First then, the Difference which we observe to be between the *Hebrew Bible* and this *Greek Version*, proceeds from the mistaking of one *Hebrew Vowel* for another. Though the 70 Interpreters were sufficiently skill'd in the Hebrew, yet they sometimes translated it amiss because they did not make use of the *Hebrew Vowels* or *Points*, they translated by those Copies which had not the *Points* added to the *Hebrew Text*. Some indeed have alledged the Difference between the Hebrew and the Seventy Version, as an Argument to prove that *Points* were not antiently annexed to the Hebrew Bible; for hence it is, say they, that there is that Variety of Reading: The Bible was at that time without *Vowels*, and consequently a great many Words were capable of being read, and accordingly translated Diversly. But this is a Fallacy, for though the Mistakes in the Greek Version proceeded partly from the want of *Points* in the Hebrew Bibles, i. e. those Bibles which the 70 Interpreters used, yet it doth not follow thence that no Hebrew Bibles had *Points*. For so it was that all their Bibles were not written with *Points*, but some Persons, to expedite the writing them over, left them out. The short is, that though these were from the beginning, (as hath been said in the Entrance of these Discourses on the *Scriptures*) yet they were not always used; and when they were used, they were not always carefully attended to: Whence happen'd many of those Mistakes which we may take notice of in the Version of the *Jewish Elders*. They either had those Bibles which had been transcribed without *Points*, or they mistook the *Points* themselves

out

out of Carelessness or something that is worse. The Instances of this kind are very numerous, but I will content my self with naming a few only.

In Gen. 14. 5. *Beham in Ham* (i. e. the Land of Ham) was read by the LXX *Bebem in ipfis*, and accordingly rendred by them ἄμα αὐτοῖς. In Gen. 15. 11. the Word שָׁבַד *diffiavit, flatu abegit*, was read שָׁבַד *confedit*, they attending not to the Vowels but the Consonants only, and thence they translated it συνεκάθισεν, *he sat by them*, whereas according to the Original we rightly translate it, *he drove them away*. The Septuagint did not read it *Ba Gad* (two Words) Gen. 30. 11. but *Begad*, and accordingly translated it ἐν τύχῃ. So in Gen. 47. 31. according to the Hebrew we read it *Israel bowed himself upon the Bed's Head*, but according to the Septuagint *upon the Top or Head of his Staff*; for these Interpreters in their unpricked Bibles mistook מִטָּה for מַטֵּה, i. e. a *Staff* instead of a *Bed*, and accordingly translated it ἐξ ἄκρου. The Error proceeded hence, that those Hebrew Words have the same Letters, but the same Points do not belong to them. In Chap. 49. 6. *Cabodi, my Glory*, is rendred τὰ ἡπατά μου: Whence it is plain that they took *Cabedi* to be the Word. And in another Place the Mistake is quite contrary, as in Lam. 2. 11. *Cabedi, my Liver*, is translated δόξα μου, because they read it *Cabodi my Glory*. Instead of *Lachem Segnarim, War in the Gates*, Judg. 5. 8. the Seventy thought it was *Lechem Segnorim, barley Bread*, as it is in some Copies. In Judg. 7. 11. they mistook the Word *Chamushim, armed Men*, and read it *Chamishim*, and accordingly rendred it πεντήκοντα *fifty Men*. The Hebrew Word is חָמִישִׁים *ad oculum meum*, in 2 Sam. 16. 12. but the 70 read it חָמִישִׁים, and thence rendred it ἐν πεντηκώσιν μου. In

494 *The Excellency and Perfection*

2 Kings 2. 24. they mistook *bu* for *bo*, and thereupon inserted a strange unintelligible Word, ἀφφὰ, into their Translation in that Place. They likewise read some Places in the *Psalms* with false Vowels, and by reason of that Mistake interpreted *Ve el*, & *Deus*, as if it had been *Ve al*, & *non*, *Psal.* 7. 17. and *Sam*, *posuit*, as if it had been *Sban nomen*, *Psal.* 40. 5. and *Middeber*, a *peste*, as if it had been *Middabar*, a *verbo*, *Psal.* 91. 3. So in *Psal.* 22. 29. it is plain that they read it *Naphshi* instead of *Naphsho*, and consequently render it ἡ ψυχή μου. They overlook'd a Vowel in *Psal.* 2. 9. for the Word is *Terognem*, *thou shalt break them*, but they thought it was תִּרְעִינֵם, *thou shalt feed them*, and so translated it τρομανείς. Their mistaking of Vowels may be seen in their translating of *Isa.* 6. 10. which they do thus, ἐπαχύνθη ἡ καρδία τῶ λαοῦ τέ-
τα, *the Heart of this People was made fat*; for they read it *Hoshman* in the Conjugation *Hophal*, whereas it should have been *Hashmen* in the Imperative of *Hiphil*. According to the Original we render *Isa.* 7. 20. a *Razour that is bired*: but the LXX render it *that is made drunk*, whence it is plain that they thought the Hebrew Word שכיר, which is here used, came from the Verb *Shakar*, *inobriavit*, whereas it is derived from *Sakar*, *mercede conduxit*. They read the Letter *Shin* with a dexter Point, whereas it should have been read with a sinister, In *Isa.* 9. 8. it is evident that they mistook the Points in the Word יָרָר, *verbum*, and read it יָרָר, *pestis, mors*; and so instead of *the Lord sent a Word into Jacob*, the reading according to them is, *the Lord sent Death into Jacob*, θάνατον for λόγον. They translate *Isa.* 24. 23. thus, *the Brick shall be melted, and the Wall shall fall*; whereas according to the Hebrew 'tis thus, *the Moon shall be confounded, and the*

the Sun ashamed: and the Reason of this strange and palpable varying from the Original is this, (as St. Jerom hath observ'd) because the Septuagint read *לְבָנָה* a Brick instead of *לְבָנָה* the Moon: and they mistook *חֹמֶה* a Wall, for *חֹמֶה* the Sun. Again, in Isa. 56. 11. *רִעִים* is translated *πονηροί*, because they read it *ragnim, mali*, instead of *rognim, Pastores*. The Seventy Interpreters render a Clause in Jer. 3. 2. thus, as a Crow in the Wilderness, &c. which proceeds hence, that the Hebrew Word *עֵר*, a Crow, hath the same radical Letters that *עֵר* or *Gnarabi* hath, which signifies an Arabian: but the Mistake was in the Vowels. In Jer. 46. 17. for *עֵר* *ibi* they read *עֵר nomen*, and accordingly render it *τὸ ὄνομα*. They read it *עֵר*, in igne, for *עֵר* *fator*, and so render it *ἐν πυρὶ*, Amos 4. 10. They translate Zech. 11. 17. thus, *οἱ ποιμαίνοντες καὶ μὴ τρώοντες*, supposing the Hebrew Word to be *עֵר* *Pastores*, not *עֵר* *Pastor*. In Mal. 2. 3. *Zerang*, Seed, is rendred *ἑμῶν* a Shoulder, for no other Reason than this, that *Zerang* was mistaken for *Zerang*. And in many other Places the Seventy Interpreters mistook the Hebrew Words by not observing the Particular Punctuations of them: which is one Cause of the Difference between the Greek Version and the Hebrew Text. The not attending to this hath made some, and * those of no mean Note, imagine that the Hebrew Copies which we now have vary in many things from the Ancient ones which the Seventy used when they translated the Bible. A very groundless Imagination certainly, for it is most evident that this Difference between the Seventy and the Hebrew proceeds not from the Corruption of this latter, but from the Mistake

* Comment. in Isa. * Drusius, Ludovic. Capellus, Mede.

496 The Excellency and Perfection

Mistake and Oversight of the former. Any Man that is willing to see what is before his Eyes may plainly discern that in all these Instances before-mention'd one Word is taken for another, because the *Pointing* was wrong. This must needs be, otherwise those Greek Words which the LXX use would not so exactly answer to the Hebrew Words which we say they mistook for the true Original ones.

2. The Difference sometimes proceeds from mistaking one *Consonant* for another : as in *Gen. 6. 3.* although *jadon* be from *dun*, *contendere*, and therefore we rightly render that Place, *my Spirit shall not always strive, or contend* ; yet the Septuagint derive it from *dur*, *habitare*, *permanere*, and so translate it ὁ μὴ καταμεῖνῃ. The Affinity of the Letter *ד* and *ר* occasion'd this Mistake, the Transcribers of the Copies which the Septuagint used having, it is likely, put one Letter for another, they being so like in Shape. (Thus in many of our *English Bibles* instead of the word *Bands*, *Isa. 28. 22.* we find it printed *Hands*, *b* and *d* being like one another.) ¹ *Jerom* observes that ὁ τοῖ Ποδῶν is the *Seventy's* Translation of *bene Dedan*, *Ezek. 27. 15.* for they read it *Redan*, not *Dedan*, mistaking *Resh* for *Daleth*, because those Letters are of a resembling Figure. So in other Places the Likeness of these two Letters is the Occasion of the LXX's wrong interpreting of Words : thus in *Job 32. 19.* they thought the Word was חרשים, and accordingly render it χαλκεὺς, *faber ærarius*, (the singular for the plural) whereas the Word is חרשים *novi*. In *Isa. 16. 4.* the Hebrew Word *Sad*, a Destroyer, is rendred ὁ ἄρξων, because the Word was *Sar* in the

¹ Comment. in *Ezek. 27.*

the *Seventy's* Copy. And as *Resh* is taken for *Daleth*, so this is sometimes taken for that, as in *Gen.* 22. 13. **אחרי**, *behind*, is rendred *εἰς*, because they thought the Word was **אחד**, *one*. In *Gen.* 49. 14. **אֲשִׁמּוּ**, *asimus*, is translated τὸ *αγαλόν*, which could proceed from no other Cause but this, that they supposed the Word to be **אֲשִׁמוּ**, *desiderabile*. How could they render *Charash*, *fabri*, in *Exod.* 35. 35. by τὸ *ἀγίον*, if they had not believ'd the Original to be *Chadash*, which is of Affinity with *kadosh*? In *Psal.* 109. 13. *Achar* is translated *μᾶ*, whereas it should be *ἀνα*, but they read it *Achad*, *una*. And is it not reasonable to think that a *Daleth* was in the Place of a *Resh* in *Zeph.* 3. 9. i. e. that their Copies had it *bedurab* instead of *berurab*, *electum*, *purum*? and accordingly they rendred it *εἰς γενεὰν αἰώνων*, for they took it to be two distinct Words with a Prefix thus, *be dur ab*: otherwise it is impossible to imagine how they could translate it so. Sometimes the Likeness of *Beth* and *Caph* causes a Mistake, so **יֹאכֵל**, *he shall eat*, *Eccles.* 5. 16. is rendred ἐν *σέθεν* by the Greek Interpreters, because they read it **וַאֲכַל**, & *luctu*. In *Psal.* 29. 2. there can be no ground of their Version ἐν *αὐλῇ* but this, that they took a **ה** for a **ק**, and so instead of **בְּהָרִים**, *in decore*, they read **בְּחָרִים**, *in conspectu*. In *Isa.* 51. 18. there is a Mistake of **ק** for **ה**, and likewise of **ל** for **ס**, otherwise they would not have rendred *Menabel* *ὁ παρακλητὴς*, *consolator*: It is evident that they read *Menachem* instead of *Menabel*. And sometimes where there is no Similitude in the Letters they take one Word for another. So they read **יְהוָה** instead of **יְהוָה**, and upon that Mistake translated the Word by the Greek *ἐμελιότε*. **מִצֵּחַ** is the known Word that signifies a *Forehead*, but in *Ezek.* 3. 8. it is rendred

498 The Excellency and Perfection

vīnos, of which I can give no other Account but this, that the Word in their Copies was *Πῦν* *vidoria*, a *Nun* for a *Mem*. I am apt to think, that whereas the Hebrew Word in *Zeph. 2. 13.* is *דִּשְׁוֹן*, *desolatio*, their Books had it *דִּשְׁוֹן*, *corvus*, and thence they render it *νόβαξ*. When I observ'd the Difference between the Original [*there shall be a Fountain opened*] *Zech. 13. 1.* and the Seventy's Version, [*there shall be a Place opened*] I soon found the Mistake in this latter, *viz.* their reading of *מִקְוֵה*, *locus*, (whence they render it *τόπος*) for *מִקְוֵה*, *fons*. Lastly, I am perswaded that the Verb *Barak* was thought to be the Root in the latter Clause of *v. 19.* of *1 Sam. 2.* and thence *εὐλογεῖσθαι* is the Word used by the LXX, but the right Word is *bara* which is mistaking one Consonant for another, a *Caph* for an *Aleph*. But I submit my Thoughts concerning these Texts to the Judicious, who will either join with me, or candidly accept of my Conjectures. I mention not here any of those Instances which the foresaid Learned Father hath given, shewing how the Seventy take one Letter in a Word for another, and so have made quite another Word of it, and accordingly have translated it. *Hottinger* also hath brought sundry Examples to shew that they erred as to Consonants, that they palpably mistook them from the Likeness of one to another, and so rendred the Text falsely: whence there must needs be a Difference between the Hebrew and the Greek Bible.

3. They sometimes mistake both Vowels and Consonants: As in *Judg. 5. 10.* the Word was thought by them to be *Tsacharajim*, and on that Supposal was translated *μεσσηγίαι*: but the right Word was *Tsecharoth*, *candidæ*. In *Isa. 26. 14.* *Rephaim*, *mortui*, is rendred *ἰατροί*, because the Word was sup-

supposed to be *Rophim, medici*. In both which Instances not only *Letters* but *Points* are mistaken. That Place, *Gen. 49. 10.* τὰ ἀποκείδρα αὐτῶ, or ἀποκείνται (which was the antient *Greek* Version, as *Iustin Martyr* and *Origen* testify) is rendred so from their taking *Shelo, ille cuius, or cui,* for *Sbiloh*. And in the same Verse instead of the Hebrew קהלה *Congregatio*, they took the Word to be קהל, from the Root קהל expectavit, and thence they render it προσδεχία *expectatio*. Again, in v. 22. of this Chapter instead of קהל incedebat, they read it קהל minorennis, and accordingly the *Greek* Word is νεότης. They took a *Dalet* for a *Resh*, and moreover were mistaken as to the *Points*. So in *1 Sam. 6. 18.* they read *Eben* for *Abel*, and so interpreted it λίθ, a Mistake of a *Nam* for a *Lamed*, together with an Oversight as to the *Pricks*. And in *ch. 19. 16.* *Kebir, pulvinar*, would not have been rendred ἐπερ, unless the Word had seemed to them to be *Cabed, jecur*: so that it appears they fail'd not only in a *Consonant* but two *Vowels*. I doubt not but they thought the Word was קהל *vivet*, *Job 8. 17.* and accordingly they render it ζήσεται, whenas the right Word is קהל *videbit*. Can there be any Reason assign'd why *Benjeth* is translated ἐν φάσματι, in *visione*, *Numb. 16. 30.* but this, that they read it *Baroeth*? *Vau* and *Jod* are alike, and so were mistaken one for the other, and [·] instead of [:] in the beginning of the Word. Any observant Eye may perceive by the *Seventy's* Version, ὡς Δαυὶδ, *Isa. 29. 3.* that they took the Hebrew Word to be קהל, whereas the true Word is קהל, *Caddur pila, seu curvus*. In *Hos. 12. 12.* שורים *boves* is according to the *Greek* Translators ἄρχοντες, whence one may guess that *Sbarim* was thought by them to be the

500 The Excellency and Perfection

Original Word. *Lamnatseach* is the Title of the fourth Psalm; and several others, but they thought it to be *Lanetsach*, and hence rendred it eis *Net*, for *Net* is a very large Word, and both with and without *Lamed* before it, is sometimes adverbially taken, and is as much as *in finem*. Then they err'd both as to a Letter and the Vowels. And so they did in *Psal.* 22. 24. where the Word is *Mimnenu*, but they read it *Mimnani*, as appears by their translating it *ἐν ἐμῇ*. It is worth observing that *שָׁאָה*, thou shalt be feared, (or, as Our Translators render it, thou mayst be feared) *Psal.* 130. 4. is strangely rendred by the Greek Interpreters *ἐνεκα τοῦ ὀνόματός σου*, for thy Name's sake: which is a Fault of the Transcribers, they writing those Words instead of *ἐνεκα τοῦ ὀνόματός σου*, for thy Law's sake. This we may gather from the Vulgar Latin, which continually follows the LXX in the Translation of the *Psalm*, and renders it *propter legem tuam*, and thence we may see how the Mistake arose, viz. from their reading *שָׁאָה* for *שָׁאָה*, or they derived the Word from *Jarah*, which in *Hiphil* signifies to teach, (whence *Torah*) whereas the right Root or Theme is *jara*, *timuit*. The Seventy render *Jer.* 16. 7. thus [they shall not break Bread for them]; but according to the Hebrew [they shall not tear themselves for them]: whence it may be gather'd, that instead of *שָׁאָה* they read it *שָׁאָה*. So in *Ezek.* 34. 16. a Letter as well as a Vowel is mistaken, viz. *ר* for *י*, and *Vau* for *Jod*: instead of *וְיָרֵם*, I will destroy, they read *וְיָרֵם*, *φυλάξω*, I will keep. The Hebrew in *Hos.* 14. 3. is *וְיָרֵם*, Calves, but the Greek is *καρπός*: where it is evident that the Seventy read *יָרֵם*, *fructus* for *parvum*, *vituli*. This certainly is a plainer and fairer Account of this Difference between the Hebrew and

and the LXX in this Place than what Dr. Pocock fancifully suggests, who tells us that the *Seventy's* *καρπός* is the same with *καρπώματα*, which is the Word they use for an *Holocaust*, which being of young *Bullocks* (but we know that sort of Sacrifices was of other Animals as well as these) *καρπός* is made use of for *Calves*, for these *Sacrifices* were like *Fruit* or *Banquet* after a Meal. But a Man would rather think they were the Meal it self, for these *whole Burnt-Offerings*, were the substantial Service of the Jews, even when there were no other Sacrifices besides at the same time. But we must give these *Arabian Criticks* leave to propound their Conjectures as well as other Men. In *Hab. 1. 5.* they erroneously read *בִּנְיָן* for *בִּנְיָן*, and so translated it *καταφρονῶντες* instead of *ἐν ἔδνεσιν*.

4. It happens that the Translation of the *Seventy* differs from the *Hebrew Original*, because the same Words in Hebrew signify different things, and consequently the Rendring of them may be various, and sometimes seem to disagree with the Original Text. As in *Isa. 58. 9.* because the Word *סור* signifies both a *Pot* and a *Thorn*, the *Seventy* render the Plural Word *ἀκάνθας* *Thorns*: before the *Thorns* feel the *Briars*, i. e. are entangled in one another, which is presently done. This seems to be the Sense they intended. What we according to the Hebrew render the *Vally* of *Baca*, or (in the Margent) *Mulberry-trees*, *Psal. 84. 6.* is translated by the *Septuagint* the *Valley* of the *Mourner*, or *Weeper*, because the Hebrew Word *הַבְּכָה* which may be derived either from *בָּכָה* *Morus*, or from *בָּכָה* *stere, plorare*, is equivocal, and so may be differently

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ὅς κλαυθμώντες. R. Jonah & R. Jehudah explicant per
tallem in qua stillat aqua ut Lachrymæ ab Oculis. Pagnin.

rently rendred. And in the same Verse, from the Ambiguity of the Word *Moreh* which is Doctor, Legislator, as well as *Pluvia*, the Seventy render it ὁ νομοθετῶν. *Isa.* 28. 16. is truly translated by us, *He that believeth shall not make haste*, but according to the *Seventy Seniors* it is thus, *He shall not be ashamed*, which is a true Translation also, for the Hebrew Word שׁוּן signifies both, as is evident in the Writings of the Hebrews. The like is observable in *Jer.* 31. 32. בעלתי, which we translate *I was a Husband*: but the *Seventy* render it ἐμέλισσα (which by the way we may take notice is a Fault of the *Transcribers*, for it should be ἡμέλισσα (as we learn from *Heb.* 8. 9. where this Place is alledged) *I regarded not*. The Ground of the different Version is this, the Verb בעל hath both these Significations, viz. *to be a Husband*, and *to despise*, or *not have regard to*. I have already on another Occasion set down the *Different Significations* of Hebrew Verbs, which the Reader may consult, and thence enlarge upon this Head. Indeed the Places are almost innumerable, wherein you may see this Particular exemplified. This therefore will in a great Measure solve the *Difference* between the *Hebrew* and the *LXX's Version*, viz. that one Word signifies two or more things, and thence may be differently rendred. Where there is a Variety of Significations in the Words, there may well be expected some Diversity in the translating of them.

5. It is no wonder that the Translation of the 70 varies in many Places from the *Hebrew*, because these Interpreters do sometimes rather express the *Sense* of the Hebrew Words than exactly render them.

Thus

¹ Pocock Not. Miscell. in Port. Mos. c. 1. Dr. Castell in Lex. Ic. Heptaglot. ² *Discourse of the Stile of Script.* Chap. 7.

Thus in *Gen.* 23. 11. *πολίται* is the Word to express *בְּנֵי אֱמֻנָה* Sons of the People. By the Life of Pharaoh, *Gen.* 42. 15, 16. is in the LXX's Version *ἐν τῇ ὑγιαίνῃ φαραῶ*, i. e. by the Health of Pharaoh, because this bears the same Sense with the other. So *Shebet* a Scepter, *Gen.* 49. 10. is *ἄρχων* a Prince or Ruler according to the Greek Translation. To be deliver'd from the Sword of Pharaoh according to the Hebrew, or from the Hand of Pharaoh, *Exod.* 18. 4. according to the Seventy, is the same. *הַבֶּקֶר* the Son of a Bull or Cow, *Lev.* 1. 5. is rightly according to the Sense rendred *μόσχον* a Calf. *הַכֹּחַ*, *Deut.* 25. 2. a Son of Stripes, is according to the true meaning translated *ἄξιον πληγῶν*, worthy of Stripes : Chereb the Sword is *πολεμὸν* War, *Lev.* 26. 6, 36, 37. *Job* 5. 15. and to fall by War, *Numb.* 14. 3. (as the Greek Interpreters render it) is the same as to fall by the Sword, as the Hebrew hath it. Bene Elobim, *Deut.* 32. 8. *Job* 1. 6. & 38. 7. are *ἄγγελοι θεῶν* with the LXX, for by the Sons of God are meant Angels. *Jad* is rendred *δύναμις*, *Josh.* 4. 24. because the Hand of the Lord and the Power of the Lord are equivalent. The Seventy make bold to turn *Majim* Water into *οἶνον* Wine, *1 Sam.* 25. 11. for as by Bread in this Place is meant all Manner of Food, so by Water we are to understand all Sorts of Drink, and consequently Wine it self, for the Text speaks of a Feast, yea such a one as was like the Feast of a King, v. 36. They do not fully render *1 King.* 22. 5. *2 Chron.* 18. 4. when they translate it enquire of the Lord to Day, for according to the Hebrew it should be enquire at the Word of the Lord to Day : but the meaning is the same. In *Neb.* 4. 2. you read according to the Hebrew of reviving the Stones, for the Root is *Chajah*; but these Interpreters express it by the Verb *ἰάσθαι* sanare, because

504 The Excellency and Perfection

reviving or healing the Stones in this Place are synonymous. In 2 King. 20. 7. Hof. 6. 2. the same Hebrew Verb is express'd by *יגאלעו*: and in Gen. 47. 25. Prov. 15. 27. Ezek. 33. 12. and other Places by *סלעו* and *עלעו*, they being Words of the like import with *Chajah*. *Dibre bajamim*, Esth. 2. 23. is *βιβλιοθήκη*, and not amiss, but the Sense (not the Words) is attended to. In Prov. 11. 8. *Mitsadab angustia* is according to the LXX *θῆρα Κένatio*, *Persecutio*, which is a Word of the like, tho not the very same Import. In the Glose of Esth. 10. 3. the Hebrew Noun is *Zarang*, *semen*, but the Greek Word here used is *ἐθνῶς*, because it is of the same Signification in this Place, for to speak Peace to all his Seed or to all his Nation (which were of the same Seed and Race) are the same. *Αἷμα* is the Word that the Seventy make use of in Job 6. 4. but *Ruach* is the Original: yet any observing Man cannot but discern the Congruity of the Greek Word, for the Blood is the Vehicle of the Spirits; and besides to drink up the Blood is an Elegant way of Expression. The Hebrew Word *Keren a Horn*, Job 16. 15. is not unfitly translated *δύναμις* Strength, the Sense being minded, and not the Word. The Drops of Water, Job 36. 27. are explain'd by *συνόρις νετῆς* Drops of Rain. *Keren happuk*, Job 42. 14. is rendred *κέρας Ἀμωλδαίας*, referring to the Greek Fable of *Amalthea's Horn*, which signifies all manner of Good things, and so comprehends in it the meaning of that Name given to one of Job's Daughters. And in several other Places in this Book the Hebrew Terms are explain'd rather than translated. *Bagnal Canaph*, Prov. 1. 7. is *πτερότης*; *Bagnal Aph*, ch. 22. v. 24. is *θυμῶδις*; *Bagnal Nephefsh*, ch. 23. v. 2. is *ἀπληστία*, all which Versions are Exegetical. So is that in Eccl. 10. 20.

Bagnal

Bagnal Hakephanim, Gr. ἔχον τοὺς πτέρυγας. *Jar-
thad a Nail*, Isa. 22. 23. is rendred ἄρχων *a Ruler*,
but the Sense is preserved; for that Promise that
Eliakim should be a Nail fastned in a sure Place, im-
ports his being advanced to *Shebna's Office or Place*
of Rule, as the foregoing Verses as well as those that
follow plainly shew. *The Daughter of Tarshish*, Isa.
23. 10. is *Carthage* according to the Seventy, be-
cause they thought this Place was meant by those
Words. They render *Dibre Haberith*, Jer. 34. 18.
διαθήκη, whereas it should be the Words of the Cove-
nant according to the Original: but who sees not
that it amounts to the same? What according to
the Hebrew is the *Mountain of the Lord*, Mic. 4. 2.
is the *House of the Lord* according to the Septuagint,
but these two differ not in the Sense, because
the Temple, the *House of God*, was built on *Mount*
Sion. The Word *Derek a Way*, Jer. 23. 22. is ἐπι-
τηδύμα; in 1 Kings 22. 52. it is ἀμαρτία; in Ezek.
10. 30. it is ἀνομία; in 2 Chron. 13. 22. & 27. 7.
it is πρᾶξις; in Job 34. 21. & 36. 23. it is ἔργον;
in Prov. 31. 3. it is ῥῆς: but in all these Places the
true meaning of the Hebrew Word is maintain'd.
In 1 Chron. 2. 20. Jer. 16. 14. Ezek. 2. 3.
& 35. 5. & 37. 21. & 43. 7. is rendred by the
Greek Translators οἶκος, but in all these Texts
you'l find the Sense of the Hebrew Word kept up.
So *Jehovah Tsebaoth* is rendred in above fifty Places
κύριος παντοκράτωρ. It should be translated ὁ-
μα, but instead of it we read λόγος, 1 Sam. 15.
24. ἔνμα, Exod. 17. 1. φωνή, Numb. 3. 16. So
Lashon, which (exactly speaking) is the *Tongue*, is
rendred ἔνμα, Job 15. 5. φωνή, Isa. 54. 17. λέξις,
Esth. 8. 9. In accuracy and propriety of Transla-
tion *Shaphah* is χαλός, but the general Significati-
on of the Word is preserv'd when the Word

506 The Excellency and Perfection

εἶμα, Ezek. 24. 22. γλῶσσα, Gen. 11. 7. λόγος, Prov. 16. 21. ἀλήθεια, Ezek. 36. 3. are used.

I could add several hundreds more of the like Nature: but I will at present mention only a few Instances out of the Book of *Psalms*. That is a very remarkable one, *Psal.* 2. 12. where ἀράξασθαι παιδείας, apprehendite disciplinam, is the rendering of וְשָׁקוּן־בְּרִי osculamini filium, the LXX not intending here barely to Translate, but taking the Liberty to render the Sense, not the Exact Words of the Original. When Heathen Kings and Governours are admonished to kiss the Son, i. e. to submit to the Government of Christ, the Meaning is, that they should accept of his Doctrine and Discipline, and live and act according to these. But others solve this Translation by telling us, that the word *Bar* had heretofore different Significations, and denoted both a Son and Discipline. If this could be made good, it belongs to the Fourth Particular, where we spoke of the Diversity of Significations which some Hebrew Words have. Again, in *Psal.* 18. 2. & 31. 3. they intended not an exact Version, but rather chose to give the Sense of the word *Selang a Rock*, when they express'd it by σέλωμα in the former Place, and κραττίωμα in the latter. In *Psal.* 19. 4. their Line, Cavum, is rendred ὁ φθόγγος αὐτῶν, their Sound or Voice, because it amounts to the same Sense and Intention of the Psalmist; unless you will say they read it וְקוֹלֵם instead of וְקוֹלֵם, and then it is to be reduced to one of the former Particulars. The word *Machol*, Dancing, is not improperly rendred χορός, *Psal.* 30. 11. because it is of the very same Import. In *Psal.* 40. 6. the Sense of the *Seventy* is the same with that of the *Hebrew Text*, although the Translation be not Word for Word. Mine Ears hast thou opened,

opened, saith the Hebrew : *a Body hast thou prepared me*, say the LXX. Here is one meaning, though the Words differ : *Christ* is here introduced speaking of his Incarnation, when God the Father gave him a *Body*, and *prepared* and fitted it for the Cross, where it was to be nailed, as the *Ear* of that *Servant* who loved his Master, and would not depart from his Family, was fastned for a time to the Door-post ; *Exod.* 21. 6. *Deut.* 15. 17. on which Ground of Similitude the *opening* or *boaring* of the *Ear* is changed into *preparing* or *framing* a *Body*, fitting it for that *Work* and *Service* to which it was designed. The *Sense* then (which is the main thing) is the same, *viz.* that *Christ* had a *Body* given him, that he assumed our *Humane Nature*, that thereby he might be *Obedient*, and perform the Part of a *Servant*. Nay, the Words themselves are not much different, for the Hebrew Verb קרה signifies as well *apparare* or *comparare* as *sodere*, *perforare*, and therefore is well rendred by καταρτίζουσαι. Moreover, the *Ear*, which is the Organ of Obedience and Compliance, is Synechdochically put for the *Body* : nay, perhaps the Hebrew Word *Ozen* signifies a *Body* as well as an *Ear*, for 'tis well known how different Senses one Word hath among the Hebrews. I could observe to you, that it is rendred vs by the Septuagint, *Job* 33. 16. (as well as σῶμα in this Place) and κενε in *Prov.* 26. 17. which may convince us of the Ambiguity of the Word. Besides, we know the Latitude of the word *Heezin*, which signifies both *to bear* and *to obey*. It might be added, that as the *Opening* or *Boaring* the *Ear* signifies *Voluntary Subjection* or *Obedience*, and speaks a *Willing Servant*, (though not this

this only or altogether, as I have shew'd elsewhere) so the word *δούλος* likewise denotes a *Slave* or *Servile Person*, Rev. 18. 13. Thus opening and preparing, the Ear and the Body agree: and the Sense of both put together is this, *Thou hast made me Obedient.* Thus the *Hebrew* and *Greek* do friendly accord, so that we need not say with Mr. *Isaac Vossius*, that the Jews have corrupted this Place to evade the Prophecy. So in *Psal.* 105. 28. the Sense was attended to, not the Express Words; for whereas in the *Hebrew* it is [*they rebelled not against his Word*], the Word [*not*] is left out in the *Septuagint*, they following (as they thought) the Meaning of the Place, for they supposed it had Respect to *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians*, who, when these Plagues (here spoken of) were upon them, rebelled against God's Word. The Negative Particle *ο* may here be taken Interrogatively, (as in other Places, *Isa.* 9. 3. *Hos.* 4. 14.) and then the Words run thus, *Did they not rebel against his Word?* which is as much as to say, *they did*, therefore the LXX translated it Affirmatively, *they rebelled*, which is the same with our Old English Version, which we use in our Service, *they were not obedient.* But if we take [*ο*] here as a downright Negative, then the Place refers not to the *Egyptians*, but to *Moses* and *Aaron*, *these rebelled not against his Word.* Not of these, but of the others the *Septuagint*, it is likely, understood the Text, and accordingly rendred it. And in many other Places the Translation is not Literal, but follows the Sense. Which is observ'd by the Judicious Dr. *Pearson* in his *Paranetick Preface* before the *Cambridg* Edition of the LXX's Bible, where St. *Jerom's* Exceptions against this *Greek* Version are answer'd and made void, by shewing in several Instances that though we find not the same

same Words there that are in the *Hebrew*, yet we find the like Meaning. That is sufficient, because that was the thing the *Seventy* intended, for their Business was not to tie up themselves closely to the very Words and Phrases of the *Hebrew*: Which gives us some Account of the *Difference* between the *Greek* of the *Old Testament* and the *Original*.

6. This sometimes proceeds from the Errors committed by the *Transcribers* of the *Greek Copies*. Their Carelessness in writing them over hath been partly the Cause of the Variation of the Readings in the *Hebrew* and the 70 *Interpreters*: as in *Prov.* 8. 22. *Κέρις ἐκτίσεν με*, *Dominus creavit me*, is, by the Fault of the *Amanuenses*, put for *ἐκτίσεν με*, *possedit me*, which answers to the *Hebrew* *יָרַדָּנִי*. Not but that the word *ἐκτίσεν* may here admit of a good Interpretation, for we may understand it of the *Eternal Generation* of *Christ*. But *ἐκτίσεν* is exactly answerable to the *Original*, and is the same with *ἐκτίσας*, which is the Word used by *Aquila* in his Version of this Place. Wherefore we may justly impute *ἐκτίσεν* to the Negligence or Ignorance of the Scribes, as *St. Augustine* doth. And *Jerom* complains of this sort of Men, that they sometimes wrote not what they found, but what they understood. And without doubt upon a diligent Search we might find that the *LXX's Copy* is faulty in other Places by reason of the *Scribes*, through whose Hands (and those not a few) it passed.

7. The 70 *Interpreters* are wont to add many things by way of *Paraphrase*, and on that Account must needs seem to disagree with the *Hebrew*. Thus to explain *Gen.* 9. 20. *ish haadamah*, they insert the word *γέγονεν* thus, *ἰσθῆς γέγονεν*.

310 *The Excellency and Perfection*

γῆς, a *Man*, i. e. a *Husbandman*, of the *Earth*. *Morigim* is the Word for *threshing Instruments*, 2 Sam. 24. 22. Isa. 41. 15. the Nature of which is express'd to us by the Words which the LXX use here, viz. τροχοί, and τροχοὶ ἀμάξης, for the manner of *Threshing* in those Days was with *Cart-Wheels*. In Jer. 32. 35. βασιλεὺς is added to explain the word מολόχ, for the Signification of *Moloch is a King*. In Ezek. 38. 2. פֶּאֶס is prefix'd to מִסְעֵךְ, to acquaint us that *Rhos* was another Name of *Scythia*, whence the *Russians*. But this short way of Commenting or Paraphrasing on the Hebrew is so usual and frequent with them, and so plain and obvious to be taken notice of, that I need not Particularize.

8. They sometimes insert Words without any Ground or Occasion, Words which ought not to be inserted. Thus though the Hebrew Text saith, Gen. 8. 7. *Noah's Raven went forth, going out and returning*, yet the LXX say it *returned not*. Here is a flat Contradiction; though perhaps we may reconcile the *Hebrew* and *Greek*, by saying, *Noah's Raven did return unto the Ark, but not into it, but was fed by him out of the Window*. Or it is likely, say some, he hovered about the Ark, bringing his Prey (Carcases floating on the Water) and devouring them on the top of the Ark. But this is mere Conjecture. So the *Seventy Interpreters* put in *Cainan* as *Arphaxad's Son*, Gen. 10. 24. but the *Hebrew* omitteth him, and puts *Salah* in his stead; unless you will say with *Bochart*, that this and the former Interpolation were the Fault of the *Transcribers* of the *Seventy's Copies*, of which before. But further, the LXX usually add entire Sentences of their own, when there is no need of a Paraphrase or Comment: as in the 14th Psalm, ver. 3. they

they take several Passages out of Scripture, which are applicable (as they thought) to that Place, and there insert them, whence instead of seven Verses in this Psalm, according to our last *English Translation* (which follows the *Hebrew*) there are eleven in it, according to the Old one used in our *Service*, which follows the *Septuagint*. Thus in *Prov. 6.* after what is said there (*v. 6, 7, 8.*) of the *Ant.* they make bold to add something concerning the *Bee*, πορεύσθαι πρὸς τὴν μέλισσαν, &c. So in *Isaiab* and *Jeremiab*, and other Books, they take a great Liberty: there are several whole Sentences added that are not in the *Hebrew*, and many are left out that are in it. To instance at present only, in two of this latter sort, those Words in *Prov. 22. 6.* *Train up a Child in the way he should go; and when he is old he will not depart from it,* are wholly omitted; and the whole thirtieth Chapter of the *Proverbs*, and part of the one and thirtieth, are left out in this Translation. This is the Greatest Fault we have hitherto met with in the *Greek Interpreters*: but now cometh one which is much greater, and indeed unpardonable, if it be true.

Then, It is thought by some that in many Places they have wilfully corrupted and perverted the Text. It is thought at least that they did not exactly translate some Places, because they were loth to expose the *Bible* to the *Gentiles*. This was too rich and precious a Treasure to be imparted to them. It would be a profaning and polluting of it to lay it open to all Men. It is *Galatinus's* Perswasion, that in their turning the *Hebrew* into *Greek* they alter'd several things, because the *Eth-*
nicks

nicks were at that time unworthy of the Knowledge of those Divine Mysteries contain'd in the Bible: and this the *Talmud* it self witnesseth. The Pagan World was not able to bear several of those things: they would have seem'd Absurd and Ridiculous to them if they had been translated as they were in the Original. Hence, saith he, the *Seventy's* Version is imperfect, and seems to differ, yea really doth differ from the Hebrew in many Places. And a Learned Doctor of our own tells us, "That they translated the Bible unwillingly, they being loth to impart the Knowledge of the Scripture to Heathens: therefore, though being commanded by *Ptolomy*, they undertook this Work, yet going about it with unwilling Minds they did it Slightly and Perfunctorily, and it is likely Falshy in some Places. And this was long ago the Opinion of *St. Jerom*, who plainly declared, that 'where-ever any thing occurred in the Old Testament concerning the *Sacred Trinity*, it was either misinterpreted or wholly concealed by these 70 Elders: and this, he saith, was done by them partly to please King *Ptolomee*, and partly because they had no mind to divulge the Mysteries of their Faith to the World. Thus, as he observes in *Isa. 9. 6.* they left out five or six Names of Christ, and put in the place of them [*the Angel of the Great Counsel*]. They would not let it be known that *That Child was God*, lest they should be thought to worship another God; and therefore they purposely

Dr. Lightfoot. * Ubicumque sacramentum aliquid Scriptura testatur de Patre & Filio & Spiritu Sancto, aut aliter interpretati sunt, aut omnino tacuerunt, ut & Regi satisfacerent, arcum fidei non vulgarent. Præfat. in Pentateuch. † In Proœmio super Quæst. in Genes.

posely and maliciously concealed those Glorious Titles attributed to Christ, and more especially That [*the Mighty God*]. But this Author is more candid and mild in his Censure of these 70 Elders when in other Places he tells us, that many of those Copies and Editions of the Greek Translation, which were then abroad, were corrupted by the Fault of the Transcribers, and that it was his Design in his *Latin Version* to correct them. Again, he imputes their Mistakes to their Ignorance, saying, 'they made this Translation before the coming of Christ, and so knew not what they rendered in many Places, and therefore did it obscurely and dubiously. Wherefore he professeth he condemns not the *Seventy*, but only prefers the *Apostles* before them, their Writings being nearer to the Hebrew Original.

And truly I am not thoroughly convinced that the *Interpreters* themselves did wilfully corrupt the Translation; that they designedly misinterpreted the Hebrew Text, and falsified in the forementioned Plate and several others: for the *Messiah*, the *Christ*, was not come then, and there was no Controversy about him; and therefore, according to my Apprehension of things, it was too early time of Day to misrepresent or corrupt the Bible where it speaks of him. I rather think this was done afterwards, namely, after our Saviour appeared in the World, and had been rejected by the Jews as an Impostor. Then these Places before mentioned, and several others, began to be perverted;
L-1 then

* Illi interpretati sunt ante adventum Christi, & quod nesciebant dubiis protulere sententiis. — Non damno, non reprehendo Septuaginta, sed confidentes cunctis illis Apostolos praefero. Praef. in Pentateuch.

514 *The Excellency and Perfection*

then the Circumcised Doctors attempted to pare off some Passages, to make some Alterations in the Copies of the LXX which they got into their Hands. Then it was that they corrupted the *Chronology* of the Bible, which was of great Use to them. Hence it is that you find such a Difference between the Hebrew Copies and those of the *Septuagint*, about the Age of the World. It is not to be question'd that the Jews made an Alteration in the Years mention'd in the Pentateuch, which relate to the Lives of the Patriarchs, more especially those before the Flood, in that Catalogue in *Gen. 5*. According to the *Hebrew* Text there were 1656 Years from the *Creation* to the *Flood*, but according to the *Greek* there were about 2250. The younger *Vossius* is a smart Advocate for the *Septuagint*, and following their Computation tells us, that 4000 (wanting five or six) Years were expired before *Moses's* Death, and that from thence to our Saviour's Coming were above 2000 Years, so that *Christ* was incarnate at the end of the Sixth Millennium, or the beginning of the Seventh. The Sum is, that according to *Vossius* and the LXX's Reckoning, the time of the World's Beginning anticipates the *Vulgar Era* at least 1400 Years. This lengthning of the Account in the *Greek Bible* we owe to the Jews after the Coming of *Christ*, especially after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*. They then out of their Hatred to *Christians* changed the *Chronology* of the *Greek Interpreters*, expunged the *Contracted Era*, and introduced a larger one, i. e. they added one thousand four hundred Years to these Books. And their Design in doing this was to confute the Opinion of the *Messias's* Coming.

It

It would appear hence that the time was past, according to the general Sense of the Rabbies. For this Reason they made this Alteration in the Greek Translation, though they could not effect it in the Hebrew Copies. Hence arises the Difference between the Hebrew and Greek Computation. But we are assured that the Sacred Chronology deliver'd by *Moses* is certain, and the Calculation true and authentick, because the Hebrew Text is so, (which I have demonstrated in another Place) and consequently the Greek Version is to be corrected by this. But this Error of the *Septuagint* is not originally theirs, but is to be imputed to the latter Jews, (I mean those soon after our Saviour's Passion) who designedly and on purpose depraved the Greek Copies of the Bible. They were the Authors of several Interpolations, Additions, Omissions, Changes in the Order of the Words, and where-ever they saw occasion to make such Alterations as they thought would be to their purpose. Accordingly we find that their Translation is depraved in five very considerable Prophecies, viz. *Isa.* 9. 1. *Hos.* 11. 1. *Zech.* 9. 9. & 12. 10. *Mal.* 4. 5, all of them relating to the Proof that *Jesus Christ* is the True *Messias*. If any Man peruseth these Texts, and compares the *Hebrew* and the *LXX's* Version together, he will easily be induced to believe that this latter hath been corrupted by some Jews on purpose to serve their Infidelity and Averseness to *Jesus*, and that they might not be urged by Christians at any time from the Testimonies in this Greek Translation.

Object. But if the present Version of the *LXX* be so faulty and vicious, why is it quoted by Christ and his Apostles, why is it followed by them generally, as was

516 The Excellency and Perfection

before acknowledged? If the Evangelists and Apostles who were immediately directed by the Holy Ghost quoted this Translation, surely the Authority of it is unquestionable.

Ans. It cannot be denied that the Writers of the New Testament often cite the Version of the Septuagint; yea, and I will grant moreover, that they follow this Translation when it differs from the Hebrew; thus St. Luke, ch. 3. v. 36. takes in *Cainan* into the Genealogy, because he found it in the LXX. St. Luke, Acts 13. 41. or rather St. Paul in his Sermon (recited by him) retains the corrupt Version of *Hab. 1. 5.* The same Apostle in *Rom. 3. 13.* follows this Version, though it takes in four or five Verses more than are in the Original. In *Rom. 9. 33.* the same Apostle alledgeth *Isa. 28. 16.* *Whosoever believeth on him shall not be ashamed*, which is not according to the Hebrew, but the Greek. In *Rom. 11. 8.* he quotes what *Isaiah* saith, *ch. 29. v. 10.* but not according to the Original, but the Septuagint, though their Translation [*πνεῦμα κατάνυξεν*] be disagreeing with the Hebrew. In *Phil. 2. 15.* he uses the same Words and Order that are in the LXX, although they invert the Order of the Words in the Hebrew, which is this in *Deut. 32. 5.* *a perverse and crooked Generation*; but they render it *γενεὰ σκολιὰ καὶ διεστραμμένη*, *a crooked and perverse Generation*. So in *Heb. 10. 5.* he produceth that Place above-mentioned, [*a Body hast thou prepared me*] although these Words disagree with the Letter of the Hebrew, and are wholly conformable to the Septuagint. And lastly, (to name no more at present) when the Apostle tells us, that *Jacob worshipped leaning upon the top of his Staff*, *Heb. 11. 21.* it is evident (as hath been already shewed) that he follows the *Seventy*, who
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in their unpricked Bibles read [*Matteh*] a *Rod* or *Staff* for [*Mittab*] a *Bed*. Thus it is frankly acknowledged, that the Writers of the New Testament make use of the Greek Translation of the *Jewish Elders*, even when they depart from the Original Text. And there was good Reason for it, because the Greek Version was at that time generally received and approved of by the *Jews*: wherefore the Apostles being to deal with these Men, they prudently made use of it, and quoted it upon all Occasions. And it was better to do so than to give a stricter and exacter Translation of their own, because this might be liable to Scruple and Controversy, whereas the other was universally entertain'd and approved of. Besides, as a '*Christian Rabbi* observes, the *Jews* who were to read this *New Testament* could not quarrel with the Quotations because they were taken out of the Book which was translated by those that were *Jews*, and those very Eminent ones too. And then, as to the *Gentiles* also, there was a necessity of the Apostles using the LXX's Translation in their Writings, because these understood not the Hebrew Tongue: wherefore it was requisite to take their Quotations out of this Translation, lest otherwise the *Gentiles*, in whose Hands the Greek Bibles were, observing that what the Apostles cited was not according to These, should question the Truth of it, and of the New Testament it self. Thus there was a kind of Necessity of using this Translation oftentimes: but this is no Proof of its being faultless and void of all Mistakes and Errors. The Inspired Writers used this Version, not because they wholly approved of it, but because in their

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518 *The Excellency and Perfection*

Circumstances they could not do otherwise. But further, I answer, that though the Evangelists and Apostles followed this Translation generally, yet it is as certain that they did not do it always. The Reader may see here several Places drawn up to his View, wherein this is apparent ; and among them he will find those *Five Prophecies* before-mentioned, and see that the *Evangelists* follow not the *Seventy* in their Translation of these Texts, they knowing that they were derogatory to the *Messias*, and to the whole Gospel.

The Evangelists differ from the *Seventy's* Version in these following Places ;

<i>Mat.</i> 1. 23.	> taken from <	<i>Isa.</i> 7. 14.
<i>Mat.</i> 2. 6.		<i>Mic.</i> 5. 2.
<i>Mat.</i> 2. 15.		<i>Hof.</i> 11. 1.
<i>Mat.</i> 4. 10.		<i>Deut.</i> 6. 13.
<i>Mat.</i> 4. 15.		<i>Isa.</i> 9. 1.
<i>Mat.</i> 8. 17.		<i>Isa.</i> 53. 4.
<i>Mark</i> 1. 2.		<i>Mal.</i> 3. 1.
<i>Mark</i> 10. 19.		<i>Exod.</i> 20. 12, 13, &c.
<i>Luke</i> 1. 16, 17.		<i>Mal.</i> 4. 5, 6.
<i>Luke</i> 2. 23.		<i>Exod.</i> 13. 1.
<i>Luke</i> 4. 4.		<i>Deut.</i> 8. 3.
<i>Luke</i> 4. 18.		<i>Isa.</i> 61. 2.
<i>Luke</i> 7. 27.		<i>Mal.</i> 3. 1.
<i>Luke</i> 10. 27.		<i>Deut.</i> 6. 5.
<i>John</i> 1. 23.		<i>Isa.</i> 40. 3.
<i>John</i> 6. 45.		<i>Isa.</i> 54. 13.
<i>John</i> 12. 15.		<i>Zech.</i> 9. 9.
<i>John</i> 12. 40.		<i>Isa.</i> 6. 10.
<i>John</i> 19. 36.		<i>Exod.</i> 12. 36.
<i>John</i> 19. 37.		<i>Zech.</i> 12. 10.

I might have drawn up the like *Catalogue* of Places in the *Epistles*; I only direct your Eye at present to these ensuing ones, *Rom.* 4. 17. *Gal.* 3. 8. *Gal.* 4. 30. taken from *Gen.* 17. 4. & 12. 3. & 21. 10.

More particularly I might observe to you (in pursuance of what I have asserted, that the Evangelists and Apostles do not always make use of the LXX's Translation) that when these Inspired Writers of the New Testament have occasion to quote the Old, they sometimes keep themselves to the Hebrew Text *exactly*, and have no regard at all to the Words of the *Greek Interpreters*. It was long since noted by St. *Jerom*, that when either St. *Matthew* or our Saviour in his *Gospel* quotes the Old Testament, they follow not the LXX, but the Hebrew. Again, sometimes the Apostles follow neither the *Hebrew* nor the *Septuagint*, but use some Words and Expressions of their own, and Paraphrase rather than Translate. This they do to bring the Texts they alledg closer to the purpose, inserting such Words as give an Emphasis to them, and shew the true Scope and Design of the Texts. Therefore we cannot, we must not hence infer that either the *Hebrew Original* or the *Seventy's Version* are corrupted; because it was not the Design of the Evangelists to quote the very Words, but they thought fit to use a Latitude, and to express the Text of the Old Testament not in exact Terms, but as to the Meaning and Import of it. So in the quoting that Text, *Mic.* 5. 2. *Thou Bethlehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall be come forth unto me, that is to be Ruler in Israel*, the Evangelist

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doth it not *verbatim*, but sets it down thus, *Mat.* 2. 6. *Thou Bethlehem, in the Land of Judah, art not the least among the Princes of Judah: for out of thee shall come a Governour that shall rule my People Israel.* Here are six or seven Words that are not in the Hebrew, neither are they in the Seventy's Version. Yea, there is a Negative put in the Place of an Affirmative; for whereas the Prophet saith, *though thou be little*, the Evangelist saith, *thou art not little*, or *not least*, which shews that he minds the Sense and Scope of the Place, not the very Words: for though *Bethlehem* was *little*, consider'd in it self, as being a small Town, yet it was *not little* on another Account mention'd by the Prophet, *viz.* its having the Honour of being the Birth-place of our Lord. Or if this inserting of a Negative may be solved another way, (as some have thought, and as I have shew'd in another Place) yet still it is evident that the Evangelist doth not recite the very Words of *Micah*, but changeth *Ephrath* for the *Land of Judah*, and *thousands* for *Princes*, and in other Words and Particles varies both from the LXX and the Original. And in many other Texts I might shew you, that the Writers of the New Testament do not tie themselves up to the very Words of the Old Testament, but choose rather to paraphrase, or give the Meaning in other Expressions. Thus we see the Translation of the LXX, though it be often, yet is not always followed in the New Testament. Likewise, although the Apostles in these Writings were immediately directed by the Holy Ghost, yet they confined not themselves to the express Words of the Spirit in the Original Hebrew; and we see that, though not
always,

always, yet often they followed the *Septuagint*, because it was generally received, and they thought it not fit to vary from the Translation which was used in the Church: and we see likewise, that when they vary from this Translation, it is no certain Argument that they did not allow and approve of it, for they intended not an Exact Translation themselves, but a Paraphrase, and a rendring the Sense rather than the Words.

The Result then of all is this, that we ought to have that Respect and Esteem for the *LXX's* Version which it deserveth: (to which purpose the *Judicious Examiner* of it before mention'd is to be consulted, who shews how necessary it is for all Divines to be acquainted with it) we ought not to extol it (as some extravagantly have done) above the *Hebrew*, nor to depress and vilify it (as others have done) as if it were of no Worth or Authority. We ought thus to behave our selves; we must not wholly reject it, because *most* of its Faults and Mistakes proceed from the mere mistaking of Vowels or Consonants, from the Ambiguity of Words, from the Liberty which they take of Paraphrasing, and from the Neglect of Transcribers. But on the other hand, we ought not wholly to embrace this Translation, because it hath fallen into ill Hands, and hath met with some designing Men (it is probable) who have endeavour'd to deprave and corrupt it, yea and have actually done it in some Places. We are concerned therefore to read it with *Candour* and *Caution*; with the *former*, because it is a Translation of great Antiquity, yea the Oldest Greek Translation of the Bible that is, because it hath been used by the Sacred Penmen of the

the New Testament, because it may be made use of by us for the better understanding and clearing the Sense of the Hebrew, and to other very good Purposes, and because the disagreement between it and the *Hebrew* may as to the Main admit of a Reconciliation, as I have partly shew'd, and you may further see in the Learned *Critical Historian*. With the latter also, *i. e.* with *Caution* we must consult this Version, because we know it hath justly merited the Censure of the Learned; not only of St. *Jerom* the best Hebrician of all the Fathers, but of a great Number of other Observing and Inquisitive Writers, who find that this Translation doth frequently, and sometimes very grossly dissent from the Hebrew, and for that Cause reprehend it with great Seriousness. For this they all agree upon, that where the Greek Version of the 70 is not conformable to the Hebrew either in Words or Sense, (as in diverse Places it is not) it is perverted and corrupted; and where it is so, we must impeach This, and not the Hebrew of Error and Imperfection.

That Assertion of the *Younger Vossius*, viz. that the 70 Interpreters had the Authentick Copy of the Hebrew Bible, and translated exactly by that, but that the Hebrew Bible which we now have is corrupted, is justly to be exploded as not only Bold but Pernicious: wherein he extreamly gratifies the *Romanists*, who contend that the Hebrew Text is depraved, that they may defend the Authority of the *Vulgar Latin*. But those that are not led by Prejudice discern that this is meer Design, and that the Business of those Men is to defend the Authority of their Church by what Artifices they can: Wherefore they give no heed to them,

them, and particularly in this present Matter they despise their fond applauding of the *Septuagint*, and their groundless Cavils against the *Hebrew Text*, and notwithstanding their impertinent Suggestions find reason to adhere to this unshaken Truth, that the *Hebrew Text* only is void of all Faults, Errors, Mistakes, Blemishes, Defects, Depravations, and that it is this we must ultimately rely upon. Wherefore where there is a Difference between the Version of the 70 Seniors and the *Hebrew*, That is to give place to This, and not This to That. And lastly, which is the rational Conclusion from all that hath been said, there is no Proof of the *Scripture's Imperfection* from this Disagreement between the *Hebrew* and the *Greek*.

Next, I will speak of the *Latin Versions* of the Bible, which even in St. *Augustin's* Time were so many that they could not be numbred, as ' he saith himself. All the *Latin Translations* of the Old Testament before *Jerom* were made out of the *LXX's Version*, and not out of the *Hebrew Original*, for generally the Fathers before *Jerom* used and adhered to the *Greek Version*. But he attaining to great Skill in the *Hebrew* contented not himself with these Second-hand Versions, but undertook and finish'd a Translation of his own, wherein he followed the *Hebrew Original*. The Chiefest *Latin Versions* were these three, 1. that which was call'd *Itala* by St. *Augustin*, by St. *Jerom* *Vulgata*, and by *Gregory Vetus*. This of all the *Latin Editions* was the most generally received and used, and was really the Antientest of all the *Latin Tran-*

¹ Latini interpretes nullo modo numerari possunt. De doctr. Christiana, l. 2. c. 11.

Translations. But this was but a Translation of a Translation, viz. that of the 70, and must have undergone the same Censure with the Greek Version (of which I spoke before) if it had been now extant. But it is not, it is wholly lost: only the *Psalms* remain, and as much as is found quoted here and there in the Fathers and Antient Writers.

2. *St. Jerom's Version*, for this Learned Father observing the Errors in the several Latin Versions (the *Italian* especially) which were in his time, did (as I said before) translate both the Old and New Testament himself: the first he wholly did by a New Translation out of the Hebrew Original; the second was rather a Correction and Emendation of the *Old Latin* or *Italian* Version than a New One. The *Psalms*, because they were daily sung in the Churches, and could not without offence to the People be changed, remained the same that they were in the Old Version. There is no occasion to add any *Censure* of Ours here concerning this Translation, because it agrees with the Original Hebrew. Only we will observe that when *St. Jerom* had finished it, it was not presently received by the *Latin Church*, but many Bishops refused it, and *St. Augustin* particularly forbid it to be read in his Diocese, so greatly did they esteem the Greek Version of the LXX. Many that were ignorant in the Hebrew Tongue spoke against this Translation as a meer Innovation, and fell heavily upon the Author of it: But he with great earnestness defended his Work, and sometimes repaid the Invectives of his Adversaries with too much Bitterness. Though some Bishops and others disliked his Translation, yet it was authorized and approved of by *Damasus* (the then Bishop of *Rome*, by whose Command it was first undertaken) and a great Number of other under-

derstanding Persons, who saw its conformity to the Hebrew Text, and perceived it was void of those Mistakes which the other Latin Translations abounded with. Whilst this Division lasted both the Translations were publickly read, *i. e.* they read some Books of the Bible in *Jerom's Version*, and others in the *Italian*: and this lasted till the time of *Gregory the Great*. At length another Translation prevail'd, *viz.* 3. The *Vulgar* which we now have, which is made up of both the former, and is call'd by the *Romanists* *Vetus & Vulgata*. This by degrees got the better of all the others in the *Roman Church*, and was generally used by them, and is still Authentick there, and is the *Vulgar Latin* which they now so commend, yea, which *some* of the Church of *Rome* hold to be of Divine Inspiration, and consequently free from all Faults either in Words or Matter: and there are others of them, as *Genebrard* and *Mariana*, who extravagantly extol it, and they would perswade us that both the *Italian* and *St. Jerom's Version* are comprised in this one.

But it is evident that this is not the *Old Italian* Translation which was used before *Jerom* and *Augustin's* Time, for that was made out of the *Greek Version* of the 70 Interpreters, whereas this differs from it in many Places. Nor is this *Vulgar Latin* of the Church of *Rome* *St. Jerom's Version*, because that was exactly according to the Hebrew Text; but this though it comes nearer to the Hebrew than to the 70 Interpreters, yet it often varies from the Hebrew, and adds many things to it, as in the Book of *Kings* especially, and in other Places: So that this *Modern Vulgar Edition* is not the Pure Version of *Jerom*, but mixt of his Translation and of the

Gregorius de Valentia, Gretserus, Titelmannus, &c.

526 *The Excellency and Perfection*

the old one which was in the Latin Church before his Time: And this is the Opinion even of those Great Romanists *Baronius* and *Bellarmino*. We know then what censure to give of this *Latin Edition* of the Bible, it is for the greatest Part of it very Antient, and hath been used many Ages in the Church, and is justly reckon'd to be a very Learned Translation, for which reason *Fagius*, who was well skill'd in the Hebrew Tongue, and *Drusius* whom all acknowledg to be a Learned Critick, had a great Reverence for this Edition, and give a very high Character of it: and *Beza* and *Grotius* prefer it before all other Latin Translations. Yet this is certain, it hath many things faulty in it; it leaves the Hebrew very often, and follows the *Septuagint* or the *Chaldee Paraphrase*, or even some *Rabbin*. *Lucas Brugensis* took notice of above six hundred Faults in it: and *Isidore Clarius* a Spanish Abbot (and afterwards of the Council of *Trent*) observed eight thousand *Errata's* in it. Besides that it hath many Barbarous Words, the Sense in many Places is corrupted, and sometimes quite lost. Sometimes it runs directly contrary to the Original Text, as in *Gen. 8. 7. non revertebatur* instead of *revertebatur*: And in *1 Cor. 15. 51. Omnes quidem resurgemus, sed non omnes immutabimur*; whereas according to the Greek it should have been, *Non omnes dormiemus, sed omnes mutabimur*: And several Instances might be produced of the like Nature. So far is the *Vulgar Latin* from being absolutely *Authentick*, as the 'Council of *Trent* determined it to be even before that Edition was mended. But see how that Council baffles it self; it defines the *Vulgar Latin* to be the *Authentick*, and then orders it to

to be Corrected, and printed again. Accordingly the Popes set about the mending of it, first *Sixtus the Fifth* put forth a mended Copy, and tied all Persons to that: when he was dead *Gregory the Fourteenth* set about the correcting of that Edition: and afterwards *Clement the Eighth* amended Pope *Gregory's* in many Places. This was done after the Council of *Trent* had declared the *Vulgar Latin* to be the *Authentick* Copy: Which, with what we have suggested before, is a clear Proof that it deserves not that Epithet, but that there were and are still in it many Corruptions. In vain therefore doth the Church of *Rome* prefer this *Vulgar Latin Edition* of the Bible before the *Hebrew* and *Greek Originals*; unreasonably do the Doctors of that Church complain of the Defects and Errors of these, yea maliciously do they urge the Disagreement between these, especially the *Hebrew* and the *Vulgar Latin*, and thereby endeavour to accuse the Sacred Scriptures of Imperfection. The Sum is (notwithstanding what the *Romanists* and some others that are their Abettors, endeavour to impose upon the World) the latter, i. e. the *Vulgar Latin* is ever to be corrected by the former, viz. the *Hebrew*, and not this by that.

Besides these 3 *Old Latin Versions* there are others that may justly be called *Modern*; for soon after the Year of our Lord 1500, there arose several Learned Men well skill'd in the Tongues, who seeing the Corruptions that were in the *Latin Versions*, and comparing these with the Originals, endeavoured to correct them by those Fountains. Hence after the Attempts of *Ximinius* Archbishop of *Toledo* in his *Opus Biblicum Complutense*, which came out A. D. 1515. and was the first Polyglot Bible; and after the publishing of *Psalterium Ose-*
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§ 28 The Excellency and Perfection

plum in a short time afterwards by *Justinian* an Italian Bishop, there 'appear'd in the World the Translation of all the Hebrew Bible into Latin by *Santes Pagninus* a Dominican Friar. This Version was made *Interlinear* with the Hebrew Bible by *Arias Montanus*; or rather, this Version which *Pagninus* had put out being not exactly Literal, *Montanus* supplied it, and fitted it to the very Hebrew Words, and then put out a New Edition: and many Years after this it was reprinted in the King of Spain's Great Bible which *Montanus* put forth. Cardinal *Cajetan* also turned the Old Testament out of Hebrew into Latin. *Isidorus Clavius* cannot so properly be call'd a Translator, as a Corrector of the *Vulgar Latin*. *Maluenda* a Dominican rendred some Books of the Old Testament into this Language. The Renowned *Erasmus* (whom *F. Simon* takes no notice of in his Catalogue of Translations) turn'd the New Testament into Latin.

Hitherto I have mention'd *Roman Catholics*: next follow *Protestants* and those of the *Reformed Religion*, the first whereof was *Sebastian Munster* a German, who publish'd his New Latin Version of the Old Testament three Years before *Pagninus*'s came forth, and afterwards corrected it and publish'd it anew. He is a most exact Renderer of the true Sense of the Hebrew Text. *Leo Juda* a *Zuinglian* of *Helvetia* translated the Old Testament out of Hebrew, and it was published after his Death, about the Year 1543; the last Edition of which is usually call'd *Parabius's Bible*; because he added Notes to it, or the *Biblia Tigurina* from the Place (*Zurich*) where the Translator was Pastor. He indutgeth a kind of *Paraphrase*, to make the Sense more

easy and plain, whereas *Munster* more rigidly follow'd the very Words. Afterwards *Castellio* put forth a Latin Translation of the whole Bible, for which he is severely reprov'd both by Papists and Protestants, as if it were too light and florid, too quaint and fanciful; but if we consider the Design of this Translator, which was to recommend the Holy Scriptures by presenting them in a Neat and Elegant Stile, we shall see little reason to blame him. The New Testament was turn'd into the same Language by *Theodore Beza*. And last of all, *Janus* and *Tremellius* did both of them jointly translate the Old Testament out of Hebrew, and *Tremellius* alone the New Testament out of Syriack: a Work which is nightly applauded by the Learned *Buxtorf* (who had Skill to judg of it) and is constantly made use of in his *Lexicon*. As to the *Osianders* (Father and Son) though they be reckon'd among the *Modern Translators* by *F. Simon*, yet I do not see that it can properly be done, because they only put forth the *Antient Latin Version* Word for Word in the Old Edition, with some *Corrections* of their own in the Margin, not altering the Text at all. These are the *Latter Versions* of the Bible, all which have more or less amended the Faults of the *Vulgar Latin*, and have brought us nearer to the Fountain. Upon the whole I conclude that these several Learned Translators are all of them in their kind very useful, some by keeping close to the Original, others by using a Latitude. They have presented us, but in a Different Stile and Mode, with the true genuine meaning of the Original, and none-but Frivolous Objectors can complain of any considerable Disagreement between these Versions and the *Hebrew* or *Greek* Text. The Difference that is between the Translations themselves

530 *The Excellency and Perfection*

is usually in the Diversity of Expressions used by the Translators, which causeth no Disagreement between them and the Originals. But if any other Difference be found, we know that the *Latin* must always give way to the *Hebrew* and *Greek*, and be regulated by them as the Clock by the Sun. Take this in the Words of a Great Man, even of the *Roman* Perswasion; "Wheresoever, saith he, the
 " *Latin* Translators disagree, or a reading is sus-
 " pected to be corrupted, we must repair to the
 " Original in which the Scriptures were writ, as
 " *St. Jerom* and *Augustin* and other Writers of the
 " Church direct: so that the Truth and Sincerity
 " of the Translations of the *Old Testament* must be
 " examined by the *Hebrew* Copies, and of the *New*
 " by the *Greek* Ones. So Cardinal *Ximenius* in his
Preface to Pope Leo.

Having gone thus far, I will now proceed farther, and speak concerning *Our Own Translation*. Our Countrey-man *Bede* about 700 Years after Christ translated the Bible into *Saxon*. *Wickliff* about 600 Years afterwards translated it into the *English* Language, then understood and used by the People of this Place. Not long after this *John Trevisa*, a Cornish Divine, set forth the whole Bible in *English*. In the Year 1527, *Tindal* translated the *Pentateuch* and the *New Testament*: and afterwards both he and *Coverdale* joined in the Work, and finish'd the Translation of the whole Bible. *Tunstal* and *Heath* (both Bishops) translated it anew: and in the beginning of *Q. Elizabeth's* Reign Archbishop *Parker* and other Bishops made another more Correct Translation, which was call'd the *Bishop's Translation*, or *Bible*. In *K. James's* Time another came forth, which we make use of and read in our Churches at this Day. It is certain that this last
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English Translation of the Bible is in great repute among *Foreigners*, and is acknowledged by them to be the most exact that is extant. We have as great reason to own it to be such, especially if we take it with the *Margin*, where are set down the several Senses of many Original Words, whether Hebrew or Greek: so that where there is any doubt of the meaning of the Word which occurs, we may take our choice. Our *English* Bibles surpass all other Translations as to this, and hereby it comes to pass that the Holy Scriptures are faithfully and fully represented to our People, and they are laid before them in their native Purity and Perfection, so far as the Skill and Labours of those Translators attain'd to at that time. And yet I conceive it would be no Derogation to our *English* Bible if it were once more revised, and the Translation made more accurate and exact in some Places than it is. Which leads me to the *Next General* Part of my Undertaking, viz. the Emendation of the present *English* Version.

CHAPTER XXI.

Our English Translation shew'd to be faulty and defective in some Places of the Old Testament. But more largely and fully this is performed in the several Books of the New Testament, where abundant Instances are produced of this Defect: and particular Emendations are all along offer'd, in order to the rendering our Translation more exact and complete. The Part of the Division of the Bible into Chapters and Verses.

I Will now, according to what I propounded in the Entrance into this Discourse, attempt to shew the Defect of the present English Translation, and at the same time to let you see how it is to be supplied and remedied; that so this Sacred Volume may be presented to the Readers in its Utmost Perfection. There is a great Number of Places both in the Old and New Testament which ought to be otherwise rendred, but I will chiefly confine my self to the *New Testament* at present. It is true the *Margin* of our Bibles doth give us another Sense or Version of the Words in many Places: but those I shall pass by, because they are already before the Reader's Eye. I shall take notice of those Words only which are not otherwise translated in the Margin. Many Corrections of the English Translation are attempted by that Excellent Knight Sir Norton Knatchbull, in his *Annotations* on the New Testament: but I have not inserted any of them here, because I design to mention those only which are of my own Observation, and which at several Readings of the Bible have occurred to

me. I will instance in those Mistakes and Faults alone which are not (that I know of) found out and observed by any other Persons. Nor am I in this Attempt endeavouring so much to discover a *more* Fault in the present one (which is Good and Excellent) *rather*, by laying aside some unlit Words and Modes of Speech, and by substituting others in their room, and by changing the Frame and Disposition of some particular Periods.

Those few Places of the *Old Testament* which I offer to be amended are these; *Gen.* 27. 38. *Hast thou but one Blessing?* where there is a Word left out, *viz.* that distinctive Particle *אין*, so that according to the *Hebrew* it should be rendred thus, *hast thou but that one Blessing?* The Omission of [*this*] is a Fault in Our Translation, as well as in some others. In *2 Kings* 5. 18. the word *חנן* is thrice used, which signifies *to bow*, but we translate it *to worship* in one of the Places; which I reckon as faulty, because the same Words ought to be translated alike. In *Psal.* 14. 2. the true Version is *the Sons of Adam*. In *Psal.* 104. 25. the *Hebrew* Word *שׁוֹכֵן* should be rendred *Swimming*, for that is the Denotation of the Word when 'tis applied to *Fishes*. In the *Old English Translation* of the Book of *Psalms* which is used in our Divine Service, there are many things that require Correction: but because it may be our Church retains it for the same Reason, that when *St. Jerom* translated the Bible into *Latin*, he did not alter the former Version of the *Psalms*, but left it entire as it was, because these were sung in the Publick Assemblies, and People generally had them by Heart; wherefore he was loth to discompose so settled a piece of Devotion; for this Reason I will say nothing here towards the Amendment of this Translation. In

534 The Excellency and Perfection

Isa. 1. 13. we read of *vain Oblations*, *the new Moons and Sabbaths*; but in the Hebrew these are in the singular Number, and therefore should be so translated: Particularly as to the word [*Chodesh*] *the new Moon*, it will not be distinguish'd from *Chodaschim*, *new Moons*, which you find in the next Verse, unless you observe the Distinction between the singular and plural. *Isa. 2. 10.* is translated thus, *Hide thee in the Dust for fear of the Lord*, but not rightly; for the Hebrew *יִתְחַבֵּא תַּחַת הָעָפָר מִפְּנֵי יְהוָה* must be rendred either in these Words [*from the Face of the terrible Lord*] or these, [*from or because of the Presence of the Lord of Terror*] or thus, [*from the Presence of the Terror of the Lord*], and so it must be translated in *ver. 19.* where the Words recur again. It may be some may look upon *וְ* as an Expletive here, because it is so in many Places, but we know that in many other Places it is not; and seeing that Word here may bear a Positive Signification, there is Reason we should take it so. It is my Perswasion that the applying of the word *Fury* to God, in *Lev. 26. 28.* *Job 20. 23.* *Dan. 9. 16.* *Mic. 5. 15.* *Zech. 8. 2.* and above forty times in *Isaiah*, *Jeremiab*, and *Ezekiel*, is very blameable; for the Hebrew Words *Aph*, *Charon*, *Chemah*, *Chamath*, have no such ill import; they only signify the *Heat or Height of Anger*, and are rendred *Συμῆς* by the *Seventy*. But *Fury* is something of another Nature, and denotes *Excess and Exorbitancy of Wrath*, and even *Madness* it self. Therefore I apprehend our Translators have done ill (though I question not their innocent Meaning) in attributing such a Passion to God. Wherefore instead of *Fury*, let *great Anger* or *great Wrath* be used in the Translation. Again, if I would be Curious I could blame our Translators

tors for using the word *Benjamite* or *Benjamites*, *Judg.* 3. 15. (and in half a score Places more) instead of *Benjaminite* or *Benjaminites*: for (as I have hinted before) the Word being used to signify the *Children of Benjamin*, or the *Sons of Jemini*, (as 'tis in the Hebrew in some Places) it must needs have those two Letters more inserted into it, otherwise you cannot derive it from those Words: wherefore it must needs be *Benjaminites*, not *Benjamites*, as our English Translators have curtail'd it. As to the Words *Tyre* and *Tyrus*, the former of which is to be found in *Isaiab* and *Joel*, and the latter in *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, and other Prophets, I conceive it were better to use one of these only, for why should not the Name of the same Place be express'd and written the same? Let it then be *Tyre* or *Tyrus*, but not both. Here also I might take notice of some Unfit and Obsolete Words, the changing of which for others that are more in use would render the English Version much better. Thus *set*, *1 Kings* 9. 28. or *ever*, *Eccles.* 12. 6. *Dan.* 6. 24. *chaws*, *Ezek.* 29. 4. & 38. 4. *grins*, *Psal.* 140. 5. & 141. 9. *taches*, *Exod.* 26. 6. *aliant*, *Job* 19. 15. *Psal.* 69. 8. might be chang'd into *setch'd*, *before*, *Jaws*, *Gins*, (or *Traps* or *Snares*) *Tacks*, (or *Clasps*) *alien*, especially this last being the Word which is used in other Places both in the Old and New Testament. Instead of the word *after* in several Places, it were better to use *according to*. *Who* should be put in the Place of *which*, when there is reference to a *Person*, not a *Thing*; otherwise there is a Confusion and Misunderstanding in many Texts, unless we have Recourse to the *Original*.

But they are the *Defects* in our English Translation of the *New Testament* which I principally design'd to insist upon: therefore those I hasten to,

536 *The Excellency and Perfection*

which are as follow. In *Mat.* 3, 7. and so in *ch.* 23. v. 33. our Translators render γεννηματα *Generation*, but it should be in the Plural. This Fault is amended in *Luke* 3, 7. in the marginal Reading, where there is added [*Broods*]: and in *Mat.* 12. 34. in some English Bibles it is translated [*Generations*]. It should be so in this Place, and where-ever else the Word is mentioned; for if we will be exact in our Translation, we must assign Plural Nouns a Plural Signification. This I think no Man will deny. In *Mat.* 5. 18. ἕως ἂν πάντα γένωται is rendered thus, *till all be fulfilled*, but the word πληροῦσαι is in the Verse before, which we render *to fulfil*: therefore it is requisite in my Opinion that there should be another English Word for γένωται, that two different Words being placed so near together may not be translated *alike*. Let that Clause therefore be english'd thus, *till all be done, or till all come to pass*. In *ch.* 5. 22. συνέδριον may very properly be rendered *the Sanhedrim*, both because that particular Council or Court of the Seventy two is meant, and because that Word is the Corruption of συνέδριον. In v. 37. ἐκ τῆς πονηρίας ἔστι, should be translated *is of Evil*, not *cometh of Evil*. In *Mat.* 8. 22. ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν νεκρῶν, &c. which we translate [*let the Dead bury their Dead*] is better turn'd into our Language thus, *leave, or suffer, or permit the Dead to, &c.* for so the Imperative ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν, and the Person to whom Christ speaks, are clearly and distinctly denoted: *suffer thou the Dead to bury their Dead, thou who art one of my Disciples, and hast other Work to do*. In *ch.* 11. v. 27. 'tis improper to say, *no Man knoweth the Son but the Father*, as if the Father were included in *Man*: but indeed the Greek Word οὐδείς is more general, and should be translated *none, or not any one*. The right

right Translation of *Mat. 13. 21.* is not [*when Tribulation or Persecution ariseth*] but it should be thus, [*when there is Tribulation or Persecution*] or [*when Tribulation or Persecution happen*]: but the former of these, viz. [*is*] best answers to the Original Word *γενόμενος*. In *Mat. 14. 6.* [*danced before them*] should be [*danced in the midst*] according to the Greek *ἐν τῷ μέσῳ*: and you will find that thus it is translated in *Acts 4. 7.* In *Mat. 14. 26.* *φάντασμα* &c. may be rendred [*it is an Apparition*] rather than [*it is a Spirit*]: for though a *Spectrum* or *Angel* (good or bad) appearing be vulgarly call'd a *Spirit*, and was so call'd of old, as is evident from *Luke 24. 37, 39.* yet *φάντασμα* and *πνεῦμα* being two distinct Words, we ought not to render them alike. The Translators were sensible of this when they exchanged the word *Spirit* for *Phantasm* in the Margent: but I conceive the word *Apparition* is to be preferred before that, because it is more in use, and more intelligible. He walked on the Water, saith our Translation, *Mat. 14. 29.* but in the Greek it is *ὕδατα*, *Waters*, and therefore they mistake the singular for the plural. I offer it to Consideration, whether *διδάσκοντες διδασκαλίαις, ἐντολματα ἀνθρώπων*, *Mat. 15. 9.* may not be rendred thus, [*teaching Doctrines which are the Commandments of Men*] or by inserting of [*and*] which seems to be implied in this Place, thus, [*teaching the Doctrines and Commandments of Men*]. *Commandments* seems to be put after *Doctrines* by way of Apposition. In *ver. 22.* instead of *those Coasts* we read [*the same Coasts*], and for [*cried, saying unto him*] we read [*cried unto him, saying*] which are both of them disagreeing with the Greek. In the last Verse of this Chapter *ἐβέβη εἰς τὸ πλοῖον*, might be englished [*he went into a Ship*] rather than [*be*

538 The Excellency and Perfection

[*he took Ship*]; for though this latter Phrase be the vulgar way of speaking, yet the former is more agreeable to the Original. *Mat. 16. 4.* [*there shall no Sign be given unto it*] varies from the Greek, according to which it should be [*a Sign shall not be given unto it*]. *Not* and *no* are two different Parts of Speech. In the same Chapter, *ver. 22.* *ἰδεὲς σοι* is not to be rendred *be it far from thee*, but *be favourable to thy self*. In *v. 23.* we read [*he turned and said*] but 'tis in the Greek [*he turning said*]. In *v. 27.* there is a double Fault, for instead of [*he shall render*] 'tis said [*he shall reward*], and [*according to his Works*] (in the Plural) is put for [*according to his Work*] or *bis Doing*. In *ch. 17. v. 12.* the Greek is *ὅτι ἐπέγνωσαν αὐτόν*, i. e. *they acknowledg'd him not*; which is more than *they knew him not*, according to our Translation. In *ch. 18. v. 10.* the Greek *ἀρᾶν* should be rendred *see* (as it is in some other Places) and not *take heed*. In the same Chapter, *v. 23.* *ἀνθρώπου βασιλῆ* should not be translated [*to a certain King*] but [*to a Man that was a King*]. See *Luke 24. 19.* In *v. 28.* the same *Servant* should be *that Servant*, for the word is *ἐκεῖνος*. In *ch. 19. v. 11.* the Greek is *ὅτι πάντες ἤρουν*, *all do not receive*, whereas according to our Translation it is *all Men cannot receive*. In *ch. 20. v. 2.* *grant that they may sit* is not the right englishing of *εἰπὲν ἵνα καθίσωσιν*, but *say that they shall sit* is. In *ch. 21. v. 33.* *he hedged it round about*, should be rather thus, *he set a Hedge about it*, for in the Greek there is both a Verb and a Substantive (*viz. φραγιδὸν περιέθηκε*) which are not express'd in our Translation. In *ch. 22. v. 9.* we render *διεξόδους τῶν ὁδῶν* *the high Ways*, but this doth not express the two Greek Words, which may be englished thus, *the by-goings out of the Ways*, or *the*
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thorow-Passages of the Ways, for διὰ hath both Significations. That is a palpable Error of our Translation in *ch. 23. v. 13. ye shut up the Kingdom of Heaven against Men*, whereas it should be *before Men*, or *in the Sight of Men*, for that is the known Signification of ἐμπροσθεν. In *ver. 24. διῴλισεν ἡ κώνωπα* is to *strain a Gnat*, not to *strain at a Gnat*. The Jews were wont to strain all their Wine, lest any little Insects should be mingled with it, that they might not swallow any such Unclean Animals as Gnats, or the like. To this our Saviour alludes here, he reminds them of their superstitious separating or straining the least Insects from the Liquor which they drank: and therefore our present Translation is amiss. In *Mat. 24. 34, 35. παρίρχει-σθαι* is the word in both Verses, and seeing it is rendred *pass away* in the latter Verse, it should not be bare *passing* in the former, as if the word were not the very same. The plural is put instead of the singular in *ch. 26. v. 44. saying the same Words*, but in the Greek it is τὸ αὐτὸν λόγον. Likewise our English Translation is not exact in *v. 73. thy Speech bewrayeth thee*, but the Greek is δὴλόν σε ποιεῖ, *maketh thee manifest*. I know these two are of the same Signification, but that is nothing to the purpose, for we are speaking of a Translation which supposes the Exact rendring of one or more Words into another Tongue, if it be capable of it: so that we are confined to Words (where it is possible and convenient) as well as Sense. Our Translators render *ch. 27. v. 5. in this manner, He departed, and went and bang'd himself*, but I conceive it ought to be translated thus, *He went apart, or aside (first), and (then) went, and strangled himself.* Ἀνεχώρησεν, *he retired*, as the word is used, *Mat. 14. 13. John 6. 15. and other Places.* It would be

a Tautology, if it were no more than be *separated*, for that is the same with *was*, which follows. I translate it *he strangled himself*, because this word takes in both *strangling* or *choaking himself* with Grief or Melancholy, and also with a Halber. In v. 9. of this Chapter there should in the Margin be added the Place of *Jeremiah* which is refer'd to, viz. *Jer. 31. 9.* as well as that of *Zachary*. In v. 52. we read [*the Graves were opened*] but it should rather be *the Monuments or Tombs*, and so indeed our Translators render the word *monumenta*, v. 60. The true rendering of *is* shown in v. 69. is not *as you can*, but *as you know*; and then those Words there must not run thus, *make it as sure as you can*, but *make it sure, as you know*, i. e. as you know how, as you know best. These are the Places in the Evangelist *St. Matthew* which I conceive are to be corrected in our Translation, because they are not conformable to the Original, but some of them especially seem to vary much from it. There is a Fault or two likewise which perhaps may be imputed to the Printer rather than the Translators, as that in *Mat. 8. 14.* [*his Wives Mother*] which should be [*his Wife's Mother*] for it is not plural but singular. So in *Mat. 10. v. ult.* which speaks of *a Cup of cold Water*, you may observe, that *Water* is not in the Original, and therefore should be written or printed in another Letter, as those Words that are not in the Original generally are in the *English Bible* of the last Translation. I might take notice of the Omission of a notable Reference in *Mat. 2. 23.* As in other Places generally the Texts that are refer'd to either in the Old or New Testament are set down in the Margin, so here it would be convenient to do the like, i. e. to place *Alts 24. 5.* on the side of those

those Words, *He shall be call'd a Nazarite.*

I proceed to the Evangelist St. Mark, where I have but one or two Places to offer. Our Translators have not been exact in rendring φωνὴ μεγάλη, ch. 1. v. 26. for they do not translate it a *great Voice* but a *loud Voice*, and the like they do in many other Places. But though a *great Voice* be a *loud* one, yet μέγας and ἔνυχθ, (or ἡχέος) and accordingly *great* and *loud* (or *sonorous*) are two different Words, and if we would be exact we must make a Difference between them in the Translation. Cry aloud, said *Elijah*, 1 Kings 18. 27. but according to the Original it is, cry with a *great Voice*, therefore these Words are clapp'd into the Margin to shew what is the literal and truest rendring of the Words. And certainly, where it may well be done, it is best to keep close to the Letter, and accordingly in the forenamed Text φωνὴ μεγάλη (which answers to τὴν τῆν in that Place of the Kings) is to be rendred a *great Voice*: and so you will find it englished in one Place, Rev. 16. 17. unto which all the rest are to be made conformable. In ch. 6. v. 49. φάντασμα is an *Apparition*, not a *Spirit*, and therefore that Word is to be preferr'd before this. τὸ ἐστ' ἐν, in ch. 7. v. 2. is rendred, *that is to say*: but the exact Translation is, *that is*. In v. 8. βαπτισμὸς should be translated *Washings*, but we english it in the *singular*. In Mark 10. 46. there is a Word over-added in our Translation, for ὁδὸν τὴν ὁδὸν is well rendred by *the way*, or by *the way side*, therefore our English Version by *the high-way side* hath something superfluous in it. If you consult ch. 15. v. 3. you will not

^a Luke 1. 42. & 8. 28. & 17. 15. Acts 8. 7. & 14. 10. & 26. 24. Rev. 5. 2. & 8. 13.

542 The Excellency and Perfection

not find any Greek at all (in some of the best Copies) to answer to those Words, *but be answered nothing*. Some may think *why* is a redundant Word in the 14th Verse of this Chapter: but it is an English Expletive, and fitly answers to the Greek γὰρ in this Place, τί γὰρ κακὸν ἐποίησεν; *why, what Evil hath be done?*

In St. Luke's Gospel I find several Passages that are translated amiss: as first in *ch. 1. v. 3.* *having had perfect understanding of all things*, which may more suitably to the Greek be changed thus, *having had exact understanding in all things*, for the words ἀκριβῶς and πᾶσιν require this Alteration. *Ver. 37.* ὁ πᾶν ῥῆμα seems not to be fully rendred [*nothing*]: and the word [*unpossible*] here, and in *ch. 18. v. 27.* should be chang'd into [*impossible*], especially seeing that is the word in all other Places in our Translation. In *ch. 2. v. 19.* πάντα τὰ ῥήματα is translated [*all these things*], but in *v. 51.* 'tis rendred [*all these sayings*]: but there is no Reason that I can see for this Variation, wherefore the former and latter Place ought to be englished alike. In *ch. 6. v. 29.* the Greek Words ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰρῆναι — μὴ κωλύεις, are thus interpreted, *Him that taketh away — forbid not to take, &c.* But this is defective, for the Preposition ἀπὸ is wholly left out: therefore the Words must be rendred thus according to the Greek, *from him that taketh away — detain not*: and this without doubt is the Signification of κωλύειν here, for Criticks have observ'd that this Verb denotes not only a forbidding by Words, but by Force and Violence. In *v. 38.* *withal* is superfluous, and should be left out, as you will see if you consult the Place. In *ch. 7. v. 28.* *least* is put instead of *less*. In *v. 47.* ὅτι is put for διότι, (as is not unusual among Authors) and accordingly

cordingly it should be rendred not *for*, but *therefore* she loved much. Indeed you cannot make Sense of the immediately ensuing Words [but to whom little is forgiven, the same loveth little] unless you interpret the Word thus : and the Tenour of the Parable (especially v. 42, 43.) shews this to be the Meaning. Wherefore ἐπὶ is like the Hebrew יָד, which signifies *therefore* as well as *for*. In ch. 8. v. 7. ἑτέρου should be translated *other*, and ἐν μέσῳ in the midst, as also this latter in ch. 10. v. 3. There is a misplacing of the Words in ch. 11. v. 36. the bright shining of a Candle, instead of a Candle by bright shining, for the Greek is ὁ λύχνος τῇ ἀετῇ. In ch. 12. v. 39. the good Man of the House is too vulgar an Expression, and may be chang'd into the Master of the House, which is the genuine Signification of the word οἰκοδεσπότης. Those Words in v. 46. at an Hour when he is not aware, may well be altered thus, in an Hour in which he knoweth not, for so it is according to the Greek, ἐν ᾧ οὐκ ἔγνωσκεν. In ch. 16. v. 8. the due rendring of φρονιμώτεροι εἰς τὴν γενεάν, is not wiser in the Generation, (as 'tis rendred) but *for* or *towards* it. And besides, 'tis εἰς τὴν γενεάν τὴν ἑαυτῶν, which ought to be translated *for their own Generation*. In ch. 17. v. 9. I throw not, may be changed for I think not, ἡ δυνάμει : and it is best to leave out all Obsolete and Antiquated Words, as I wist, I wot, or ere, &c. and change them for those that are more in use. In v. 13. φωνῇ in the singular is wrongly translated *Voices* in the plural. In v. 29. ἡ ἡμέρα is translated [the same Day] but in the next Verse 'tis [in the Day when] ; one of these, viz. the former, is not the right Translation : Neither is that in ch. 19. v. 44. one Stone upon another, for in the Original it is, a Stone upon a Stone. That is not an accurate Version in

544 *The Excellency and Perfection*

in *ch. 22. v. 22.* as it was determined, for the Greek is *κατὰ τὸ ἀγισμὸν* according to what was determined. And that is not exact in *ch. 23. v. 46.* I commend my Spirit, for *παραδίδωμαι* being in the future Tense should be rendred [*I will commend.*] In *ch. 24. v. 17.* *κυβερῶν* is *sad*, but this is short and defective, and so the Translators thought when they rendred this very Word in *Mat. 6. 16.* [*of a sad Countenance*] which is the true import of the Greek Word. *ἀναβέναι* in *v. 38.* of this Chapter should be rendred *do ascend*, or *rise up*, if we will express the full meaning of the Word.

Some Texts of St. John are not so well translated as they might be, as *chap. 1. v. 15.* *John bare witness of him*, which being in the present Tense in the Greek should be rendred [*beareth witness.*] In *ch. 3. v. 2.* [*the same*] is not according to the Greek *ὁ αὐτός*, which signifies *this Man*. In *v. 8.* [*canst not tell*] may be changed for [*knowest not*] which is more simple, and according to the Greek *οὐκ οἶδας*. So in *2 Cor. 12. 2.* the like alteration may be made. In *v. 16.* [*whosoever*] is not the true English of the Greek *πᾶς* every one. Our Translators in *ch. 4. v. 23.* turn *τοὺς ἵπτα τὰς προσκυνῶντας αὐτῷ* thus, *he seeketh such to worship him*; but query whether it will not be better thus, *he seeketh such worshippers of him*, *προσκυνῶντας* being put here for *προσκυνῶντες*, of whom he spake in the former Clause of this Verse. In the last *v.* of this *chap.* *σημεῖον* is translated *Miracle*, but then it would not be amiss to put the proper Signification of the Word, which is a *Sign*, in the *Margin*, at least. In *ch. 6. v. 9.* the Word *ἐν one* is left out in the Translation. The *53d v.* according to the Greek is thus, *Ye have not Life in you*, but in the English thus, *Ye have no Life in you*. In *v. 63.* it is better

to use the Word [*enliveneth*] than the Word [*quickneth*,] because this latter to those that understand not the Original, and consider not what follows in the Verse, is a dubious Word, and they may think that it signifies *to make quick, agile, or nimble*: wherefore 'tis better for the sake of some English Readers to lay aside the old Word [*quickneth*] both here and in some 'other Places, and to use the Plainer Word [*enliveneth*] or [*maketh alive*.] *Ch. 7. v. 17.* is translated thus, *If any Man will do his Will*; but it is short of the 'Greek, according to which the Words must run after this manner, *if any one willeth* (i. e. desireth, purposeth or resolveth) *to do his Will*. Again, *στός ἐστιν ἀληθὺς ὁ χριστός*, *v. 26.* is not exactly english'd thus, *this is the very Christ*, but thus, *this is verily or truly, or indeed the Christ*. In *ch. 8. v. 3.* the *Preterperfect Tense* is mistaken for the *Present Tense*, brought for *bring*: this latter must be used here, especially because the Words go on in 'the next Verse in the *Present Tense*, and are accordingly rendred by the Translators. The *14th v.* of this Chap. [*though I bear record of my self, my record is true*] should be translated after the manner of *ch. 5. v. 31.* *if I bear witness of my self, my witness is not true* because *μαρτυρῶ* and *μαρτυρία* are the Words in both Places, and therefore it is fit in the same Book to render them alike, and not (as here) *record* in one Text, and *witness* in another; [*bear record*] in one Place, and [*bear witness*] in another. In *v. 56.* [*to see my day*] is not an exact rendring of *ἵνα ἴδῃ τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἐμὴν*, but this rather [*that he may see my*
N n Day.]

¹ Psalm. 119. often. And 'tis better to use the Word [*alive*] than [*quick*] in Num. 16. 30. Psalm. 55. 15. & 124. 3. ² *ἔαν τις* *εἰπῇ*. ³ [*They say unto him.*]

546 *The Excellency and Perfection*

Day.] In *chap. 10. v. 10.* for is redundant, and therefore may be omitted. Or else turn for into *that he may*, which is according to the Greek *ἵνα*. In *ch. 11. v. 26.* *he shall never die* is not the strict Version of *ὃ μὴ ἀποθάνῃ εἰς τὸ αἰῶνα*, i. e. *he shall not for ever die*. In *ch. 12. v. 43.* *the Praise of Men and the Praise of God*, should be the *Glory of Men and the Glory of God*, for *δοξα* is the Word in both Places. In *ch. 13. v. 28.* there is no mention in the Greek of a *Table*, though there be in the Translation: but however, if this must be mentioned here, then *οἱ ἐκείνους ἀνακειμένους* must be rendred thus, *none of those that sat or lay at the Table*, not as it is now, *no Man at the Table*: See *ch. 12. v. 2.* In *ch. 15. v. 22.* the Word *Cloke* may be chang'd for *Pretence*, for the Greek is *πρόφασις*. Our Translators make these Words in *ch. 17. v. 2.* [*that he should give eternal Life to as many as thou hast given him*] to be the English of *ἵνα πᾶν ὃ δέδωκας αὐτῷ δώσῃ αὐτοῖς ζωὴν αἰώνιον*, but the right rendring is this, [*that he should give eternal Life to them, which is all that thou hast given to him for them,*] or [*that all which thou hast given to him, he may give unto them, namely eternal Life.*] In *ch. 19. v. 8.* [*that*] should be [*this*] according to the Greek which is *τὸν*. Query whether *περὶ ἑαυτοῦ τάχον*, *ch. 20. v. 4.* may not be better exprest than by that single Word [*outrun.*] In the 8th v. of this Chapter *ἐν* therefore is forgot in our Translation, and ought to be supplied. Those Words in the 10th v. *ἀπὸ αὐτῶν ἐν πάλιν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς οἱ μαθηταὶ* may be rendred thus, *Therefore the Disciples came again (or returned) to themselves*: of which Translation I have given a particular account in another Place. And here, before I quit the *Evangelists*, I might take notice of an undue rendring of the Words *ἀνακεῖσθαι*,

κατα-

κατακλίνεισθαι, συνανακλίνεισθαι, ἀνακλίνεισθαι, ἀναπίπτειν; which occur in all of them, as *Mat.* 9. 10. & 26. 7; 20. *Mark* 6. 22, 40. & 8. 6, 11. & 14. 18. & 16. 14. *Luke* 5. 29. & 22. 27. *John* 6. 10. & 12. 2. & 13. 12. and several other Places, where they are express'd in our English Translation by *sitting* or *sitting down*; but they properly signify *lying down*; *leaning*, *lying along*, or *lying on one side*; and so should be rendred.

In the *Acts of the Apostles*, ch. 1. v. 12. the English Version is very deficient, for whereas it runs thus [*which is from Jerusalem a Sabbath-day's Journey,*] in the Greek 'tis after this manner [*which is near to Jerusalem, containing a Sabbath-day's Journey.*] Those two Words ἐγγύς and ἔχον are omitted. In ch. 2. v. 13. γλεῦκος may be rendred *sweet Wine* (i.e. the best and most generous Wine, which would soon intoxicate those who took a great Portion of it) as well as *new Wine*, which is generally sweet and luscious: at least the former rendring of the Word may be set in the Margin. In v. 40. σώσθητε is *be ye saved*, not (as we render it) *save your selves*: though 'tis true some Copies read it σώσθητε. In v. 47. σωζόμενοι refers to this Place, and is to be rendred *the saved ones*, not (as 'tis in our English Bibles) *such as should be saved*. In ch. 4. 14. we read [*they could say nothing against it,*] but according to the Greek it is [*they had nothing to say against it.*] The 32d v. is rendred thus, *the Multitude of them that believed were of one Heart and of one Soul*, but the Greek runs thus, *the Heart and Soul of the Multitude of them that believed was one*. The 9th v. of the 9th ch. cannot but be thought to require some Correction, for there is no Word in our Translation that answers to ἐλαλεῖτο: therefore thus the Verse should be rendred, *And he preaching boldly* (for

348 The Excellency and Perfection

So *παρεκπαύρομεν* ought to be rendred, and there is an Example of it, v. 27.) in the Name of the Lord Jesus spake and disputed against the Grecians. But in our English Version the Word *ελαλετο* is left out untranslated. In *ch. 10. v. 10.* *eaten* is instead of *tasted*, for *γεύσασθαι* is of the latter import. In *ch. 11. v. 17.* *ἐγὼ τίς ἤμην* should be [*who (not what) was I?*] In *ch. 12. v. 12.* *καὶ προσευχόμενοι* should be rendred *and Praying*, but *καὶ* is forgot. In *ch. 13. v. 20.* the direct rendring of *μετὰ ταῦτα* is *after these things*, not *after that*. In v. 22. there is something redundant, and something wanting, for *κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν μου* should be rendred [*after my Heart,*] not [*after my own Heart,*] and in the next Clause *θελήματα* should have been translated [*Wills*] in the Plural. I might add also that *ποιήσει* might here be more plainly and simply rendred [*he shall do*] than [*he shall fulfil.*] Besides, not only in this Place, but in all others in the Old and New Testament [*after*] when it bears this Signification should be exchanged for [*according to.*] In v. 27. *τὸν ἀγνοῦσαντις* is rendred [*because they knew him not,*] whereas the plain Translation is [*knowing him not, or having not known him.*] In v. 42. *κηρύσσεται* is rendred *to be preached*, but that is not the usual Translation of the Word in other Places, for *λαλεῖσθαι* is *to be spoken* and *κηρύττεσθαι* is *to be preached*. In *ch. 15. v. 20, 29.* *ἀπὸ τῆς σπινθὸς* ought to be englished thus [*from what is strangled,*] and not as 'tis now in the Plural Number [*from things strangled.*] In *ch. 16. v. 1.* and in many other Places [*Timotheus*] is in the English Translation, whereas this Word is expres'd with some Variation elsewhere, and he is call'd *Timothy*. This is to be
blamed,

* Acts 16. 1. Rom. 16. 21. 1 Cor. 16. 10.

blamed, because (as hath been hinted more than once) the same Greek Word, especially a Proper Name, ought to be rendred the same in all Places. In *ch.* 17. ἀρειος πᾶγος is translated *Arcopagus*, *v.* 19. and *Mars-hill*, *v.* 22. as if it were not the same Word. This I here blame again, and shall afterwards animadvert upon, *viz.* the Unfitness of translating the same Word differently in the same Chapter or Book. Either one or the other Version is to be stuck to. In *v.* 21, there is no notice taken of the Word ἐπιδημιῶντες, which should be rendred [*sojourning,*] or [*who sojourned there.*] In *ch.* 19. *v.* 19. ἀργυρίαι μυριάδας πέντε is englished [*fifty thousand Pieces of Silver,*] but not rightly, for there is not the Word [*fifty*] in the Verse, but the true rendring of the Greek is [*five Myriads, or five times ten thousand Pieces of Silver.*] It is granted that this is the same with *fifty thousand*, but the Translation should be according to the Words in the Original, which are [*five Myriads.*] I dislike the rendring of *v.* 24, 25. for the reason before-mention'd, *viz.* because the very same Word is differently translated. ἔργασια in the former Verse is rendred *Gain*, in the latter *Craft*, but without doubt it ought to be rendred alike in both: which will suggest unto us the True Translation of that Word. *Demetrius the Silver-smith brought ἐργασίαν ἐν ὀλίγῳ, no small Trade* (so I render it) *to the Craftsmen, whom he called together, and said, Sirs, ye know that by this Trade* (so ἐργασία must be translated again) *we have our Wealth.* This I take to be the true rendring of the Words, for it is not probable in the least that the Word ἐργασία should signify two Different things in so short a Space. Besides, it is plain that it is meapt here as I have represented it; for *Demetrius* here

550 The Excellency and Perfection

Spoken of, was a Man of a very *Great Trade*, and had several τεχνίτας and ἐργάτας, *Artificers and Workmen* (as they are here call'd) under him, and so is said to have brought them no small *Work or Trade*: wherefore he warmly stirr'd up these and their Fellows to cry up *Diana* and her Worship; otherwise their *Trade* (which is here translated their *Craft*) would fail, that *Trade* by which they had their *Wealth*. Thus the Signification of the Word ἐργασία is the same in both Places, as I conceive. In v. 40. ἐγκαλέσθαι σάσεως περὶ τῆς σήμερον ought thus to be english'd [*to be impeach'd of Sedition for or concerning this Day,*] i. e. for what we have done this Day. The Word ἀποσπαθέντες in ch. 21. v. 1. which we translate [*were gotten from*] might be express'd in the Margin thus [*were snatched from*] or [*were plucked from,*] for this is the known meaning of the Word. In v. 35. διὰ were better translated *because of*, than *for*, this latter being used here in an obsolete manner. The 22d v. of the 22d ch. is imperfectly express'd in English thus, *they gave him Audience unto this Word*: The Word [*unto*] is not presently understood, and therefore should be changed for [*until*] which is more intelligible; [*They heard him until this Speech*] and no longer, that is the plain rendring of the Text. In ch. 23. v. 27. στρατεύματα is not an *Army* (as 'tis translated) for the Context shews that so Great a Number is not meant, but we are to understand by this Word a certain *Party of Souldiers*, and therefore it were better to translate it *the Souldiery* or *Souldiers*, as we find it rendred in v. 10. In the 29th v. εὗρον is translated [*I perceived,*] but the true English is [*I found.*] In ch. 24. v. 3. and in ch. 26. 25. it were better to change [*most noble*] into [*most excellent*], both because of the true Im-
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port of the Greek Word *καθ' ἡμέρας*, and because it hath been so translated in *Luke* 1. 3. *Acts* 23. 26. In *ch.* 24. *v.* 11. according to the Greek we are to read the Words thus, *there are not more than twelve Days*, and not (as Our Translation hath it) *there are yet but twelve Days*: and in the latter Clause of this Verse [*for*] is superfluous. In *ch.* 25. *v.* 14. there is no regard to the word *διέτριψεν*, therefore we ought to insert it thus in English, *when they had tarried there many Days*. The Translation of *ch.* 26. *v.* 8. [*Why should it be thought a thing incredible with you that God should raise the Dead?*] may be mended thus, *What? is it judged a thing incredible with you if God raiseth the Dead?* In *v.* 11. [*strange Cities*] should have been express'd thus in the Margin, [*Cities that are without*] according to the Greek *τὰς ἐξω πόλεις*. The plain Version of *ἔστηκα κρινόμενος*, *v.* 26. is, *I stand judged or arraigned*, not *I stand, and am judged*. The true Import of *τυχεῖσα φιλάνθρωπία*, *ch.* 28. *v.* 2. is not little (as 'tis rendred) but *common or vulgar Kindness*. In *v.* 11. the Translators forgot to put [*Jupiter's Twins*] in the Margin, for neither the word *Castor* nor *Pollux* is in the Greek, only the word *Δίδωκαστοι*. *We set*, *v.* 13. is a Word now out of use.

In the *Epistle to the Romans*, *ch.* 2. *v.* 2. [*we are sure*] is the Interpretation of *οἶδαμεν*, which is no more than [*we know*], therefore the other is too high a Word. In *v.* 5. [*against*] is [*in*] in the Greek, and therefore we can do no less than mention it in the Margin. In *ch.* 3. *v.* 2. *πρῶτον* should be rendred *first*, not *chiefly*, for the Apostle is reckoning the Privileges of the Jews in order, *Imprimis*, saith he, *to them were committed*, &c. and after a long Digression he goes on, and enumerates the rest of the Privileges. In *v.* 4, 5. of this Chap-

ter, and in several other Places in this Epistle, and in some other of his Epistles, he useth that Form of Speech, *μὴ γένοιτο*, which answers to the Form of Detestation in the Old Testament, *יִשְׁרָאֵל*, and to the Latin *absit*, and signifies no other than *let it not be*; wherefore it is falsely translated [*God forbid*] in compliance with the vulgar Form of Speech. In v. 5. *μὴ ἄδικος* may be rendred [*is not God unrighteous?*] for *μὴ* is a Particle of Denying as well as of Interrogation; but according to Our Translation [*not*] is left out, which I would have in the Margin at least. That in *Rom. 8. 37.* *we are more than Conquerors*, is an ill Translation, because the Greek is a Verb, viz. *κατενικώμεν*, therefore should be rendred, *we do more than conquer*. There is a Defect in the Version of *ch. 9. v. 3.* *I could wish that my self*: for *αὐτὸς ἐγώ* can be no less than *I my self*. In v. 11. *μένν* is better rendred *might remain* or *abide* than *might stand*. In *ch. 11. v. 8.* *ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας* is not fully rendred; there being two Words in the Greek, it should be translated with some Emphasis, [*unto this very day*]. In v. 25. [*wise in your own Conceits*] is not according to the Greek *παρ' ἐαυτοῖς*, and therefore the true Translation is [*wise in your own selves*]. In *ch. 12. v. 9.* it is according to the Greek [*abhorring*], not [*abhor*]; it is [*cleaving*], not [*cleave*]: and in v. 17. it is [*providing*], not [*provide*]. In *ch. 14. v. 11.* [*that*] is left out before [*every Knee*]. In *ch. 15. v. 16.* *ἀσίστηγος* is translated [*minister*], and *ἐκτεταγών* [*ministring*], but they being two distinct Words I conceive there should be some Difference in the Translating them: therefore I apprehend that [*administring*] will be a good rendring of the latter, this Word shewing that the Words in the Greek are not the same, and yet that their Difference is not great.

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In the first Epistle to the Corinthians, ch. 1. v. 7. *coming* should not be in the Text, and *Revelation* in the Margin; but if you will make any different Reading, let *coming* be placed in the Margin, and *Revelation* in the Text it self, because this is the very unquestionable rendring of the Greek ἀποκαλύψις. In ch. 4. v. 8. (as also in 2 Cor. 11. 1.) *I would to God* is a superfluous Version, for the Greek is only ἠθέλω, *I wish, I would*: and so 'tis barely translated in Gal. 5. 12. and Rev. 3. 15. and accordingly may as well be so here. In ch. 7. v. 18. the true rendring of the Greek μὴ ἐπισπάσω is *ne reducat, not attrahat, sc. praeputium*: but because it is in a matter which requires modest and chaste Speech, I do not urge any Alteration in the English. In v. 25. *I have no Commandment* is not exactly according to ἐπιταγὴν οὐκ ἔχω, i. e. *I have not a Commandment*. In ch. 10. v. 6, 11. you read *Examples* and *Ensamples*, but why is there any Variation at all in these Words when in both Places the Greek Word (*viz.* τύποι) is the same? In ch. 11. v. 3. *ἔλω* should be translated *I will*, not *I would*: however, let this latter be set in the Margin. In v. 14. [*a Shame*] should have been translated [*Dishonour*], for it is ἀτιμία in the Greek, and is opposed to δόξα in the next Verse, which intimates this rendring of the Word to be most proper. In v. 28. [*that*] and [*that*] should be changed into [*the*] and [*the*], or there should be an *Asterisk* pointing to the Margin, where must be set down what the Greek signifies. In v. 29. [*Judgment*] should not stand in the Margin, but be taken into the Text, because besides the proper Denotation of the Greek Word, the Context absolutely proves it must be rendred *Judgment*, and not *Damnation*; for the Apostle speaks of that Temporal Punish-

554 *The Excellency and Perfection*

Punishment which the Corinthians pull'd down upon their Heads by their unworthy and profane celebrating of the Lord's Supper: *for this Cause many are weak and sickly among you, and many sleep, v. 30.* This is the Judgment which they did eat and drink to themselves, and it is oppos'd to *Condemnation with the World, v. 32.* therefore it can't in this Place be translated *Damnation*. In *ch. 12. v. 28.* [*Miracles*] is [*mighty Works*] in the Margin, but falsly, for in the *Greek* it is [*Powers*], and so you will find it rendred in the Margin, which refers to the next Verse, where the same word *δυνάμεις* occurs. *κατὰ τάξιν* ought to be rendred in *ch. 14. v. 40.* according to order, not in order, for this latter denotes only a *Methodical* Acting. In *ch. 13. v. 58.* the simple plain Version is best [*knowing*], according to the *Greek* *εἰδότες*.

In the *second Epistle* to the *Corinthians*, *ch. 2. v. 5.* the Translation seems not to be sufficient unless there be added a *Parenthesis* to shut in those Words, *that I may not overcharge you.* But of this I have spoken in another Place; only I will add, that both in this Epistle, and in that to the *Romans*, and indeed in most of this Apostle's Writings, where there are frequent *Parentheses*, it would be convenient to give notice of this to the Reader, by inserting the usual Notes or Marks whereby they are express'd. In *ch. 5. v. 9.* *φιλοτιμούμεθα* is not sufficiently express'd by *we labour*: I think it might be more fully translated, *we ambitiously strive*, or *we studiously endeavour*. In *v. 10.* of this Chapter *φανερῶσθαι δεῖ* should be translated, *we must all be manifested, or made manifest.* And so indeed the Word is rendred twice in *v. 11.* and I have often caution'd against the different translating of the same Word, where it will admit (as here) of the same

same Version. Indeed here is in this 11th Verse a plain reference to the *φανερῶσθαι* in the foregoing one: so that unless we translate it alike in both Places, we shew that we do not take notice of the Apostle's reference. Besides, to appear before the Judgment, &c. is thought by the mere English Reader to be only making our Appearance, i. e. to be present there. *We do you to wit*, ch. 8. v. 1. calls for an Emendation, it being an Obsolete Expression. The plain English of the Greek *γνωρίζωμεν* is *we make known unto you*. In v. 21. of this Chapter our Translators render *προνομήσοι* [*providing for*], whereas in *Rom.* 12. 17. they render it [*providing*]: but I have often suggested that the same Words ought to be translated alike. In ch. 11. v. 6. *ἰδιώτης* [*rude in Speech*] had better be rendred [*plain or unskilful in Speech*], for in our English Idiom the word [*rude*] is as much as *unmannerly*, and therefore it is not well adapted to English Ears, which we are partly to consult in our Translation which we design for their Use. In v. 9. the Translation would be more exact if instead of [*in all things*] we read [*in every thing*], it being in the singular Number in the Greek, to which all Translations of the New Testament are to conform as far as they can.

In the Epistle to the *Galatians* there is something that may be amended in the English Translation, as in ch. 1. v. 16. [*that I might preach him*] but in the Greek it is *ἵνα εὐαγγελίζωμαι αὐτὸν*, *that I may preach the glad-tidings of him*. In ch. 3. v. 7. [*the same*] should be [*these*], for the Greek is *στοι*. In ch. 5. v. 20, 21. instead of *Hatred, Variance, Wrath, Strife, Drunkenness*, you must read them in the plural Number, because they are so in the Original. The true rendring of *ἐκ ἐστὶ νόμου*, v. 23.

556 *The Excellency and Perfection*

is not there in no Law, but the Law is not, i. e. it was not made, neither is it design'd to condemn such things or such Persons as are there spoken of.

In the Epistle to the Ephesians, ch. 1. v. 16. *μνησθε* signifies Remembrance as well as mention, wherefore the former should be put into the Margin: (See *Phil.* 1. 3. *2 Tim.* 1. 3.) In ch. 2. v. 10. *οἷς* should not be rendred [*which*], but [*by which*], the Sense of the Apostle being this, God out of his infinite and inexhaustible Love hath from eternal Ages ordain'd and decreed to prepare all his Elect by good Works, to fit them by these for his Service, to enable them by the performing of these to walk as becomes the Chosen of the Lord. Or, it is likely the Apostle by the full Extent of these Words lets us know, that Good Works are our Preparative even for Heaven and Happiness, we are fitted by these for the Glory above. In ch. 5. v. 3. [*once*] is not in the Original, and therefore must be expunged the Translation. In ch. 6. v. 18. there can be no Reason assigned why *ἐν παντί καί ποτε* is not rendred at all times or in every Season, seeing this is nearer to the Original than *always*. In the same Verse [*thereunto*] is not the full English of *ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ*, which must be rendred thus, [*to this very thing.*] I could also take notice of the false spelling, v. 16. [*fiery*] for [*fiy*], which is to be found not only here but in other Places both in the Old and New Testament, and generally among all Writers whomsoever, as if it came from *fier*, not from *fire*.

In *Philip.* 1. 7. *δικαιον* should not be translated [*meets*], but [*just*]. In v. 23. [*which is far better*] comes short of the Greek *πολλῶ μᾶλλον καὶ ἥσσον*, which the *Vulgar Latin* renders *multo magis melius*, and we accordingly should english it [*which is much rather*]

rather or far better] or [far the best], the Comparative perhaps being put for the Superlative. Besides, the word *καλῶς* is left out, which shews that this Clause is the Reason of what went before: for the Apostle desires to depart and to be with Christ, and gives this Account of his Desire, *for this is far better*: so that his Desire is Rational and well-grounded. In *ch. 2. v. 19.* I *trust* is not the right rendring of *ἐλπίζω*, but I *hope*: especially seeing I *trust* in *v. 24.* is the Version of *πιστεύω*, a different Word. I *follow after* is the rendring of *διώκω* in the 3d Chapter of this Epistle, *v. 12.* but 'tis not a fit Expression when it is spoken of *running in a Race* (as here): his great Endeavour was to *forget those things that are behind*, as he adds in the Words immediately ensuing: Therefore rather translate it I *follow on*, or I *press towards*, for so the Word is rendred in *v. 14.* In this and the next Verse *καταλαμβάνω* should be translated to *lay hold upon*, for it is an *Agonistick* Word used to express the Combatants or Victors *laying hold* with their Hands on the Prize that was hung up. But *apprehending* (which is the Word that our Translators use) is more ambiguous, and doth not so plainly set forth the Metaphor. In *v. 21.* of this Chapter *be shall change*, is too low a Word for *μεταχυσθῆναι*, which might rather be rendred *be shall transform*, or *be shall change into another Form or Figure*, especially seeing this Expression hath a Reference or Allusion to *σύμμορφον* (which may more exactly be rendred *conformable to*) immediately ensuing in that Verse.

In the Epistle to the *Colossians*, chap. 1. *v. 12.* [God and] or [God even] should be inserted before the [Father], for you will find [*τῷ Θεῷ 2.*] in the Original. In *ch. 3. v. 5.* I do not see why we need translate the single word *παύω* by two Words

558 *The Excellency and Perfection*

Words [*inordinate Affection*]: that one word *Passion* will suffice. In *ch. 4. v. 2.* *πρὸς καρτερεῖτε* is rendred [*continue*], but in *Rom. 12: 12.* it is [*continue instant*]. It is faulty, because (as hath been said) the same Words, when they are meant of the same thing, ought to be translated alike. Indeed this could not be expected, seeing the Bible was translated by different Persons, and perhaps did not compare their Translations together: but for the future this may be thought of and amended, if a New, or rather a more Correct Translation of the Bible be attempted.

I pass to some Other Epistles: in *1 Theff. 2. 3.* there is no need of rendring *πρόφασις πλεονεξίας*, a *Cloak of Covetousness*, when the plain and genuine Signification of the word *πρόφασις* is a *Pretence*. In *ch. 4. v. 4.* [*his Vessel*] is not sufficient: but according to the Greek it must be [*his own Vessel*]. Seeing *το κατέχων*, *2 Theff. 2. 6.* is translated [*what with-holdeth*] I think *ὁ κατέχων* in the next Verse ought to be rendred [*he that with-holdeth*] not [*be that letteth*]. In the *1st Epistle to Timothy*, *ch. 2. v. 4.* our Translation might be altered thus, [*who willetb all Men to be saved, and to come unto the Acknowledgment or acknowledging of the Truth*], for *ἅλει* cannot be rendred otherwise than [*willetb*], and *ἐπίγνωσις* is not *Cognitio*, *Knowledge*, but *Agnitio*, *acknowledging*, and so 'tis rendred, *Tit. 1. 1.* Again, in *v. 9.* of this Chapter there is a Mistake in the Printing, *broidered* for *broided*, (for so it is in *Coverdale* and *Tindal*, whence this Translation was borrow'd) or *braided*, *i. e.* *plaited*. Here therefore must be an Amendment, for *broidering* is quite another thing; or the word *plaited* may be taken out of the Margin, and set in the Text. In *ch. 4. v. 8.* *πρὸς ὀλίγον ὄσιν ὠφέλιμο* ought to be english'd

english'd thus, *is profitable* (not *profiteth*, as if the Greek Word were a Verb) *to or for a little* (not barely little): for when we read it [*bodily Exercise profiteth little*] the Sense convey'd to us by those Words is, that there is little or no Profit accrues to us by it: but the true Meaning (as I conceive) of the Place is, that the bodily Exercises of the *Athleticks* (of which he often speaks in his Epistles) were, *as to some things profitable*, viz. in respect of their Health, Credit, Pleasure, &c. but *Godliness* is $\pi\epsilon\rho\varsigma\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha\ \omega\phi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma$, upon all Accounts advantageous; where you see that $\pi\epsilon\rho\varsigma\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha$ is oppos'd to $\pi\epsilon\rho\varsigma\ \omicron\lambda\acute{\iota}\gamma\omicron\nu$, and therefore as that is rendred *unto all things*, so this should be *unto a little*, signifying that there is *some* Profit in those Agonistick Exercises. After those Words in the next Verse, *this is a faithful Saying, and worthy of all Acceptation*, there should be a full Period, whereas in our Bibles there is a Colon, as if it related to the next Words. But this Verse hath reference to the foregoing one, *This, i. e.* what was said in the Verse before, *is a faithful Saying.* Ver. 16. [*unto thy Doctrine*] is not according to the Greek $\tau\eta\ \delta\iota\delta\alpha\sigma\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$, [*Thy*] is not there: Rather render the whole Clause thus, *Take heed unto thy self, and unto teaching*, the two main things which are required of a Minister of the Gospel, and comprehend his Whole Duty. In ch. 5. v. 4. $\tau\ \iota\delta\iota\omicron\nu\ \delta\iota\kappa\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\nu\sigma\epsilon\beta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ should be rendred [*to shew Piety towards their own House or Family*], whereas $\iota\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ is not taken notice of in our Translation, which is thus, [*to shew Piety at home*]. In v. 16. according to the Greek it should be thus rendred, *if any believing (or faithful) Man, or believing (or faithful) Woman.* [*Believing*] is twice in the Original, but in Our Translation but once. In ch. 6. v. 4. $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ should not be ren-

560 The Excellency and Perfection

rendred *Strife*, because λογισμαχία just before is translated *Strife of Words*. These being different should wholly differ in the Translation: therefore let *Contention* be the word for ἔρις, as it is rendred in some other Places of the Apostle's Epistles. In v. 15. the word ἰδὼς should be taken notice of in the Version, and accordingly καὶ ἰδὼς ἰδὼς is to be english'd thus, *in his own or proper times*. In the second Epistle to Timothy, ch. 4. v. 3. the exact Version is [the time will be]: and in v. 14. [reward] should be the word instead of [rewards]. In the Epistle to Titus, ch. 1. v. 3. καὶ ἰδὼς ἰδὼς should be englished [in his own times]. In v. 10. φρεναγωγεῖται might in the Margin be rendred, according to its proper Signification, *Deceivers of Minds*. In ch. 3. v. 4. the word *Pity* is falsely put in the Margin, for φιλανθρωπία signifies God's Love to Man, not *Pity*: therefore that Word should be left out.

In the Epistle to the Hebrews, ch. 1. v. 3. if we would be exact, καὶ καθαίρει μὲν τοὺς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν, should be rendred *effecting the cleansing, or working the purging of our Sins*, whereas 'tis barely translated *purging our Sins*. Κληρονομεῖν σωτηρίαν, v. 14. is to *inherit Salvation*, not to be *Heirs of Salvation*. Ζᾶν, ch. 4. v. 12. had better be rendred *living or lively* than *quick*, because this is an ambiguous Word, and signifies not only *Life*, but sometimes *Swiftness*. Why should not συμπάσκειν, v. 15. be plainly and simply rendred *to sympathize with, or have Compassion on*, rather than *to be touched with a feeling*? Κατὰ τὸ νόμον, ch. 10. v. 8. is *according to the Law*, not *by the Law*. In ch. 12. v. 16. λέγει κύριος should, for the expressing the Sense more clearly, be rendred *the Lord saith*, that it may not be thought that *saith the Lord* belongs to the foregoing Clause, but that it may appear it re-
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fers to the following one: For the Words run thus, *After that the Holy Ghost, in the Scripture, had said before, This, &c. the Lord said, (viz. in the next Words) I will put my Laws, &c.* In v. 23. of this Chapter ὁμολογία ἡ ἐλπίς is the *Confession* or *Profession of Hope*, not of *Faith*, as our Bibles read it. Again, in v. 34. ἐν ἑαυτοῖς seems to be misplaced in our Translation, and the Words should not be rendred [*knowing in your selves that ye have*], but [*knowing that ye have for your selves*], viz. laid up for your selves in Heaven, &c. for the Greek Preposition ἐν will well bear this Signification here, it being in the New Testament of a very large Extent. However, this rendring of it, and the referring of ἑαυτοῖς to ἔχειν, and not to γινώσκοντες, may be taken notice of in the Margin. In ch. 11. v. 12. as good as dead is but a vulgar way of speaking; and seeing the plain English of ταῦτα νεκρωμένα is [*as to these things dead*] I see no Reason for using this manner of Speech in this Place. In v. 23. our English Word *proper* (especially as 'tis now used) doth not express the Sense of the Greek Word, and cannot well be applied to *Moses* when he was an Infant. Therefore ἀσέιον should rather be rendred *fair*, as the Word is translated in *Acts* 7. 20. or *goodly*, as we render it in *Exod.* 2. 2. where the LXX use this Greek Word to express the Hebrew *Tob*. In v. 37. the English Version of ἐν φόνῳ μαχαίρας ἀπέθανον is this, *they were slain with the Sword*, but it is very deficient, the true rendring of the Greek being this, *they died by Slaughter of the Sword*. No Man can translate it otherwise, therefore here is need of correcting our English Bibles. In ch. 12. v. 1. there is a palpable misplacing of the Words, which ought to be amended; [*seeing we also are compassed about with so*

562 The Excellency and Perfection

great a Cloud of Witnesses] must be altered thus according to the Greek [we having such a Cloud of Witnesses encompassing us]: and instead of [let us lay aside] read [let us, laying aside, &c.] In v. 16. one Morsel of Meat doth not answer to ἀντὶ βρώσεως μᾶς, which should be rendred for one eating, or rather for one feeding, which comprehends both eating and drinking, for this Place refers to Gen. 25. 34. Jacob gave Esau Bread and Postage, and he did eat and drink: Which shews that one Morsel doth not fully contain the Sense of the Words. In ch. 13. v. 2. τὸ φιλοξενίαν μὴ ἐπιλανθάνεισθε is not so properly translated [be not forgetful to entertain Strangers] as thus [forget not the entertaining of Strangers, or the loving of Strangers, or Hospitality] (as 'tis rendred in Rom. 12. 13.) for this Translation shews which is the Verb, and which is the Noun. In v. 8. [is] is left out without Cause: for though ἐστὶ among the Greeks be sometimes omitted in such Propositions, yet 'tis always understood to make the Sentence entire: But in the English it ought to be express'd, and particularly here, Jesus Christ is the same, or else nothing is affirmed, and so the Sense is left imperfect. Our Translators render v. 16. thus, [to do Good and to communicate forget not] but it is most exactly rendred in this manner, forget not doing of Good and communicating, for these latter are Substantives, not Verbs; and there should be a Distinction made between them in our Translation.

In 1 Pet. 1. 7. ἐν ἀποκαλύψει is rendred at the appearing, but in v. 13. at the Revelation. This latter is the true Word, and therefore let it be used in both Places. In ch. 3. v. 20. leave out a. In ch. 4. v. 7. προσευχαῖς should have been translated Prayers, not Prayer. Concerning 2 Pet. 1. 10. *No Prophecy* of

of Scripture is of any private Interpretation, I animadvert, 1. That any is not in the Greek, nor need it be in the English. 2. It is *πᾶσι* *προφητεία*, and consequently should be rendred every Prophecy is, &c. 3. *ἰδία* is not private but proper, and so these Words, every Prophecy of Scripture is not of proper Interpretation, may be understood thus, Some Prophecies in Scripture have, besides the Proper and Primary Interpretation, a Secondary one: Or, the first and literal Signification of them is not the only Sense to be look'd after in them, but there is a higher and greater (which is the second, and as 'twere the improper Sense) couched in them. In *ch. 2. v. 16.* [he was rebuked] is not according to the Greek, but it should be [he had a Rebuke] or Check. In *v. 18.* *ὑπέρογκον* [great swelling] may better be rendred [over-swelling] and so in *Jude, v. 16.*

In *1 John 2. 20.* you read an *Unction*, and *v. 27.* the *anointing*: but there is the same Greek Word, viz. *χρίσμα*, wherefore the rendring of it should be alike in both Places. In *St. Jude's Epistle, v. 8.* [filthy] should be left out, for there is no such Word in the Original. Our Margin indeed takes notice of it, but then the word [filthy] should have been in different Letters, as those Words that are not in the Greek usually are distinguish'd in the New Testament. *ὁ ὅψοις τῆς σκοτίας, v. 13.* is rendred the *Blackness of Darkness*, but the same Words are english'd the *midst of Darkness*, *2 Pet. 2. 17.* which seems to be the most proper Translation: however (as I have suggested on the like occasion) let one of them only be retain'd. In *v. 14.* *προφητεύουσιν ταῖς* may be rendred (and most properly) [prophecied unto these], viz. denouncing Judgment against them, as you read in the next Verse.

564 The Excellency and Perfection

Lastly, in the *Revelation* I might observe that in *ch. 3. v. 20.* ἔσχα may most properly be translated [*I have stood*]: therefore let it be so englished in the Margin, if not in the Text. In *ch. 4. v. 4.* instead of *Seats* let *Thrones* be read, with the word [*other*] in different Characters before it. It is not fit that the same Word should have two diverse Readings in the same Verse. In *v. 6, 8, 9.* let [*living Creatures*] be taken out of the Margin, and be set in the Text it self in the Place of [*Beasts*], which is not a fit Word for those that are represented by that Vision, especially when τὰ ἄγρια (not τὰ ζῷα, the word here) is the word which is rightly translated *the Beast* in this Book. In *ch. 11. v. 17.* those Words, ὁ ὢν, καὶ ὁ ὢν, καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος, are not rightly rendred, *which art, and wast, and art to come*, but thus, *who is, and was, and is to come*. In *ch. 13. σμῆνα* in *v. 13.* is translated [*Wonders*], in the 14th [*Miracles*], which ought to be corrected for the Reason so often given, *viz.* because the same Greek Word should be rendred by the same English one, if there be no apparent Cause for the contrary. In *ch. 14. v. 13.* μετ' αὐτῶν should be rendred *with them*: [*their Works follow with them.*] In *ch. 16. v. 12.* the way of the *Kings who are from the Risings of the Sun*, is the true and literal Version of the Greek ἡ ὁδὸς τῶν βασιλέων τῶν ἀπὸ ἑναπλάν ἡλίου; but in our present English Translation ἡλίου is absorp'd.

These are the several Places which I conceive ought to be altered, and translated more exactly. I say not this to impair or derogate from the Credit and Honour of our *English Translation*, much less to condemn the *Present Edition*, or to expose the Scriptures themselves; but my Design is to represent them in their native Excellency and Purity,

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and to contribute by this Critical Essay towards so worthy an End. For it is certain that nothing can more commend the Holy Writ than an *Exact Translation*, i. e. such a one as faithfully represents to us the Express Text of Scripture. Wherefore I humbly offer the forementioned Places to the Consideration of the Learned and Judicious, and leave the whole or part to be approved or rejected as they shall think fit. Perhaps when our Church-Affairs are settled, this will not seem unworthy of the Thoughts of a *Convocation*, who I question not will see that the Revising and Correcting of our English Translation of the Bible in all or in most of those Places (and in several others which I have not here propounded) is very requisite. It is my judgment that as out of the *Vulgar Latin* and the *Modern Latin Versions*, one entire one might be made in that Language that should be generally used in Quotations among the Orthodox Learned, so a *New English Translation* might be composed out of this *Last Edition* as to the main, but with such *New Alterations* and *Amendments* as should render the Stile and Sense in many Places more accurate, and should make it acceptable to the most Curious English Readers. And here I advise that the *Marginal Notes* of the Present English Bible be often consulted, because the best and most genuine Translations of Words are frequently put there. But in the foregoing Animadversions I have taken no notice of those different Significations of Words which are placed there. I have only offer'd those that have not hitherto been observed.

In the last Place I might add something concerning the *Division* of the Bible into *Chapters* and *Verses*. It is not to be doubted that *Moses*, the Prophets, Evangelists and Apostles writ their Books

without any such Partition, and this was the way of all other Writers of old. But it appears that the *Books of the Prophets* were divided afterwards into *Parasches*, before our Saviour's Time, and this distribution of them is often mention'd in the *Talmuds*. This was done by the Jews for the more methodical reading of them in the Synagogues. Some of the *Greek Fathers* take notice of this Distribution, (and consequently it was made before their Time) for they mention the *περίοχται* in the Old Testament, which signify the same thing, and *Jerom* speaks of a *Pericope* of *Jeremiah*. Yea, if I mistake not, this sort of *Sections* or *Parasches* is mention'd in *Acts* 8. 32. and is call'd there *περίοχη*. The *Books of the Evangelists and Apostles* were afterwards divided into certain *Sections* by some of the Primitive Bishops and Pastors, for the more convenient reading of them, herein imitating the Jews who had done the same in the Old Testament. These are call'd *περίοχται* by the *Eastern Fathers*, and *Lectiones* by the *Latin Ones*: They were the same that we call *Chapters*. *Verses* were also antient, but not the same that are at present, nor were all the Books so divided. *St. Jerom* tells us he distributed the Books of the *Chronicles* and that of *Ezekiel* into *Verses*. And some of the Books of the *New Testament* were thus divided: particularly the *Epistle to the Galatians* was parted into these *σχοли* by *Origen*, as *Jerom* informs us. But it is certain that all these Partitions, whether into *Chapters* or *Verses*, were very much different from

* *Justin Mart. Dialog. cum Tryph.* *Clem. Alexand. Strom.* l. 3. * *Præfat. in Daniel.* * *Clem. Alex. Strom.* l. 7. *Athanas. Orat.* 3. *cont. Arian.* *Basil de Baptismo,* l. 3. *quæst.* 4. *Chrysoft. hom.* 3. *de Lazaro.* * *Præfat. in Epist. ad Galat.*

from what we have at this Day. To this purpose 'tis observable (as *Heinsius* and some other Criticks out of *Suidas* relate) that the New Testament was divided into *τίτλοι* and *κεφάλαια*; and so far as I can gather from the Account which they give of these two, the former of these was the division of a Book into *Chapters*, and the latter into *Verses* or some such small Portion: though at this Day there is a quite different Sense of the Words, for the *κεφάλαια* are the greater division, and the *τίτλοι* the lesser. As to the Division of the whole Bible (consisting of 39 Books of the Old Testament, and 27 of the New) into distinct *Chapters*, as they are now among us, viz. 779 in the Old Testament and 260 in the New, it was made by *Lanfrank* Archbishop of *Canterbury* about the Year 1060: others say by *Stephen Langton*, who was Archbishop of the same See in K. *John's* Time, about the Year 1200. It is said by others that Cardinal *Hugo* twenty or thirty Years afterwards was the first that contrived the Distinction of *Chapters* of the Old Testament, for fitting the Hebrew Text to the Concordance of the Bible, which he was Author of. The dividing of *Chapters* into *Verses* was more lately, being the Work of the Industrious and Learned *Robert Stephens* about eightscore Years since. But whoever were the first Authors of this Division of the Bible into *Chapters* and *Verses*, it is certain that it is not rightly made. The beginning of the 10th Chap. of *Isaiah* should not be cut off from the 9th Chapter, for it belongs to it, and at the Close of the 5th v. of the 10th Chap. (which is so now) the 9th should end. And many other Chapters in the *Old Testament* are ill divided. But especially in the *New Testament* one may see that the distinction of *Chapters* and *Verses* now in use was drawn

568 *The Excellency and Perfection*

up in haste, whereby some Matters that should have been united are severed, and *vice versa*. The 1st Verse of the 4th Chapter to the *Colossians* should have been joined to the third Chapter: and the Division of the Verses in many other Places ought to be corrected and altered, as Sir *N. Knatchbull* hath in several Instances shew'd. We may take *Junius* and *Tremellius* for an Example, who have alter'd the *Chapters* sometimes in the *Latin*; and it might be as convenient to imitate them both in the Old and New Testament in *English*.

Nor will this Changing or any other Alteration which I have before suggested, be any Argument at all of the *Imperfection of Scripture*. This remains entire in it self, and is not in the least changed. And the Design of my present Enterprize was to assert this, and to evince the *Perfection* of the Original Text, and to let us see that all Translations must be regulated by that. No Version of the Bible is so absolutely Authentick that we ought to adhere to that, and no other. The *Hebrew* of the Old Testament and the *Greek* of the New are the only Standard, and all must be examined and tried, altered and amended by this. It is granted there is some *Variation in the Copies*, but the Diligent and Unprejudiced may find out what is Genuine. Some have fancied that the carelessness of *Transcribers* hath caused some Literal Faults, but then they acknowledg that none of them are Material and Considerable, they relate not to Faith and Good Manners. This is the very Confession of *Spinoza*, who hath spoken so ill of the Bible; *This I can certainly*

Ut Veterum librorum fides de Hebræis Voluminibus examinanda est, ita Novorum veritas Græci Sermonis normam desiderat. Hieron. Epist. ad Lucin.

tainly affirm, 'saith he, that I have not found any fault or variety of readings about the moral Documents, which may render them obscure and dubious. Wherefore our Assertion still remains impregnable and unshaken, that the Sacred Volume of the Scriptures is Compleat and Perfect, and hath all things in it which can speak it a most Consummate Work.

C H A P. XIV.

The Reader is invited to the Study of the Bible, as he values the Repute of a Scholar and a Learned Man. That he may successfully study this Holy Book he must be furnish'd with Tongues, Arts, History, &c. It is necessary that he be very Inquisitive and Diligent in searching into the Mind and Design of the Sacred Writers: In examining the Coherence of the Words: In Comparing Places together: In observing and discovering the peculiar Grace and Elegancy, and sometimes the Verbal Allusions and Cadences of the Holy Scripture, of which several Instances are given. He must also be Morally qualified to read this Book, i. e. he ought to banish all Prejudice: He must be Modest and Humble: He must endeavour to free himself from the Love of all Vice: He must with great Earnestness implore the Assistance of the Holy Spirit.

IT remains that I conclude with a serious Address and Invitation to the Reader, to admire and value this Book which is so transcendently Excellent and Compleat, to prize it above all others

570 *The Excellency and Perfection*

thers whatsoever, constantly to read, peruse and study these Holy Writings. The Laws of that Vile Impostor *Mahomet*, are stiled the *Alcoran* from *اقرأ* *legit*, as much as to say the Book is to be read. And shall we not think that that Sacred Volume which contains the Laws of our Heavenly Master and Infallible Teacher, deserves that Respect from us? For this reason the Hebrews call the Holy Scripture *Mikra*, i. e. *lectionem*, because it is to be read by all, because this Divine Book is to be universally perused, revolved and searched into. We are not forbid to be acquainted with Other Authors, such as may conduce to useful Knowledge whether secular or religious, especially such as may be someways helpful towards the understanding of the Scriptures. But there is a great Number of Writers that are trifling, vain and useless: others are dangerous and pernicious. Meddle with neither of these: or if you have, lay them out of your Hands forthwith, and take up the *Bible*, the only Book that is Worthy of your most serious perusal. Behold here the Book of God! There are no Writings any where like these, none can afford any thing comparable to them. It may be observed that the Holy Spirit hath made use of divers Sorts of Persons in the penning of this Volume, *Moses* bred up in the Schools of the *Egyptians*, *Daniel* one of the chief of the *Wise Men* and *Princes of the Persian Court*, *David* and *Solomon* Kings, *Jeremy* and *Ezekiel* Priests, *Amos* a Herdsman: in the New Testament *Matthew* a Converted Publican, *Paul* brought up at the Feet of *Gamaliel*, the rest of the *Evangelists* and *Apostles* Fishermen and Tradesmen: that hence Persons of all Ranks and Degrees may be admonish'd to converse with these Sacred Writings, that they may think themselves

selves concern'd in these Messages deliver'd by different Embassadors. I have sometimes observed that some Men of no contemptible Learning and Reading, and who are acquainted with store of Good Authors, have no regard for this Excellent Book, and never think themselves obliged to look into it. But this argues a great defect of Judgment, (to say no worse now) for even in the Point of Scholarship they cannot be without the Knowledge of the Bible. So far as they are Ignorant of this, they are deficient in Learning: for (as I have demonstrated) this Book is fraught with all Humane Learning, and gives Instructions concerning the choicest Arts and Sciences. Upon which account it is of such universal use, that no sort of Persons can be ignorant of it without great Inconvenience and Damage. He is no *Antiquary* that is not skill'd in these Writings which are of the greatest Antiquity: He is no *Historian* that is not acquainted with the Important Transactions of this Book: He is no *Statesman* or *Politician* who hath not insight into the Excellent Maxims and Laws which are found here: He is no right Natural Philosopher who is not acquainted with the Origin and Make of this Mundane System as they are represented in the *Mosaick* Physiology in the first Chapter of *Genesis*: He is no Accomplish'd Grammarian, Critick or Rhetorician who is ignorant of that Philosophical Learning which these Writings afford: And chiefly he is no Good Man or Christian who is a Stranger to those Admirable Rule which are here laid down. Wherefore it is the concern of all Persons to converse with the Scriptures, and to apply themselves with great diligence to the reading of them, and that daily and frequently. Let this Holy Book be seldom out of your Hands. Though
you

572 *The Excellency and Perfection*

you have often perused it, yet continue to do so still, * for you will thereby receive infinite Advantage. There is ever something gain'd by a fresh and repeated reading of it. Some new Matter is discover'd, or the old is illustrated and confirm'd: We either know more, or know better than we did before.

That our Reading of the Holy Scriptures may be of this Nature, and that we may study and understand them aright, I propound these ensuing *Rules* and *Directions*. First, It is requisite that we furnish our selves with other Learning to make our selves capable of understanding the Bible. All Arts require a Master and Teacher, even the lowest and mechanical. All Trades and Sciences are to be learn'd: none presumes to meddle with them till they have been instructed in them. And yet we may observe that all degrees of Persons pretend to interpret the Scriptures, though they were never instructed, never prepared, as * *St. Jerom* complain'd of old. A great many imagine that the Weakest Brains can comprehend the Contents of this Book, and without all other knowledg attain to the meaning of them. But this is a gross Mistake, and is one cause of Mens wresting and corrupting the Scriptures: They are ἀμαθεῖς, 2 *Pet.* 3. 16. *unlearned*, and *unwilling to be taught*, (for so the Word imports) they neglect the means of Knowledge, they use not the proper Helps conducing to it. Or whatever they were in *St. Peter's* Time, we are sure

* Non est similis qui legit lectionem suam centies ei qui legit eam centies & semel. Talm. * [Sola Scripturarum ars est quam sibi passim omnes vendicant. Hanc garrula anus, hanc delirus senex, hanc sophista verbosus; hanc universi præsumunt, lacerant, docent, antequam discant.] Hieron. Epist. ad Paulin.

sure that now a competent Measure of *Humane Learning* is required to understand these Writings: For though they surpass all *Humane Wisdom*, yet it is as true that they have strictures of all *Arts* and *Sciences* in them, and are written in the *Learned Languages*, and (as I have shew'd formerly) contain in them all sorts of *Words*, *Phrases* and *Idioms*: Wherefore there is a Necessity of the *Arts* and *Tongues* for understanding this Book. In the Writings of *Moses* and the Prophets, of the Apostles and Evangelists, there are the *Rites*, *Customs*, *Manners*, *Opinions*, *Sayings*, *Proverbs*, of almost all Nations in the World, especially of the *Antient Hebrews*: Wherefore a Knowledge of their Writings and Antient Monuments, a Converse with *History* and *Antiquities*, are absolutely requisite, especially for explaining the difficult Places. And to have a true Notion of several Passages in the *Epistles* of the Apostles, *Ecclesiastical History* is needful, which gives us notice of the *Hereticks* of that time, or of those concerning whom the Apostles prophetically speak. The Writings of the *Fathers* are to be consulted, and that with great application of Mind, that we may not mistake the Interpretations which those Learned and Pious Men give of the respective Places of Scripture, that we may be edified by their Religious Comments, but not imbibe any of their Errors. This which I now say principally concerns the Guides and Ministers of the Church, who are supposed to be Men of Learning and Scholarship: and truly a great Part of the Bible is more especially fitted for such. It is their province to expound and teach this Holy Book, which is it self a Library, and is of that Nature that it cannot be rightly understood and explain'd without acquaintance with the Antient Writers of the

574 *The Excellency and Perfection*

the Church, without skill in the Tongues, Rhetoric, Logick, Philosophy, History, Criticism; for as it is furnish'd with all Literature, so it requires all to unfold it aright. As for the Apostles, tho some of them had no knowledg in Arts and Sciences, yet that Defect was abundantly recompens'd by the extraordinary Gifts and Endowments of the Holy Ghost. So most of the Primitive Christians in the Apostles Days, who were not *Hebrews*, understood the Language in which the Old Testament was written by their Gift of Tongues. And as for the *Greek* of the New Testament, it was universally known, and so was in a manner the native Tongue both to the Jews and others of that time. But Men are not now instructed in Strange Languages by the Spirit, nor are they born with Hebrew or Greek, neither are they Inspired with Arts and Humane Knowledg: and consequently *Study* and *Reading* and *Long Exercise* are indispenably requisite. *Clement of Alexandria* would have his *παιδευσις*, i. e. his Perfect and Compleat *Theologue*, be skill'd in Humane Literature and Philosophy. In short, to be a Consummate Divine, and thorowly knowing in the Bible, it is necessary that he be a Man of Universal Learning.

Secondly, that we may read and understand the Scriptures it is requisite that we be exceeding *Attentive*, *Observing*, *Considerate*; that we be very *Inquisitive*, *Thoughtful* and *Diligent*. This Rule may be explain'd in several Particulars;

1. We must use great Thoughtfulness, Diligence and Care in penetrating into the *Design* and *Sense* of those Inspired Writings. *St. Chrysostom* delivers

livers the Rule thus, ' we must not only examine the meer naked Words, and insist upon them simply and absolutely consider'd, but we must chiefly attend to the Mind and Intent of the Writer. Sometimes instead of an Absolute meaning of the Words in Scripture, they are to be taken Comparatively, or with Limitation, they must be restrain'd to the Matter in Hand. As to Instance, *No Man can say that Jesus is the Lord but by the Holy Ghost*, 1 Cor. 12. 3. i. e. no Man can say so from his Heart. There is that Reserve implied. *Where I am, ye cannot come*, John 7. 34. i. e. ye can't come yet, but afterwards you shall. *All that came before me are Thieves and Robbers*, John 10. 8. i. e. all False Prophets (for he means them) are such. *It is reported that there is such Fornication among you as is not so much as named among the Gentiles, that one should have his Father's Wife*, 1 Cor. 5. 1. This sort of Fornication was not only named but practis'd among the *Gentiles*, for there are several Examples in *Pagan* Story of marrying the Father's Wife, therefore here must be meant the more Sober Sort of *Gentiles*. And so in many other Places things which seem to be absolutely spoken are to be understood in a restrained Sense.

2. It is necessary that we be very thoughtful and inquisitive about the *Context*, the *Dependance*, the *Connection* of those Places which we search into. We are to be exceeding mindful what the Words refer to, what Coherence they have with what went before and what follows. To know the true Sense of them we must carefully observe the Subject-matter: for this is certain that Propositions are true or not true according to this. You will meet

† 'Οὐ δὲ τὰ ἴδιαιτα γινώσκ', &c. In cap. 1. ad Galat.

576 *The Excellency and Perfection*

meet with several Instances of this in my former *Discourses* on the Holy Scriptures, and therefore I will forbear to mention any here. Only I offer this at present as a General Rule for guiding us to the true and genuine meaning of Scripture.

3. This Attentiveness and Care must be exercis'd in *Comparing* one Place with another, or with divers others, if there be occasion. For (as an Intelligent Person rightly suggests) *all Truth being consonant to it self, and all being penn'd by one and the self-same Spirit, it cannot be but that an industrious and judicious Comparing of Place with Place must be a singular help for the right understanding of the Scriptures.* This One Rule, if well and duly observ'd, will carry us through most of the Difficulties of the Bible. For this we may depend upon that the Scripture is its own Interpreter, that the best Comment on this Book is it self. Wherefore let us not be hasty and giddy, but diligently compare the Scripture with it self: for there are certain Texts and Passages of the Bible that are allied to, and symbolize with one another. The observing of this will be of great Advantage to us. Thus *Gen. 49.* may be explain'd out of *Deut. 32.* The *Blessings* and *Prophecies* of *Jacob* concerning the *Tribes* receive Light hence, and also from the particular Histories in *Joshua* and *Judges* concerning the Actions of the several Tribes. This ought to be remembred that Obscure and Difficult Places of Scripture are to be explain'd by those that are Clear and Easy. We must interpret those that are Uncertain by Texts that are undoubtedly certain and plain. So as for those that are Brief and Contracted, the best way is to expound them by those that are Large and Full.

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The *Beatitudes* in *Luke* 6. are the same, but epitomized, with those in *Matth.* 5. and therefore there is good reason to explain the former by the latter. That Text of *Isaiab.* ch. 6. v. 9. *Hear ye indeed, but understand not,* &c. is contracted in *Mark* 4. 12. *Luke* 8. 10. *John* 12. 40. but it is at large in *Mat.* 13. 14, 15. and accordingly thence the Sense appears best. And whilst we are expounding one Place by another, we must not forget to search diligently into all the *Circumstances* of either, and to consider distinctly by whom, of what particular thing, to whom, at what time, on what occasion they were spoken. If we be thus Industrious and Attentive, we shall be effectually directed to the right meaning of the Texts, and we shall find none of those Contradictions which Unthinking and Careless Readers through want of Collation of Texts imagine to be in Scripture.

¶ 4. This Inquisitiveness and Observation will lead us to a discovery of the singular *Elegancy* and *Beauty* of the Sacred Stile. There are peculiar Forms and Modes of Speech in several *Nations*, proper to them, and 'tis very hard to render them in another Tongue: or if you attempt it, the *Elegancy* vanisheth. Thus there is a particular Excellency and Lustre in the Phrase and manner of Expression which the Holy Ghost useth in this Book: it is such that it sometimes rises above the strain of the most Eloquent Orators of *Greece* or *Rome*. But this cannot be taken notice of by the generality of Readers, because it is impossible to discern it, unless with great sedulity they search into the Words themselves, and by being acquainted with the *Original* come to perceive the peculiar Grace of the Words and Phrases. Thus in the *Greek* of the New Testament there is in many Pla-

578 The Excellency and Perfection

ces a most Remarkable Choice of Words, and a Wonderful Accommodating them to the Matter spoken of. Many Words in this Language are so full and comprehensive that they cannot be express'd in English. We do not reach the pregnancy of the Word *φρενα πατάν*, Gal. 6. 3. and *φρενα πολται*, Tit. 1. 10. for in these Words is included not only deceiving but self-deceit, or deceiving and imposing upon a Man's own Mind. Yea the latter Word which is barely rendred *Deceivers*, may import the deceiving of the Minds or Souls of others. Our Translators are forced to use two Words to render that single one *ἐνεργημεν*, Jam. 5. 16. *Ἀπορρο-επισκοπῶ*, 1 Pet. 4. 15. is translated by a Periphrasis, six Words in English for one in Greek, but indeed this is a Compound or Double Word. There is more in the Original, Luke 21. 34. than can be express'd in the Translation: We render it thus, *Take heed lest your Hearts be overcharged*: But there is a Marvellous Elegancy in the Greek which ordinary Readers cannot perceive. For *καρδία* is an equivocal Word, and signifies not only the Soul and its Faculties, but that noble *Viscus* of the Heart well known by that Name, and also that Part of the Body which is the receptacle of Meat and Drink, viz. the *Stomach*. This is a Criticism not unworthy the taking notice of, and it much enhances the Sense of our Saviour's Excellent Caveat here. That *καρδία* hath this latter Signification sometimes, is evident from the Name of that Distemper which Physicians give to the Pain in the upper Orifice of the *Stomach*, which being near to the *Heart*, affects that; whence the Distemper is call'd *καρδιαλγία* and *καρδιωγμός*. It is vulgarly call'd *Heart-burning*, which is indeed a Distemper of the upper Mouth of the *Stomach*, and should rather be call'd *Stomach-burning*, which is
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when this part of the Body is pained and disordered by reason of some sharp and noxious Humour. The *Stomach* and the *Heart* affecting one another by Consent, the former hath been call'd by the Greek Word which is given to the latter. Thus *Galen* testifies that the old Physicians used the Word *καρδια* in this Sense, and accordingly the *Cardiac Distemper* was that of the *Stomach*. The affinity of these Words might also be shew'd in the Latin *Stomachus* and the English *Stomach*, which denote sometimes that Great Spirit and Stubbornness which have their Seat in the *Heart*. But it most manifestly appears (as I have shew'd) in that Language wherein the New Testament is written; and *St. Luke* who was a Greek Physician, and well skill'd in the Terms of the Art, did particularly refer to this, and notably uses a Word that signifies both the *Stomach* and *Heart* properly so call'd, because this fitly agrees to what our Saviour saith, that they should not be overcharg'd with Surfeiting and Drunkenness, wherein the *Stomach* is mainly concern'd, nor with the Cares of this Life, wherein the *Heart* and Affections are most interested: Wherefore a Word that imports both is very elegant. A parallel Place is that *Acts 14. 17.* — filling our Hearts with Food and Gladness: where 'tis plain that *καρδια* is an equivocal Term, and signifies something else besides Hearts: for if there were not this Ambiguity in the Word, filling their Hearts with Food would be a very odd and unaccountable Expression. But the Translators could not use both Senses, therefore they set down one, and left the other to be understood: But the Doubtful Word, according to the Subject-matter, may be applied both ways, that is, their *Stomachs* were replenished with Food, and their *Hearts* (as that signifies the Soul and its Affections)

380 The Excellency and Perfection

with Gladness. And further to corroborate this Criticism, and to shew the peculiar Excellency and Pregnancy of the Scripture-Style, the word *καρδια* is appropriated to the Stomach in *Jam. 5. 5. Ye have nourish'd your Hearts as in a Day of Slaughter*: for here by a *Day of Slaughter* (as all Expolitors of any Note grant) is meant a *Day of Feasting*, because on Great Festivals many Beasts were kill'd for Sacrifice, and a great part of them were eaten by the Sacrificers and their Friends, *Prov. 7. 14. Isa. 22. 13.* And consequently by *Hearts* we are to understand their *Stomachs* and whole Bodies, and by *nourishing them* is meant feeding and pampering of them. The Apostle rebukes the Gluttony and Intemperance of the Voluptuous Men of that Age, who made every Day a *Day of Slaughter*, a Day of Feasting and Revelling. I could parallel this with a Passage in the Old Testament, where *leb* hath the same ambiguous Signification with *καρδια*; *Comfort ye your Hearts*, *Gen. 18. 5.* which is spoken of *Abraham's* entertaining the Angels, and refers to the *Morsel of Bread* there mention'd, for so he was pleas'd to call his Generous Provision which he made for his Guests. *Stay*, saith he, *support, sustain* (for so the word *sagnad* signifies) *your Stomachs*, and thereby *refresh and comfort your Hearts* with this Entertainment. So the word *συμὸς* is used in an equivocal Sense by *Homer* on the like occasion; for speaking of *Mercury's* being entertain'd by *Calypso*, he saith,

σέθεν δὲ ——— ἀέσωντο καὶ ἠέρετο *συμὸν* ἐδάδον,

He supp'd, and stay'd his Heart (or his Stomach) with Meat. Thence *Bread* is call'd *Mishgnan*, *fulcrum*, *sustentaculum*, *Isa. 3. 1.* a *Stay*, a *Staff*. And among
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the Old Hebrews *Segnudah* (i. e. *fulcimentum*) was a Dinner: and so Food among us is known by the vulgar Name of *Sustenance*. I hope that from all these things which I have alledged, the Critical Notion which I offer'd is made very plain and obvious.

And in several other Instances I could make it good that there are those Peculiar Graces of Speech in the Sacred Writings which the most Exquisite Translations cannot fully reach. I will particularly instance in one sort, which are usually call'd *Paranomasia's*, i. e. Elegant Allusions and Cadences of Words. Thus there is a clear Allusion to *Japheth's* Name in *Gen.* 9. 27. *Japht lejepheth*. There are no less than three of these in one Verse, *Gen.* 11. 3. *Nilbenah lebenim, nisrephah lisrephah, hachemar lachomer*. In *Gen.* 49. there are several of these Verbal Allusions, as *Jebudah joduka*, v. 8. *Dan jadin*, v. 16. *Gad gedud jegudemnu*, v. 19. which are plain References to the Names of *Judah*, *Dan* and *Gad*. There is a *Paranomasia* in the word *Chamor*, *Judg.* 15. 16. which signifies both an *Ass* and a *Heap*, but this is quite lost in our Translation, *Heaps upon Heaps, with the Jaw-bone of an Ass*. The Mount of Olives is in way of Contempt call'd the Mount of Corruption, *Mashchith*, *2 Kings* 23. 13. alluding to *Mishchah*, anointing, for which the Oil of Olives was serviceable. In *Psal.* 39. 11. the Psalmist alludes to the Names of *Adam* and *Abel* when he saith *אדם כל-הכל*, *All Adam is Abel*, or every Man is Vanity. And *Selah* is here added to denote the Emphatick Elegancy of this Passage. And again, *Psal.* 144. 4. *Adam is like Abel*: We render the Hebrew right enough, *Man is like Vanity*, but then the Nominal Allusion is not express'd. There is a great Number of *Paranomasia's* in *Isaiab*: as in *ch.* 1. v. 23. *Sare sorerim, the Princes are rebellious*.

582 The Excellency and Perfection

ous. Ch. 5. v. 7. *he looked for Mishphat, Judgment, but behold Mishpah Oppression; for Tzedekah Righteousness, but behold Tzegnakah a Cry.* Four of these pleasant Cadences you meet with together in ch. 24. v. 3, 4. *Hibbok tibbok, kibboz tibboz, dibber dabar, oblah noblah.* Ch. 32. v. 7. *Chelai chelav, the Instruments of the Cburl.* Some observe the Likeness of Sound in the Hebrew Words for *Bridegroom* and *decketh himself*, and for *Bride* and *Jewels*, ch. 61. v. 10. We may observe, in Jer. 6. 1. a plain Allusion to the word *Tekoah* in the Word preceding it. A remarkable Cadence is to be taken notice of in Mic. 1. 14. *the Houses of Aczib (the Name of a Place) shall be Aczab a Lie:* and the Learned Dr. Pocock observes, that the Prophet in the next Verses hath Allusions to the Names of those other Cities *Maresbah* and *Adullam*, in what he there saith of them. The like you find in Zeph. 2. 4. where the Destruction of *Gaza* and *Ekron* is foretold, but there are no Footsteps of it in the Translation. The last Place I will mention in the Old Testament is Zech. 9. 3. *Tyre built her self a strong-hold, Tzor built her self Matzor.*

This way of speaking is used also in the New Testament by our Saviour and his Apostles. τὸ πνεῦμα, *the Wind bloweth where it listeth: so is every one that is born ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος*, of the Spirit, John 3. 8. The same Word signifying *Wind* and *Spirit*, Christ takes occasion thence to speak after this Allusive Manner, which no Translation can express. So οὐ ἐπὶ πέτρῃ, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρῃ, Mat. 16. 18. cannot be discern'd in the English Translation. St. Paul hath several Verbal Likenesses in his Epistles, as 1 Cor. 9. 21. μὴ ἐν ἁνομῇ, ἀλλ' ἐν νόμῳ. 2 Cor. 5. 8. ἐκδύνασθαι καὶ ἐνδύνασθαι. Phil. 1. 11. ποτε ἄχρηστον, νυνὶ δὲ ἐυχρηστον. 2 Thess.

3. 17. *μὴδὲ ἐργαζομένους, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἐργαζομένων,*
 which *Henry Stephens* hath express'd by the like Pa-
 ranomasy in *Latin*, *nihil agentes, sed curiosè satagen-*
tes. And several others of this kind there are in
 this Apostle's Writings which are more commonly
 taken notice of, and therefore I omit them. *Gro-*
sius and some others think there are Allusions to
 the Names of the Seven Asiatick Churches in the
 things that are said of them in the *Epistles* to them,
Rev. 2d and 3d Chapters: but perhaps that is too
 fanciful. This we are certain of, that this Mode of
 Speech was not unusual among the Oriental Wri-
 ters, and so 'tis no wonder that it occurs some-
 times in the Holy Scripture. Even among some
 of the best *Roman* Authors this is no unfrequent
 thing: thus *Verres*, the Avaritious and Extorting
 Pretor of *Sicily*, is by *Tully* call'd *Verrens*, *Sweep-all*.
 And many such Verbal Jests this Grave Pleader hath
 in his Orations, and other Parts of his Writings;
 which shews it was thought to be a Pulchritude in
 their Stile. So *Martial* plaid upon the idle Mari-
 ners;

Non nautas puto, sed vos Argonautas.

Horace begins his Epistle to one *Albius*, a Patron of
 his, thus;

Albi nostrorum sermonum candide iudex;

Alluding in that Epithet to his Name: and he hath
 several other of these *Charientisms*. Which we can-
 not but sometimes observe likewise in other Anti-
 ent Writers of good Account. But that which I
 remark at present is, that even the Sacred and In-
 spired Stile disdains not this manner of speaking;
 which none are capable of taking notice of but
 those that have some Knowledge of the Original

584 *The Excellency and Perfection*

Languages in which the Sacred Text is writ. And in several other Particulars it were easy to shew the Gracefulness of the Holy Stile, and that singular Turn and Peculiar Air in the *Original* which cannot be express'd in the *Translation*. There are many Words, Phrases and Sentences which must lose a great deal of their native Weight and Spirit by being done into another Language. Therefore on this, as well as on the other Accounts before-named, we must be very Considerate and Attentive when we read this Divine Book.

Thirdly, There must be great *Moral and Religious Qualifications* likewise: for this is the Book of God, and therefore we must come to it with agreeable Inclinations, Wills and Affections. Men complain that there is a great Contention about the interpreting of Scripture, and Different Parties can't agree: whence they proceed to blame the Obscurity and Uncertainty of the Scripture it self. But herein these Persons themselves are very blameable, for this Disagreement in the interpreting of Sacred Writ arises not wholly from the Obscurity of it, nor doth it proceed from the Uncertainty of it, (as some would suggest) but from Mens Depraved Minds and Passions. Wherefore our main Care ought to be,

1st. To free our selves from all *Wilful Prejudice* and *Perversenesses*, which have been the first and original Causes of misunderstanding the Scriptures. Thus the Infernal Spirit, when he tempted our Saviour, most perversely quoted *Psal. 91. 11.* and misapplied it to his purpose. And from him *Hereticks* and *Seducers* have learnt to cite and make use of Scripture to evil Designs, *viz.* to uphold some Error or Vice. What an Antient Writer of the Church saith of one sort of *Heretical Teachers*, that

that ¹ they interpret the Sense of the Holy Writ according to their own Pleasure, is true of them all: their constant Practice is to strain and distort these Sacred Writings, to construe them according to their own Fancies, and to make them like an Echo, speak what they please. Their great Work in consulting and turning over this Volume is to find something they may misinterpret for their own Ends. Their Affection to a particular Cause makes them believe and assert any thing, though never so improbable: and then they alledg Scripture to back it, though it be wholly foreign to the purpose. These Persons are of the Number of those Depravers of Truth, who (as ² One of the Antient Fathers gives us their Character) *do not accommodate their Minds to the Scripture, but pervert and draw the Mind of the Scripture to their own Wills.* This glossing and expounding of the Bible, according to Mens corrupt Fancies, is, as ³ *M. Luther* hath expressed it, *like straining Milk through a Cole-sack*: it blackens and defiles the pure Word of God, it depraves and falsifies the Mind of the Spirit. Those Men are to be abhorr'd that submit not their Thoughts and Conceptions to this Sacred Standard, who compel the Scripture to serve their Private Opinions, who make no conscience of putting a Text upon the Rack to make it speak what it intended not, of miserably torturing it, that they may force it to confess what it never meant. These Persons should be reminded how great a Sin it is to distort and deprave the Holy Writ, and designedly to draw it to another Sense than it naturally

¹ Ἰδιῶς ἐρμηνεύοντες ἢ ἰσχύον τὰ νοήματα γράφων. Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. 4. c. 27. ² Basil. M. Orat. 2. in Hexaem. ³ Colloqu Mental.

ly bears. And the Penalty is as grievous as the Crime; for, as the Apostle St. Peter informs us, this Generation of Men *wrest the Scripture unto their own Destruction*, 2 Pet. 3. 16. Wherefore let none presume to be guilty in this Nature, and dare to follow their own sinister Imaginations in the interpreting of the Inspired Writings, but let them attend to that Advice of a Pious and Learned Author, *'We should be more willing to take a Sense from Scripture than to bring one to it.* Let us strive to know the naked and pure Meaning of the Spirit; and in order to that read the Bible with an Unprejudiced and Sincere Mind, which is an Excellent Interpreter. Whereas 'tis a certain Truth that Perverse Minds will pervert the Scriptures.

2dly. We ought to read these Divine Writings with great *Modesty* and *Humility*. Let it not trouble us that some Parts of them are not level to our Understandings. And where we cannot solve some things, let us not arrogantly pretend to do it. It is no Disgrace to confess our Ignorance here. I can assure you this hath been done by the Learnedest Heads. There is a *Learned Ignorance*, as *' St. Augustin* terms it, and we need not be ashamed to be Masters of it. *These four things* (mention'd in Eccles. 12. 6.) *I understand not*, saith *Castellio*. *I scarcely understand the thousandth Part of this Book*, saith he concerning the *Apocalypse*. And 'tis frequent with this Learned Man to say, *I know not the Meaning of this Place.* *That Man is impudently rash who dares profess that he understands one single Book of the Bible in all its Parts*, saith *' Luther*. I own it that I am so blind that I cannot see any thing at all in that
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' Mr. Mede. Diatrib.
Psalms.

' Epist. 121. cap. 15.

' Opus in

dark Place of Scripture, Amos 5. 26. saith the ³ Great *Selden*. But the contrary Temper and Spirit have swell'd some with proud Conceits of their understanding some Passages of this Book, when they have no true Apprehension of them in the least, and accordingly they have endeavour'd in a supercilious manner to impose their crude Sense upon others, not craving but commanding Assent to what they have propounded. These bold Men forget what the Wise King saith, ⁴ *It is the Glory of God to conceal a Matter*, to speak sometimes in so dark and hidden a manner that there is need of great searching, studying and enquiring into the things that are said: and yet at last they remain abstruse and unintelligible. It hath pleased God, the Wise Governour of the World, that the Scripture should have Difficulties and Obscurities in it, that there should be *some things hard to be understood*. But as *Socrates* said of *Heracitus's* Writings, *What he understood of them was very good, and so he believed that to be which he understood not*; the like may we with more Reason pronounce concerning the Sacred Scriptures. The Matters which we have Knowledge of (which are the main Body and Substance of the Book) are Excellent and Divine; and so there is Reason to conclude that those Parts of it which are hidden from us are of the same Nature. There is no occasion to find fault with the Sovereign Wisdom of God, but it is our apparent Duty to lay aside Pride, and to exercise Humility, which will capacitate us to understand even those Great Mysteries and Abstrusities when we have with much Diligence and frequent Study search'd into them.

3dly.

³ De Dis Syr. ⁴ Prov. 25. 1.

3dly. We must think our selves concern'd to purge our Hearts and Lives from all Defilements of Vice. For 'tis certain that a quick Brain, a subtile Head, and a nimble Wit, are not so much required to the understanding of Divine Truth as an Honest Mind and a Religious Practice. To Men of polluted Consciences and profane Manners the Scriptures seem dark and mysterious, but to those of sanctified Minds and holy Lives they are as to the most part plain and clear. These Qualifications render them as bright as a Sun-beam. What the *Turks* are said to write on the back-side of the *Alcoran*, *Let none touch this Book but he that is pure*, may with great Reason and Justice be written on the Holy Book of Scripture, and that only: for a Pure Life is the best Commentator on these Writings. A wonderful measure of Knowledge and Insight into these Divine Truths which are here contain'd, is the Effect of observing and practising the Holy Precepts of this Book. This then we ought to urge upon our selves, to come to the reading of Scripture with defecate and purged Minds, with Love to what it dictates, and with Obedience to it. This should be our principal Care, to live well, and to walk according to this Excellent Rule. All our Religion, and the whole Conduct of our Actions in this World depend upon the Scriptures: therefore let us be directed and govern'd by the Infallible Maxims, Precepts, Promises, and Threatnings of this Book. We see Men live by Custom, by the Dictates of Others, or by their Own Opinions, which oftentimes prove erroneous, and lead them into unwarrantable Practices. But they would not be thus misguided if they consulted These *Lively Oracles of God*, this *sure Word of Prophecy*, if they regu-

regulated their Actions by this Exact Canon. And hereby we are certain to improve our Knowledge in this Holy Book: for by living according to it, we shall the better understand it; by minding the Practical Contents of it, we shall have a full Discovery of its Principles and Doctrines.

Lastly, That we may attain to a right understanding of the Sense of Scripture, that we may have a due Perception of the Meaning of what is deliver'd here, let us most earnestly invoke the Divine Aid and Assistance. He that reads this Book without *Prayer*, can never expect to be bless'd with a compleat Knowledge of it. For it is the sole Work of the Divine Spirit to illuminate our Minds effectually. There is required the special Help of this Heavenly Instructor to direct us into Truth: wherefore he is call'd *the Spirit of Truth*, and *the Unction from the Holy One, whereby we know all things*. The same Spirit that endit'd these Holy Writings must enlighten our Minds to understand them: Which I find thus expressed in the Words of our Church, *The Revelation of the Holy Ghost inspireth the true meaning of the Scripture into us: in truth we cannot without it attain true Saving-knowledg*. And a Learned and Pious Son of our Mother gives his Suffrage in these Words, *Wicked Men, however learned, do not know the Scriptures, because they feel them not, and because they are not understood but with the same Spirit that writ them*. Seeing then a Spiritual Illumination is requisite in order to the comprehending of Scripture-Truths, we ought with great Fervour and Zeal to request it, we ought with a singular

¹ John 16. 13. ² 1 John 2. 20. ³ Second Homily of the Scriptures. ⁴ Mr. Herbert's Priest to the Temple, or Country-Parson.

390 *The Excellency and Perfection*

singular Devotion to repair to this Infallible Teacher, and with mighty Importunity beseech him to *open our Eyes that we may behold wondrous things out of the Divine Law*, and to conduct our Reasons aright in our Enquiry into this Sacred Volume. And He that commands us to implore his Help, will certainly vouchsafe it to all sincere and devout Supplicants. The Eyes of our Understanding shall be irradiated with a Celestial Beam, and we shall feel an internal Operation of the Spirit on our Hearts, communicating Light and Wisdom. By the Assistance of this Blessed Guide we shall not miscarry in our Searches and Endeavours: This Divine Book shall be laid open to us, and we shall have its Mysteries and Depths disclosed to us so far as is convenient for us; and no rational Man ought to desire any more. Yea, as it is with some of those that have studied for the *Philosophick Elixar*, though they attain not to it, yet in their impetuous Search after it they find out many Excellent Things admirably useful for Mankind, which are a Recompence of their Labours: so though we may fall short of some Grand Secrets which are treasured up in this Inspired Volume, yet we shall not fall of some Choice Discoveries that will make us amends for our most laborious Enquiries. We shall mightily improve our Knowledg, and we shall likewise be under the special Benediction of Heaven. The *Rabbins* tell us, that when R. *Jonathan* writ his *Targum* on the Bible, if at any time the least Fly lit upon his Paper, it was presently consumed with Fire from Heaven. But though this be Romantick, and after the rate of the *Rabbins*, yet it is a sober Truth that God will protect us in reading and studying the

the Holy Scriptures. Whilest we are thus employed, nothing shall disturb or hurt us; the Divine Arm will defend and prosper us, and we shall peruse this Book with that happy Success which we pray'd for. In short, by continual conversing with this Book, which is the only one that hath no *Errata's*, we shall know how to correct all the Failures of our Notions and of our Lives: we shall enrich our Minds with a Stock of Excellent Principles, and we shall be *thoroughly furnish'd unto all good Works*: we shall be conducted to the highest Improvements of Knowledge and Sanctity in this Life, and to the most Confirmate Happiness in another.

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